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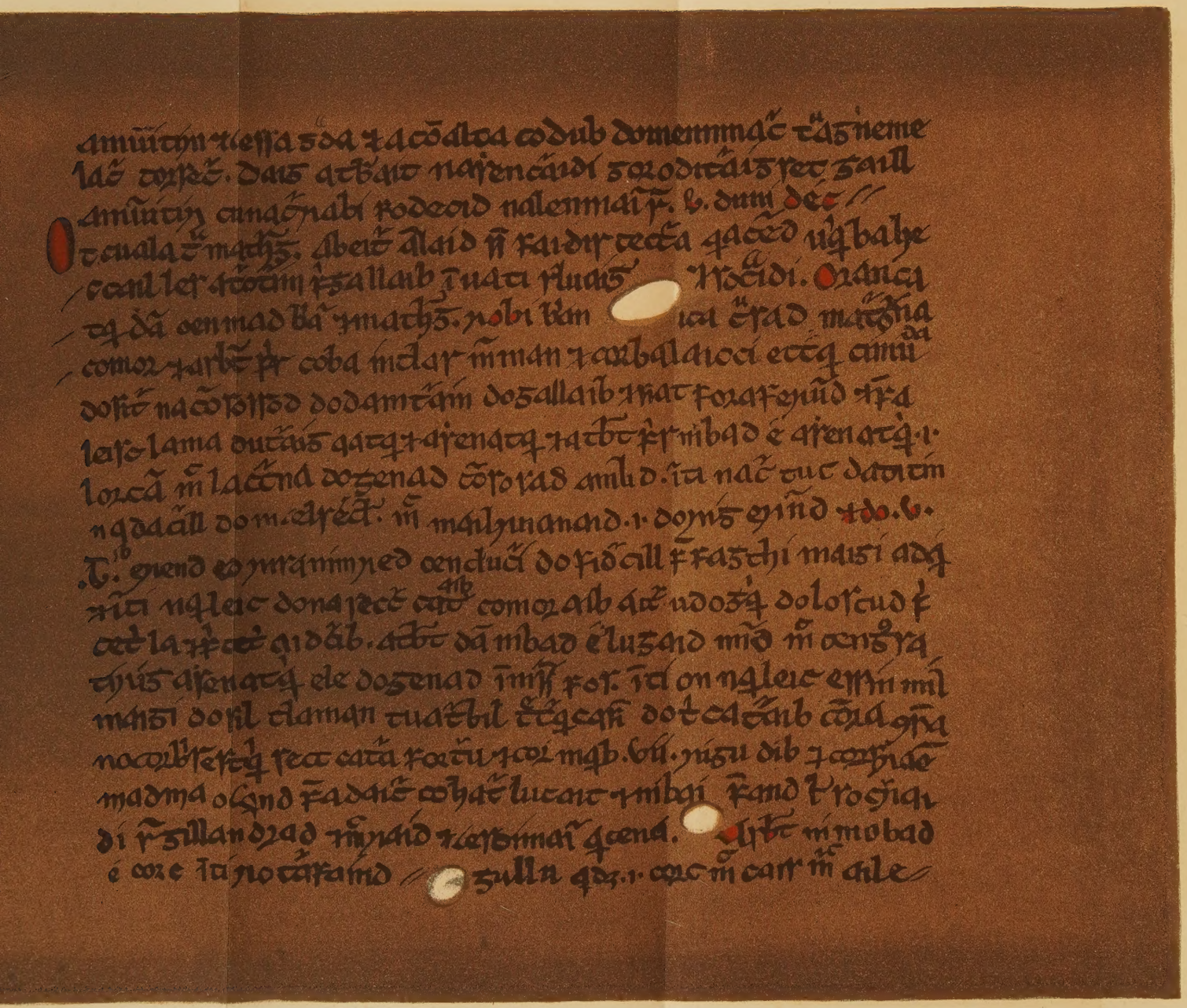

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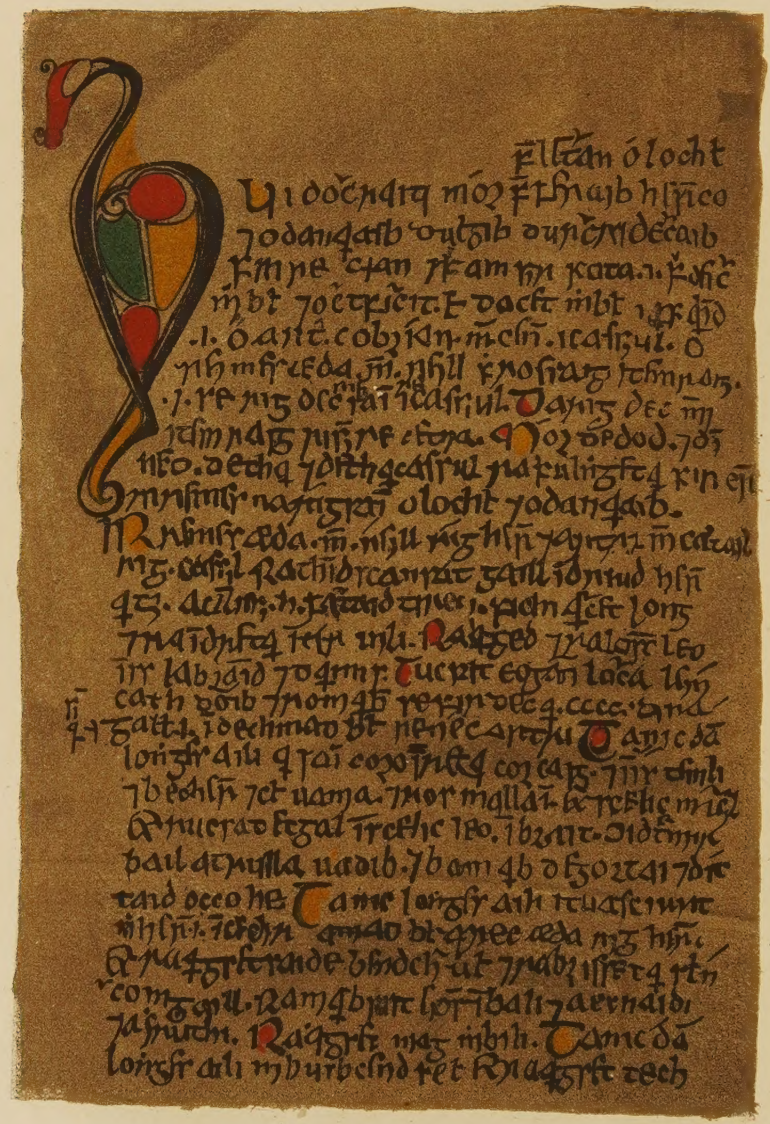

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THE

WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL,

OR

THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN.

THE ORIGINAL IRISH TEXT,

EDITED, WITH

TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION,

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

Description of the Manuscripts.

THE following work has been edited from three Manuscripts, two of them unfortunately imperfect.

I. The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

The first and most ancient of these consists of a single folio, closely written on both sides, in double columns. It is a leaf of the Book of Leinster, now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It contains the first twenty-nine sections only of the work: nevertheless, imperfect as it is, this fragment, for many reasons, is so important, that the Editor has thought fit to preserve it, with a translation, in the Appendix.

Date and writer of the Book of Leinster.

The Book of Leinster[1] is a *Bibliotheca*, or Collection of Historical Tracts, Poems, Tales, Genealogies, &c. It was written by Finn, Bishop of Kildare, or at least, during his lifetime, for Aedh Mac Crimhthainn, or Hugh Mac Griffin, tutor of Diarmait Mac Murchadha [Dermod Mac Murrogh], the King of Leinster who was so celebrated for his connexion with the Anglo-Norman invasion[2] of Ireland, in the reign of Henry II.

The following note occurs in the lower margin of fol. 206 *b.* of this MS. It is in a hand closely resembling that in which the book itself is written, and certainly of the same century:—

"Life and health from Finn, bishop [i.e., of Kildare[3]] to Aedh Mac Crimh-

---

[1] *Book of Leinster.* For a short summary of its contents, see O'Curry's Lectures, p. 187.

[2] *Invasion.* For this reason he is commonly called by the Irish who were not of his clan or his adherents, Diarmait na nGall, or Dermod of the foreigners.

[3] *Kildare.* This explanatory parenthesis is written in the original, as a gloss, over the word "bishop," in the same handwriting as the note itself.

thainn, tutor [ꝼıꞃꞇeıꞅınɔ] of the chief king of Leth Mogha [i.e., Nuadhat[1],] and successor[2] [comaꞃbu] of Colum Mac Crimhthainn, and chief historian of Leinster in wisdom and knowledge, and cultivation of books, and science and learning. And let the conclusion of this little history be written for me accurately by thee, O acute Aedh, thou possessor of the sparkling intellect. *May it be long before we are without thee. It is my desire that thou shouldest be always with us.* Let Mac Lonain's book[3] of poems be given to me, that we may find out the sense of the poems that are in it, et vale in Christo,[4] etc."

Finn, Bishop of Kildare died in 1160, according to the Annals of the Four Masters.[5] He appears to have occu-

---

[1] *Nuadhat.* This explanation is also in the original, as a gloss, over the word Mogha. Diarmait claimed to be King of Munster, or Leth Mogha, *i.e.*, Mogh's half, the southern half of Ireland, so-called from Eoghan Taidhleach, surnamed Mogh Nuadhat, or Nuadhat's slave. See O'Curry's Battle of Magh Lena, p. 3.

[2] *Successor.* This signifies that Aedh was abbot or bishop of Tirdaglass, now Terryglass, county of Tipperary; where was a celebrated monastery, founded by Colum Mac Crimhthainn, who died A.D. 548.

[3] *Mac Lonain's book.* Flann Mac Lonain, a celebrated Irish poet, many of whose productions are still extant, died in 891.

[4] *Vale in Christo.* The Editor has taken the liberty of altering a few words of Mr. O'Curry's translation of this curious entry (*Lectures*, p. 186); but the passage in italics he has allowed to stand, because although he believes Mr. O'Curry's reading of the original (App. lxxxiv) to be wrong, he is unable to correct it. It is very obscure in the MS., having been written upon an erasure, which has caused some of the letters to be blurred or blotted; the words which Mr. O'Curry prints cıan ꞃo ꞃıċem ɔoɔ (?) hınꞅnaıꞅ, appear to the Editor to be cıan ꞅaꞃ; ceıꞃ ꞇıꞇh ıꞇ hınꞅnaıꞅ, of which he can make no sense. It will be observed that the foregoing note does not assert Bishop Finn to have been the scribe by whom the Book of Leinster was written. That he was so, is inferred by Mr. O'Curry from the great similarity of the handwriting of the note to that of the text; and Finn, if not the writer of the MS., was probably the writer of the note. The "little history," or historic tale, alluded to, if we suppose it to be that to which the note refers, ends imperfectly at the bottom of folio 206 *b*. The next leaf begins in the middle of a sentence having no connexion with what went before; and the defect is of long standing, for the old paginations, made in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, take no notice of it, the next folio being marked 207. The page to which the foregoing note is appended contains the story of the Progress of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilill Olum, into Meath, or the Battle of Crinna. See O'Curry, *Lect.* App. lxxxix, p. 593; Keating (in the reign of Fergus Dubhdedach); O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 331–2. The words of the note "Let the conclusion of this little history be written for me," appear to intimate that the "little history" was unfinished when the note was written; and the inference is, that it never was completed.

[5] *Four Masters.* Finn, it will be observed, calls himself "bishop," not bishop of Kildare, which is a subsequent insertion. This is an evi-

pied that see since 1148, in which year his predecessor, O'Dubhin, died; but he was a bishop when the foregoing note was composed, and therefore the portion of the book to which it relates must have been written between the years just mentioned, if not before.

Of Aedh Mac Crimhthainn, the Irish Annals have unfortunately preserved no record; but if he was tutor to King Diarmait Mac Murchadha (who was born in 1110), he must have lived very early in the twelfth century.

It will be observed that the foregoing note is written in a strong spirit of partisanship, the writer asserting boldly the claim[1] of his chieftain, Diarmait, to be the chief King of Leth Mogha, that is, of Leinster and Munster, the southern half of Ireland; and the same spirit appears in another place, fol. 200 *a.*, where a hand much more recent

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dence of antiquity, the establishment of territorial dioceses being then recent, and the titles derived from them not having as yet come fully into use. This prelate assisted at the Synod of Kells in 1152, according to Keating, who calls him (as in some copies) "son of Cianain," but other copies read "son of Tighernain." The Four Masters call him Finn Mac Gormain, and the Dublin Ann. Inisfall. (A.D. 1160) Mac Gormain, without any Christian name. Ware has "Finan (MacTiarcain) O'Gorman." This is, no doubt, an error for Finn Mac Cianain O'Gormain, and is an attempt to reconcile the authority of Keating with that of the Four Masters. But the Four Masters call him Mac Gormain, not O'Gormain; there is no inconsistency in his being Mac Cianain, or son of Cianan, and also Mac Gormain. At that time Mac Gormain had come to be assumed as a patronymic or family name, instead of the more correct form O'Gormain. See O'Donovan, *Topogr. Poems*, p. liii, note (433). We have another instance of this in King Dermod, who is called Mac Murchadha or Mac Murrogh, from his grandfather, although he was the son of Donnchadh, and ought therefore to have been O'Murrogh. *Topogr. Poems*, p. xlvi, *n.* (393), and p. l, *n.* (405). See his genealogy in O'Donovan's note, Four M., A.D. 1052, p. 861. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. 438.

[1] *Claim.* The same claim is made in another place in this MS. (fol. 20 *a*) in an addition to a list of the kings of Leinster, in which Diarmait is thus spoken of—Ꝺiaꞃmaiꞇ mac Ꝺonchaꝺa mac Muꞃchaꝺa .xlui. Ocuſ ba ꞃi Leꞇhi Moga uile eſiꝺe, ocuſ Miꝺi eſiꝺe. Ꝺ éc i Feꞃna, iaꞃ ṁbuaiꝺ onꝫꞇa ocuſ aꞇhꞃiꝫi, in .lxi°. anno aeꞇaꞇiſ ſuae. "Diarmait, son of Dunchadh, son of Murchadh [reigned] 46 [years]. And he was king of all Leth Mogha and also of Meath. He died at Ferns after the victory of Unction and Penance, in the 61st year of his age." This note is in a hand more recent than that of the MS., and was written probably in 1171, the year of King Diarmait's death.

than that of the MS., has written in the upper margin, the following strong expression[1] of grief:—

"[O Mary!] It is a great deed that is done in Erinn this day, the kalends of August. Dermod, son of Donnchadh Mac Murchadha, King of Leinster and of the Danes,[2] was banished by the men of Ireland over the sea eastward. Uch! Uch! O Lord! what shall I do."

The event thus so pathetically lamented took place in the year 1166.[3] We know not who it was that so recorded his despair; but the note is evidence that this book, to which the name of "Book of Leinster" has been given, was written in the lifetime of Dermod Mac Murrogh, and was, most probably, his property, or that of some eminent personage amongst his followers or clansmen, before the English invasion.

These circumstances are important, as proving beyond all reasonable doubt, that the copy of the present work which this MS. once contained,[4] and of which only a single folio leaf remains, must have been written in the twelfth century, and the original must therefore have been still earlier. The author mentions no event later than the battle of Clontarf, A.D. 1014, and was probably a contemporary and follower, as he certainly was a strong partizan, of King Brian Borumha, who fell in that battle. The MS. of which we are now treating was, therefore, written certainly before 1166, and probably within the century after the death of the author of the work.

This MS. denoted by the letter L.

The editor in the notes upon the first twenty-eight chapters or sections of the text, has distinguished the various

[1] *Expression.* See the original Irish in O'Curry's Lectures, *Append.* No. lxxxv. The first words, "O Mary," are now so obscure in the MS. that they can only be considered as a conjectural restoration suggested by Mr. O'Curry.

[2] *Danes.* Meaning the Danes of Dublin.

[3] *Year* 1166. See Four Masters. The foregoing note gives us the additional fact that Dermod fled on the 1st of August.

[4] *Contained.* The Book of Leinster is now very imperfect. The Editor found eleven of the original folia of it at St. Isidore's College, Rome. They were probably lent to Colgan, in accordance with a practice which has proved injurious to many of our Irish MSS. They contain some of the works of Aengus the Culdee, and also the Martyrology of Tallaght, wanting November and the first sixteen days of December, by the loss of a leaf.

readings of this MS.[1] by the letter L. It exhibits several peculiarities of spelling, interesting to the philological student of the Celtic languages; but it has not been thought necessary to notice all these, as the whole of this valuable fragment has been preserved in the Appendix[2].

II. The Dublin MS. denoted by the letter D.

The second Manuscript employed in forming the text of the present work, is also a fragment, although a more considerable one, and is likewise preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. We have called this the Dublin MS., and its readings are marked D. in the notes.

Its age.

This copy was found about the year 1840, by the late eminent scholar, Mr. O'Curry, bound up[3] in one of the Seabright MSS., formerly in the possession of the celebrated antiquary, Edward Llwyd. There is nothing except the appearance of the MS. and its handwriting to fix its age; but judging from these criteria we cannot be far wrong in supposing it to have been written about the middle of the fourteenth century.[4] It is imperfect both at the beginning and at the end: wanting from the first to the fifth chapters inclusive, at the beginning, and from the middle[5] of chapter cxiii. to the end of the work. There are also some intervening defects, arising from a

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[1] *This MS.* The initial letter, B., p. 2, is an exact fac-simile of the initial with which this MS. begins.

[2] *Appendix.* Some few examples of the peculiarities alluded to are given, p. 223, note 3. They may, probably, be regarded as characteristic of the old Leinster dialect of the Irish language.

[3] *Bound up.* It occurs in the MS. H. 2, 17, and was described by Dr. O'Donovan in his unpublished Catalogue of the Irish MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, under the date of Jan. 1840. But this fragment was undoubtedly first identified, as containing the long lost Danish wars, by Mr. O'Curry, who says (*Lectures*, p. 232), "Of this tract I had the good fortune, some sixteen years ago, to discover an ancient but much soiled and imperfect copy in the Library of Trinity College." The Lecture in which this statement occurs was delivered June 19, 1856.

[4] *Fourteenth century.* Mr. O'Curry says, "The ancient fragment must be nearly as old as the chief events towards the conclusion of the war." *Ibid.* This is certainly a mistake.

[5] *Middle.* See p. 199, line 9 from bottom.

loss of leaves in the MS. A list[1] of these defects is given below.

The orthography of this MS. is far from correct. It omits almost uniformly the eclipsed letters, and those which are quiescent or dropped in ordinary pronunciation: a circumstance which frequently causes considerable difficulty. To enable the reader more easily to understand what is meant, some examples, selected almost at random, are given below in the note.[2] They are evidence of an impure orthography, and of a period when the language was in its decline.

III. The Brussels copy, denoted by the letter B.

The third MS. is a paper copy preserved in the Burgundian Library, Brussels, which has the advantage of being perfect. It is in the handwriting of the eminent Irish scholar, Friar Michael O'Clery, by whom it was transcribed in the year 1635. This appears by the following note at the end:—

As leaḃar Conconnaċt i Dálaiġ do sccríoḃ an braṫair boċt Michél ó Cleriġ an coip as ar sccriobaḋ so, hi cconveint na braṫar i mBaile Tiġe Farannáin, a mí Marta na bliadna so 1628, ocus ro sccríoḃaḋ an coip so las an nbráṫair cédna i cconveint Dúin na nGall, a mis Nouember na bliaḋna so 1635.

Out of the book of Cuconnacht O'Daly, the poor friar Michael O'Clery wrote the copy from which this was written, in the convent of the friars in Baile Tighe Farannain, in the month of March of this year 1628; and this copy was written by the same friar in the convent of Dun-na-nGall [Donegal], in the month of November of this year 1635.

---

1 *List.* Part of chap. xxx. and xxxi. (see p. 35) is wanting in D., also from the second line of ch. xxxiii. to the seventh line of ch. xxxvii. (pp. 39–43). Again, from the last two lines of ch. lvi. (p. 85) to line 5 of ch. lxi. (p. 92); from the middle of ch. lxvii. (p. 111) to the middle of ch. lxix. (last line of p. 115); ch. lxx. (p. 117) to line 7 of ch. lxxii. (p. 119); and from ch. lxxvi. (p. 133) to the middle of ch. lxxx. (line 1, p. 141).

2 *Note.* The omission of f is very common, as in daitín for dfaitin; daċill for dfaċil; ed for fed; agbail for fagbail; orṫu for forṫu; bail for bfail or bafail; do regra for do fregra; imagus for imfagus; etatar for ḟetatar; acsom for facsom; regair for fregair. The omission of d, as in diobaid for dḟiodbaid; nian for dnian. The omission of ṫ, as sendúcus for sendúṫcus; caib for caṫaib; of b, as munadus for mbunadus; asagud for basagud; and of m, as cunig for cumnig. Some other instances are mentioned in the notes.

From this we should, perhaps, infer that Michael O'Clery made two copies of the tract on the Danish Wars, one in March, 1628, in the Convent of Baile-Tighe Farannain (now Multyfarnham, in the county of Westmeath), "out of the Book of Cuconnacht O'Daly;" and another, probably taken from his former copy, in November, 1635, when he was in the Convent of Donegal. This latter transcript is the book now in the Brussels Library, which has been used in forming the text of the present work, whenever the Dublin MS. was defective. Its various readings are distinguished in the notes by the letter B.

Book of Cuconnacht O'Daly.

The Book of Cuconnacht O'Daly is now unknown; but its owner or compiler was probably the same who is described by the Four Masters, as a chief bard[1] or historian, and a native or resident of Lackan, in Westmeath. He died, according to the same authorities, at Clonard, in Meath, A.D. 1139. Lackan[2] is close to Multyfarnham, and it was natural that the book, compiled by its great bard, should be preserved in the neighbouring Franciscan Abbey. From these facts it seems probable that the Book of Cuconnacht O'Daly was a "Bibliotheca," or a collection of historical documents, transcribed in the early part of the twelfth century, and therefore of about the same date

---

[1] *Chief bard.* Ꭿꞃᴅoꝉꝉaṁ ꝉé ᴅan. *Four M.* at the year 1139. For the situation of Lackan, see Dr. O'Donovan's note, *Four M.* at A.D. 746, p. 349. The genealogy of Cuconnaght O'Daly will be found in the "Historical Sketch of the family of O'Daly," prefixed to Aenghus O'Daly's *Tribes of Ireland*, edited by Dr. O'Donovan. *Dublin*, (John O'Daly) 1852.

[2] *Lackan.* In the gloss on the Felire of Aengus, at June 28 (Brussels copy), the situation of Lackan is thus described: Ꝉeacuin ainm an tempuiꝉꝉ Cꞃuimne ꞃé taoḃ Ḃuaiꝉte [for mḂaiꝉe Tiġe] Ꝼaꞃannain. "Leacan is the name of the church of S. Cruimmin, near Buailte Farannain." The abbey of Multyfarnham continued in the possession of Franciscan friars, notwithstanding the suppression, and in 1641 was the head quarters of the Confederate Roman Catholics. See Cox, *Hib. Angl.* ii., *App.* p. 41. This occasioned the dispersion of the friars; but within the present century a convent has been re-established there, and buildings erected in the ruins of the ancient house. See Sir H. Piers's account of Westmeath, in Vallancey's *Collectanea*, i., p. 68. The abbey of Donegal also continued in the possession of the friars until the times of Cromwell, but is now in utter ruin.

as the Book of Leinster, of which we have already spoken. It follows that the original of the Wars of the Danes and Irish, which was copied into these collections, must have had some celebrity before the year 1139, when O'Daly died, and was therefore, probably, composed before the end of the preceding century.

Michael O'Clery's copy.

Michael O'Clery, the transcriber of the Brussels MS., was a lay brother of the order of St. Francis, and is celebrated as having been the chief of the compilers of the great Chronicle known as the Annals of the Four Masters. His original Christian name[1] was *Tadhg*, Teague or Teige, and he was commonly called *Tadhg an tsleibhe*, or "Teige of the Mountain," before he took the name of *Michael* in religion.

Liberties taken with the original MS. from which he transcribed.

In his transcript of the Danish Wars, he has modernized the spelling, and has probably introduced other more serious deviations from the text of O'Daly's MS. He intended his copy for the use of his contemporaries, and therefore, perhaps, deemed himself at liberty to adopt the modern orthography and other grammatical peculiarities which would be to them most intelligible. This circumstance no doubt has greatly diminished the value of his manuscript, especially as we cannot be certain whether his departure from the ancient original was confined to such minor alterations.[2] It was unfortunately the custom of Irish scribes, to take considerable liberties with the works they transcribed. They did not hesitate to insert poems and other additional matter, with a view to gratify their patrons or chieftains, and to flatter the vanity of their clan. It is to be feared, that for the same reason, they frequently omitted what might be disagreeable to their patrons, or scandalous to the Church; thus

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[1] *Christian name.* For an account of this distinguished antiquary, see O'Donovan's Introduction to the Four Masters, and O'Curry's Lectures.

[2] *Alterations.* See p. 83, where O'Clery has substituted an "etc." for the words "for the good of the souls of the foreigners who were killed in the battle:" which words, taken in connexion with the context in which they stand, are certainly very obscure. But they occur in the Dublin MS.

they were unconsciously guilty of anachronisms and various mistakes, which have the effect of throwing discredit upon the works so transmitted to us, as disproving apparently their claim to antiquity.

Evidence of interpolations in the MSS.

Evidence of such interpolations is abundantly afforded by a comparison of the three MSS. employed in this edition of the Danish Wars. The ancient MS. in the Book of Leinster, although a mere fragment, is of great importance in this point of view. It proves, for example, that the lists of the Kings[1] of Ireland and Munster in the Brussels MS. are an interpolation. The original work gave only the names of the King of Ireland and of the contemporary King of Munster, in whose times the pirate fleets first made their appearance. In the Brussels MS. there is inserted after this, a full list of both series of kings during the whole period of the Scandinavian invasions. We find also passages given as marginal notes in the older MS., which are received into the text, and sometimes, perhaps, misunderstood,[2] or incorrectly transcribed, in the later copy. But the O'Clery MS., notwithstanding these defects, is of great value. It is certainly an independent authority. It contains four poems which are not in the Dublin copy. Three of these are in the form of a dialogue between Mathgamhain[3] and Brian, and the fourth is said to have been the composition of "Mathgamhain's blind bard." They are evidently interpolations made by some transcriber who was attached to Brian's party. The first (p. 63) is an apology for Brian's difficulties, when, as we are told, his followers were reduced to fifteen; and it contains a gentle censure of Mathgamhain for being "too quiescent" towards the foreigners. The second (p. 77) celebrates the victory of the Dal Cais over the foreigners, at Sulcoit. The third (p. 81) attributed to "the poet," who is not named, cele-

Interpolations in the MS. B.

[1] *Kings.* See chaps. ii., iii., and Append. A, p. 221.

[2] *Misunderstood.* See the note [1], p. 222. Compare also p. 8, note [4].

[3] *Mathgamhain.* This name is pronounced *Mahûn.* or *Mahoon*, the accent being on the last syllable. *Dal-Cais* is pronounced *Dal-Cash.*

brates the defeat of the Danes of Limerick: and the last (p. 97), by Mathgamhain's "blind bard," is an elegy, not without spirit, on the treacherous murder of that chieftain.

Interpolations in the MS. D.

On the other hand, the Dublin fragment contains some passages of considerable length, both in prose and verse, which are not in the Brussels copy. For example, the poetical address[1] from Gilla-Comhgaill O'Slebhin, urging Aedh, or Hugh, O'Neill to join King Maelsechlainn against Brian; the description[2] of the march of Brian's army to Clontarf, with the arrival of the auxiliaries Fergal O'Rourke, and his followers; the bombastic account of the enemy's forces and their arms, as contrasted with Brian's troops[3]; and the combat of Dunlaing of the Liffey, who is said to have been defeated and beheaded by Fergal O'Rourke[4] in this battle, although the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters give a different account of his death.

Various readings.

In noting the various readings detected by a collation of the MSS., the editor has taken no notice of mere differences of spelling except in some rare instances. Irish orthography, in the twelfth century, was so unsettled, and, indeed, is still so unsettled, that the same word is frequently written by the same scribe in different spellings on the same page. To note all such variations would have swollen the work to a size out of all proportion to the value of the information so collected.

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[1] *Address.* See ch. lxxiii. p. 121. Giolla Comhgaill O'Slebhin, or Ua Slebhene, died in 1031, according to the Four Masters, who call him "chief poet (ꝑꝛıṁ-oʟʟaṁ) of the North of Ireland." The date of his mission to O'Neill, here alluded to, was 1002 or 1003.

[2] *Description.* Chap. lxxxix., p. 155.

[3] *Troops.* Chap. xcviii., p. 171.

[4] *Fergal O'Rourke.* Chap. ci., p. 177. It is worthy of note that B. (O'Clery's copy) omits everything connected with Fergal and his presence in the battle: neither is he mentioned by the Four Masters, who naturally followed the authority of O'Clery, who was one of them.

The Author and Age of the Work.

The work known to Keating, Colgan, and the Four Masters.

The *Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaibh*, or "Wars of the Gael with the Gaill," that is to say, of the Irish with the Norsemen, has been frequently quoted by Keating. It was known also to Colgan; and the Four Masters have occasionally transferred its very words to their pages. It is mentioned also by Mac Curtin[1] and O'Halloran,[2] who cite it as in their time an accessible authority of which the original was well known. But for many years all copies of it were supposed to have perished, until the discovery of the Dublin MS. by Mr. O'Curry, in 1840. Soon afterwards it was ascertained that another copy was preserved at Brussels, together with some other Irish MSS. of great interest. The Editor accordingly went there in August, 1848, and made a full collation of the Brussels copy, with the Dublin MS., transcribing all that was necessary to supply the deficiencies of the latter. Afterwards, through the influence of the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he obtained from the Belgian Government a loan of this and some other MSS., and in 1853 caused a complete copy of it to be made by Mr. O'Curry for the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. These transcripts have been carefully collated in forming the text of the present edition.

Collation of the Brussels MS. by the editor.

Transcript of it by Mr. O'Curry.

Evidence of antiquity.

The work has external as well as internal evidence of antiquity. Its author, as we have seen, was a contemporary and strong partizan of King Brian Borumha. It exhibits many traces of the political feelings engendered by the intestine dissensions of the Dal Cais, and

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[1] *Mac Curtin.* "Discourse in Vindication of the Antiquity of Ireland:" Dublin, 4°, 1717, p. 171, 175, 181, et passim. In p. 204, he says, "*Coga Gall le Gaoidhealuibh* is the only best authority for any thing relating to the Danish wars in Ireland."

[2] *O'Halloran.* "Hist. of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 153. 4°, Lond. 1778.

their contest for sovereignty with the Clann Colmain,[1] in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Copies of it were preserved in the historical collections made by eminent antiquaries in the early part of the twelfth century. The author makes no use of the era *Anno Domini*, but dates from the reigns of the Kings of Ireland and Munster; sometimes also from local events[2] in the provincial history of Ireland.

Its author, said to be Mac Liag.

Dr. O'Conor[3] asserts without hesitation that the author of this work was Mac Liag, whose death is recorded by the Four Masters, at the year 1015 (the true date being 1016), in these words :—

"Mac-Liag, i.e., Muircheartach, son of Cucheartach, chief poet (*ard-ollamh*) of Ireland at that time, died."

In the Dublin Annals of Innisfallen, at A.D. 1016, the same event is thus recorded :—

"Mac-Liag, i.e., Muircheartach beg, son of Mael-ceartach, chief poet (*ard-ollamh*) of Ireland, died in [the island called] Inis-an-Gaill-duibh, in the Shannon."

No ancient authority for this.

But the editor has not discovered any ancient authority for attributing this work to Mac Liag[4]. The Four Mas-

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[1] *Clann Colmain.* See Geneal. Table II., Append. B., p. 242. The kings of Ireland, Maelseachlainn I. and Maelseachlainn II., were the hereditary chieftains of the Clann Colmain, or descendants of Colman mór, son of Diarmait, King of Ireland, A.D. 544, of the Southern Hy Neill. See pp. 131 and 181.

[2] *Local events.* See ch. iv., p. 5; ch. xiv., p. 15; ch. xxiii., p. 23; ch. xxvii., p. 29. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, Pref. p. [40], is of opinion that the vulgar Christian era was not used in Ireland until after the year 1020.

[3] *Dr. O'Conor.* In his list of the ancient authorities quoted or employed by the Four Masters in the compilation of their Annals, Dr. O'Conor thus speaks of the present work :—"XLVIII. *Coccadh Gall la Gaoidhil*, Bella Alienigenarum cum Hibernis. Auctore Mac Liago Scriptore sæculo xi. Vide iv. Mag. ann. 1015." *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.*, vol. i. *Epist. Nuncup.*, p. lvi.

[4] *Mac-Liag.* The Four Masters, immediately after the words above quoted, give the first and the last quatrains of verses composed by Mac-Liag. In the former of these he calls himself "Muircheartach beg, son of Mael-certaich;" and O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* p. 334, tells us that he was of the family of O'Conchearta of Lig-gnathaile, in Corann, a territory which included the barony of Galeng, or Gallen, in the county of Mayo, together with the barony of Luighne, now Leyney, and the present barony of Corann, in the county of Sligo. Mael-

ters make no mention of its author. Mac Curtin and O'Halloran, who have quoted it by the Irish title it still bears, are silent as to the author's name. Even O'Reilly,[1] in his list of Mac Liag's works, omits the *Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaibh*. Colgan had a copy of it, the same most probably which is now in the Brussels Collection. He

Colgan makes no mention of the author.

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certaigh and Cucertaigh seem to have been used as synonymous for the family name of the poet; and Mac Liag was, probably, not his Christian name, but an appellation given to distinguish him from the many others of the family who were named Muircheartach, or Moriarty. For the same reason he appears to have been called Muircheartach beg, or *the little*. His tribe name, Mael-certaich, signifies the devoted servant of, tonsured in honour of Certach; and Cu-certaich, the hound, or dog of, that is, the faithful servant of, *Certach*, who was, no doubt, one of the many saints of that name. There was a saint Mac Liag, descended from Colla Uais, King of Ireland in the fourth century, (*Martyrol. of Donegal*, 8 Feb.); and the Christian name Gilla-Mic-Liag, or servant of Mac Liag, was used in the eleventh century. The Four Masters mention the death of Mac Conmara Ua Mic Liag, or grandson of Mac Liag, A.D. 1048; and the Annals of Ulster record the death of Cumara mac mic Liag, or son of Mac Liag, whom they call *Ard ollamh Erenn*, or chief poet of Ireland, and who seems to have succeeded his father, the bard of Brian Borumha, in that office. Hence it appears that Mac Mic Liag and O'Liag had come to be used as surnames to denote this particular branch of the family. Besides the Book of the Danish Wars, now published, Mac Liag is said to have written a Life of Brian Borumha, and a book of the Battles of Munster. They are quoted by Mac Curtin as three distinct works, and as extant in his time; that is to say, at the beginning of the last century. Dr. O'Conor refers to Mac Curtin for the existence of these books, and therefore was probably not himself acquainted with them. *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.*, vol. i. *Proleg.* part ii. *Elenchus*, p. 7. Probably the Book of Munster Battles may be the same as the *Leabhar Oiris agus annala ar cogthaibh agus ar cathaibh Erenn*, "The Book of Antiquity and Annals of the Wars and Battles of Ireland," which O'Reilly says he had in his possession, and which he tells us, although it professes to treat of the "wars and battles of Ireland," is in reality confined to the battles of Munster. *Trans. Iberno-Celtic Society*, p. lxx. It is now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. The late James Hardiman, *Irish Minstrelsy*, vol. ii., p. 361, sq., has published some extracts from this book in the original Irish, which prove, beyond a doubt, that the work must have been of a much later age than that of Mac Liag, or that if it was by him, the phraseology and language must have been greatly modernized by its transcribers. The specimens of it printed by Mr. Hardiman are in a dialect of Irish which cannot be older than the seventeenth century.

[1] *O'Reilly*. Trans. Iberno-Celtic Society, p. lxx. *Dublin*, 1820.

has given the following account[1] of it, in which, however, he says nothing of its author:—

"I have a full history written of these wars of Ireland, which in the vulgar tongue is called *Cogadh Gaoidhel re Gallaibh*, i.e., Wars of the Irish with the foreigners; in which from A.D. 812, when (as Eginhard, or some other author of the same age, in his Life of Charlemagne, says) 'The fleet of the Northmen invaded Ireland, the island of the Scoti; and after a battle with the Scots, an innumerable multitude of the Northmen was destroyed, and in an ignominious flight returned home.' Almost every year afterwards we read of fresh battles and conflicts of the Irish with the Danes and Northmen, until the year 1012 or 1013 [*read* 1014], when, in a great battle fought on the plain of Clontarf, near Dublin, with very great slaughter on both sides, the strength of each was so irreparably weakened, that neither people has since been able, even to the present day, to recover its original strength and power. For there fell in that battle the principal chieftains and nobles both of the Irish and Northmen, with the far-famed King of Ireland himself, Brian Borumha, or Boromœus; who, says Marianus Scotus, on Good Friday, 9 Kal. Maii, was slain, his hands and mind intent on prayer to God."

Keating does not name the author.

Keating also, at the commencement of his history of the invasions of the Northmen, in the reign of Aedh Oirnidhe, quotes[2] the *Cogadh Gall re Gaedhiolaibh* under that name, as his principal source of information, and tells us that his narrative is only an abridgment of that work. He says nothing, however, of its author. Can it be believed that these eminent authorities could all have been ignorant of the fact that the work had been composed

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[1] *Account.* "Extat apud me integra historia de his bellis Hibernice conscripta, quæ vulgari sermone *Cogadh gaoidhel re gallaibh*, i.e. bella Hibernorum cum alienigenis, nuncupatur; in qua ab anno Christi 812, quo (inquit Eginardus, vel alius author ejusdem sæculi, in vita Caroli magni,) *Classis Nortmannorum Hiberniam, Scotorum insulam, aggressa; commisso prælio cum Scotis, innumerabilis multitudo Nortmannorum extincta est, et turpiter fugiendo reversi sunt:* singulis pæne annis leguntur nova prælia et conflictus Hibernorum, cum Danis et Normannis, usque ad annum Christi 1012, vel 1013, quo ingenti prælio, in campo de *Cluain-Tarbh*, juxta Dublinium commisso, cum summa utriusque partis clade, mutuas vires ita irreparabiliter debilitarunt, ut neutra gens, in hunc usque diem, pristinam recuperaverint potentiam vel vires. Occubuerunt enim in eo prælio præcipui et Hibernorum et Nortmannorum Principes et Proceres, cum ipso longè celebri Hiberniæ Rege, Briano *Boroimhe*, seu Boromæo; qui, inquit Marianus Scotus; *ipso Parasceve Paschæ feria, 9 Calendas Maii, manibus et mente in Deum intentus, necatur.*" Actt. SS., *p.* 106, *col.* 2, *n.* 3.

[2] *Quotes.* O'Connor's Transl., p. 418. O'Mahony's Transl., p. 495.

by Mac Liag, the "chief poet of Ireland," the bard of King Brian himself, or, knowing this, could have concealed a circumstance so important to its authenticity? And if Keating, the Four Masters, and Colgan were ignorant of its authorship in the seventeenth century, how did Dr. O'Conor, in the nineteenth, acquire the information on the subject[1] which enabled him to attribute it so dogmatically to Mac Liag?

Not impossible that Mac Liag may have been the author.

Mac Liag died, as we have seen, in 1016, two years only after his master, Brian. He had, therefore, it may be said, but a short time to compile this work, which is brought down to the year of the battle of Clontarf, in which Brian fell. But it was surely not impossible, that in two years a diligent and well read author should have composed such a history. He might have had the earlier part of it written and lying by him long before. Neither is it a conclusive argument that a stanza of poetry of which Mac Liag is himself said to have been the author, is quoted[2] in the book. This may have been one of the interpolations which we know were introduced into later transcripts. Or the author himself may have quoted one of his own poems, naming himself, which is not unusual, in the third person. It may be fairly urged, however, that if the transcribers had believed Mac Liag to have been the author of the prose narrative, whether they had found the poetical quotation in the original MS. or not, they would scarcely have passed over the opportunity of saying so.

Apparent indications of a more recent date.

There are one or two other apparent indications of a more recent date, which may be properly noticed here. One of these is that the Danes are made to speak *English*. This would have been a natural mistake enough for an Irish author of a period subsequent to the twelfth century, who was not well versed in Teutonic languages. The English were generally, and indeed are still very com-

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[1] *On the subject.* Dr. O'Conor gives no authority for his statement. His words are quoted above, p. xx, note 2.

[2] *Quoted.* This stanza (four lines) is introduced by the words, "of which Mac Liag said." See p. 95.

monly called in Ireland by the same name of *Gaill*, or foreigners, which was given to the Norsemen. But the mistake, however natural, could not have been committed *before* the English invasion, and therefore, if the words are really English, and were so written by the original author, they would be evidence against the early date of the work. But this is by no means certain. We are told (p. 175), that "Plait, son of the King of Lochlainn," having been challenged by Domhnall Mac Emhin, a Scottish chieftain, to single combat, cried out at the head of the troops on the following morning, "Faras Domhnall," which the Irish historian translates into his own tongue, *Cait ita Domhnall*, Where is Domhnall? *Faras*, however, may be an attempt to represent the pronunciation of the Danish *Hvar er*, although it certainly looks more like the English *Where is*. In another place (p. 203), we read that when the Earl Brodar, after the battle, rushed into Brian's tent, one of his followers cried out, "King, King." Brodar, seeing that Brian had been at prayers, answered, "No, No; but prist, prist." These words are apparently English; nevertheless the original Danish may have been translated into English, by modern transcribers. The portion of the narrative in which the words occur, exists only[1] in the Brussels MS.; and it is not improbable that O'Clery, transcribing in the seventeenth century, and familiar with the English language, may have written *king* for *kónge*, *prist* for *prestr*, and *no* for *né;* or else that all this may be an interpolation. These considerations render it impossible to regard this argument as absolutely conclusive against the early date of the work.

The O'Lateans of Munster.

There is another difficulty. Brian's servant, or personal attendant, who was with him during the battle

[1] *Exists only.* That is to say, the Brussels MS. is the only one which contains the portion of the narrative in which these seemingly English words now occur. The extract from Mac Liag's Life of Brian, printed by Mr. Hardiman, *Minstrelsy*, ii. p. 364, although it gives the same account of the death of Brian, says nothing of these supposed Danish or English words.

(see p. 197), is said to have been named *Latean*, and it is added, "from whom are [descended] the O'Lateans still in Munster." It is clear that the original author, if he had written when Latean, the ancestor of this family, was alive, could not possibly have thus spoken of his descendants; but a clause of this kind is just the sort of interpolation[1] that a scribe, living at a later period, when the family of O'Latean had multiplied, would have naturally introduced, forgetting the anachronism of which he thereby made his author guilty.

The author a contemporary of king Brian.

On the whole we may conclude that, although the work in its present form is modernized and interpolated, the original of it was nevertheless undoubtedly ancient.[2] There is no evidence to prove that its author was Mac Liag, the bard of the Dal Cais, in the court of King Brian Borumha. But its author was either himself an eye-witness of the battle of Clontarf, or else compiled his narrative from the testimony of eye-witnesses. He was certainly, as we have already observed, a partizan of king Brian.

The work compiled from contemporary authorities.

That the work was compiled from contemporary materials may be proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account[3] given of the Battle of Clontarf, that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23rd April, 1014), coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide at evening, aided considerably in the defeat of the enemy.

It occurred to the Editor, on considering this passage, that a criterion might be derived from it to test the truth

[1] *Interpolation.* The parenthesis, "from whom are the O'Lateans still in Munster," is not in the extract from the "Life of Brian," printed by Mr. Hardiman, *Ibid.*, p. 364. This adds some probability to the conjecture that the parenthesis in question is an interpolation.

[2] *Ancient.* In chap. xlii., p. 55, a poem by Cuan O'Lochan, "the poet and chief sage (ollam) of Erinn and Alba," as he is there styled, is quoted. This poet, according to the Irish Annals, died in 1024, ten years after the Battle of Clontarf. He was chief poet or bard in the court of King Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II. See Dr. O'Donovan's Introd. to the Book of Rights, p. xlii. *sq.* The fact, therefore, that some of his verses are quoted is no objection to the antiquity of the present work; the verses may have been composed many years before his death.

[3] *Account.* See chap. cvii., p. 191 *infra.*

of the narrative, and of the date assigned by the Irish Annals[1] to the Battle of Clontarf. He therefore proposed to the Rev. Samuel Haughton, M.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Geology in the University of Dublin, to solve for him this problem:—"What was the hour of high water, at the shore of Clontarf, in Dublin Bay, on the 23rd of April, 1014?" The Editor did not make known to Dr. Haughton the object he had in view in this question, and the coincidence of the result obtained with the ancient narrative, is therefore the more valuable and curious.

Calculation of the hour of high water at the battle of Clontarf.

Dr. Haughton communicated the particulars of his calculation to the Royal Irish Academy in May, 1861, in the following words[2]:—

"From twelve o'clock, noon, of the 23rd April, 1014, to the noon of the 12th December, 1860, allowing for the change of style and leap years, there were 309,223 real days.

"The synodical period of the moon is 29·530588715 days, and new moon occurred on the 12th December, 1860, at 47·6 minutes after noon. Multiplying the length of the synodical month by 10472 months, we find

$$29{\cdot}530588715 \times 10472 = 309244{\cdot}325 \text{ days.}$$

From which, subtracting the number of days from 23rd April, 1014, to 12th December, 1860, or 309,223 days, we find

$$21{\cdot}325 \text{ days, or } 21^{d}\ 7^{h}\ 48^{m}.$$

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[1] *Annals.* The Annals of Ulster give the date A.D. 1014, and thus describe the chronological criteria of the year: "Kal. Jan. 6th feria, Luna 26;" that is to say, the 1st of Jan. fell on Friday (or the Sunday letter was C); and the epact, or age of the moon on the 1st of January, was 26. The chronicle then adds, "Hic est annus octavus circuli decemnovalis" [i.e., the Golden number is 8] "et hic est ccccc et lxxxii, ab adventu sancti Patricii ad baptizandos Scotos. Feil Grigor rian init, ocus mincaisc i samraḋ isin bliaḋainsi, quod non auditum est ab antiquis temporibus." The Irish words have been entirely misunderstood by Dr. O'Conor. The correct translation of them is this: "The feast of St. Gregory [12th March] fell after Shrovetide, and little Easter [the 1st Sunday after Easter] fell in Summer [i.e., after the 1st of May] in that year." All these criteria point out the year 1014, in which Easter fell on the latest day possible, viz., 25th April; therefore Shrove Tuesday, called by the Irish, *init*, (Welsh, *ynyt*), i.e., *initium* jejunii, was the 9th March, and "little Easter," or Low Sunday, the 2nd May; the same late Easter had not happened before since A.D. 482. The dates in the Annals of the Four Masters, at this period, are a year short, so that their 1013 answers to A.D. 1014. Dr. Dasent, "Story of Burnt Njal" (Introd. vol. i. p. cxcv.), speaking of the date of this battle, states that it took place on "Good Friday, the 18th April, 1014;" but the 18th of April in that year was Palm Sunday. The true day of the battle was Good Friday, 23rd April, 1014.

[2] *Words.* Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy, vol. vii., p. 496.

"It follows from this calculation that new moon occurred at

April, .	.	.	23^d	0^h $47{\cdot}6^m$—1014, A.D.
Minus .	.	.	21	7 48
Or, at .	.	.	1^d	16^h $59{\cdot}6^m$—April, 1014, A.D.

i.e., at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 2nd April.

"Therefore full moon occurred at

April, .	.	.	1^d	16^h $59{\cdot}6^m$
Plus .	.	.	14	18 $21{\cdot}6$
			16^d	11^h $21{\cdot}2^m$

Therefore the astronomical, or true full moon, occurred at 21 minutes past eleven at night of the 16th April, 1014.

"Calculating by the established rules, the calendar or ecclesiastical full moon occurred on the 18th April, 1014 (Sunday), which would therefore make Easter Day fall on the 25th April, and make the 23rd April, Good Friday, agreeable to the traditions of the Battle of Clontarf.

"I shall now show that the calculation of the tides makes it quite certain that the date 1014 falls in with all the physical circumstances related of the battle.

"It appears from the calculation that I have given already that

The age of the moon at noon on the 23rd April, 1014, was 21·292 days, or 21^d 7^h nearly.

"The tide was therefore a neap tide, and the moon in her third quarter.

"From the Academy's observations [on the tides round the coast of Ireland], it appears that on such a day of the moon's age, at the spring equinox, the tide at Kingstown is full at

5^h 22^m in the morning,

from which it follows that the tide along the Clontarf shore, when not obstructed by embankments and walls, could not have differed many minutes on the 23rd April, 1014, from

5^h 30^m A.M;

the evening tide being full in at

5^h 55^m P.M.

The truth of the narrative (see p. 191), is thus most strikingly established. In the month of April, the sun rises at from 5^h 30^m to 4^h 30^m. The full tide in the morning therefore coincided nearly with sunrise: a fact which holds a most important place in the history of the battle, and proves that our author, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were. "None others," as Dr. Haughton observes, "could have invented the fact that the battle began at sunrise, and that the tide was then full in. The importance of the time of tide became evident at the close of the day, when the returned tide prevented the escape of the Danes from the Clontarf shore to the North bank of the Liffey."

Summary of the Contents of the Work.

The work divided into two parts.

We may now proceed to give a more particular account of the contents of the present work, which divides itself into two parts. The first part ends with the chapter numbered[1] XL., and contains an account in chronological order, or what is meant to be so, of the arrival of the "fleets" of the Norsemen in different parts of Ireland, especially the southern or Munster district. The second part, from chap. XLI. to the end, is devoted to the history of the Dal Cais, or Munster Chieftains, and particularly to the achievements of their great hero, Brian, his usurpation of the throne of Ireland, for such it was, and his death in the celebrated Battle of Clontarf.

Resembles the Scandinavian Saga.

The story is told very much after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas,[2] with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative. The style is inflated

[1] *Numbered.* The editor has taken the liberty of prefixing these numbers to the paragraphs or chapters of the work for the convenience of reference; they are not, of course, in the MSS.

[2] *Sagas.* It may be questioned whether the Saga literature was not an imitation, on the part of the Northmen, of the historical tales and bardic poems which they had found in Ireland. Many such productions, of undoubted antiquity, are still extant in the Irish language. In the Book of Leinster, a MS. written, as we have seen, before the middle of the twelfth century, there is a curious list of Romantic tales, which, as we infer from those of them that are still extant, were exactly similar to the Sagas of the Northmen. Mr. O'Curry has printed this interesting list, with a translation (*Lectures*, Append. No. 1, lxxxix, p. 584). They amount in all to 137; and must, of course, be all of greater antiquity than this catalogue of them written in the twelfth century. We cannot be wrong, therefore, in assuming that such tales were popular with the Irish in the tenth and eleventh centuries at latest. But we learn from Snorro Sturleson (in the Preface to his *Heimskringla*) that "The priest Are hinn Frode [or the Wise], son of Thorgils, son of Gellis, was the first man who wrote down in the Norse language narratives of events both old and new." Are hinn Frode was born in Iceland, in 1067, and lived to 1148, or as some think 1158. This was about the time when the above-mentioned list of Irish historical tales was compiled, and Are hinn Frode only followed the practice which had before his time prevailed in Ireland. The reader may see specimens of these tales in the "Battle of Magh Rath," or Moira, published, with a translation and notes, by Dr. O'Donovan, for the Irish Archæological Society; the "Battle of Magh Lena," with the "Courtship of Momera," edited by Mr. O'Curry, for the

and bombastic, dealing largely in alliterative epithets and words of synonymous meaning, for which it is almost impossible to find equivalents in the English, or perhaps any other language.[1]

The word Gall, or Galli.

The love of alliteration appears in the very title of the work, *Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaibh*, "The wars of the Gaedhel with the Gaill," or of the Irish with the Foreigners. *Gall* was in all probability a name given to all strangers who spoke a foreign language, and were therefore at first confounded with the Galli,[2] or Gauls, the foreigners best known to the aboriginal Irish. Cormac's Glossary[3] tells us that pillar stones were called *Gall*, because they were first erected in Ireland by the Galli, or primitive inhabitants of France. After the twelfth century the name of Gall, as we have already observed, was given to the English; and the Highlanders of Scotland employ it

Celtic Society: and several others in the publications of the Ossianic Society. It is evident that Ireland had the priority over the North in this species of popular literature; and it is worthy of note that, both in the North and in Ireland, the Saga or historic Tale was in the vernacular language of the people, not in the Latin of the monasteries. They were read at public entertainments, as well as at the fireside, and their popularity accounts for the remarkable love of historical lore, as well as the singular knowledge of the legendary history of their country, which was once characteristic of the Irish peasantry.

[1] *Language.* The Irish bards and historians, of the period to which this work belongs, appear to have considered it a great beauty in style to heap together synonymous words beginning with the same letter. For examples of this alliteration, see p. 56: *darmnaid dein diulang directea; gamanraid gerata gasta galaigh gnimaig gairgbeoda; croda comnerta comcalma; lonna letarracha luchtmara; brotha brigi bagi beodachta*; etc.

[2] *Galli.* See Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 633, col. 2.

[3] *Glossary.* See Stokes's ed., p. 23. Cæsar, B. G., i. 1, seems to say that *Gallus* was the Roman pronunciation of *Celt*, which word, as some think, is *Gaedhel*; but if so, it would follow that the Irish used the Roman pronunciation of the name of their own nation, to denote foreigners. The derivation of Gall, from γαλα, milk, given in Cormac's Glossary, in consequence of the milk-white complexion of the Gauls, is of course absurd; but it shows that the word was understood to mean *Gaul*, and that it is, in fact, *Gallus*. The German *Wälsch*, generally used to designate the Italians, but applied also to anything foreign, seems a cognate word. Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that the Anglo Saxons gave the name of Wales to the country of the Britons, from a word in their own language, which signified *foreign*. *Descript. Cambriæ*, i. c. 7. *Gal*, or *Gelyn*, pl. *Galon*, in Welsh is "an enemy." In Irish, *Gaill* is the nominative, and *Gall* the genitive, plural.

in the same way to denote the Lowlanders. It was evidently the generic name which included all strangers; and the compound term Gall-gaedhel[1], was given to the descendants of mixed parents, the Scandinavian Irish, who had lapsed into paganism, or, having been brought up among the then heathen Norsemen, were never under Christian instruction.

Two distinct parties of Scandinavians mentioned.

In the commencement of the work the author distinguishes between two distinct parties of Scandinavian invaders; the first are termed "azure Gentiles," but in the older MS. *Lochlanns;* the second are called "Danars,"[2] or Danes. No inference can be drawn from the word *gormglasa,* translated "azure," applied to the former. It signifies literally blue-green, a pale and greenish blue: *glaucus.* In the account afterwards given of the Battle of Clontarf, it is applied to those of the Northmen who wore plate armour;[3] the term can scarcely be regarded as intended to be a characteristic of the *azure Gentiles* as distinguished from the *Danars,* for it is omitted in the older MS., and is elsewhere applied[4] to the Gaill or

[1] *Gall-gaedhel.* O'Flaherty (*Ogyg.*, p. 360) thought that these were the inhabitants of the smaller British islands—Orkneys, Hebrides, Man, &c., which the Irish called *Insi-gall,* or "Islands of the foreigners." The Four Masters also (A.D. 1154, p. 1113) speak of the Gall-Gaedhela of Aran, Cantire, Man, and the coasts of Scotland. *Galloway* is a corruption of *Gall-gaedhela.* And there is no doubt that this mixed race constituted a large proportion of the inhabitants of these islands. But they were also in Ireland. The "Fragments of Annals," published by the Irish Archæol. and Celtic Society mention them as settled in Munster, and especially in the county of Tipperary, p. 138–41, and describe them as "a people who had renounced their baptism, and they were usually called Northmen (*Normannaigh*), for they had the customs of Northmen, and had been fostered by them; and although the original Northmen were bad to the churches, these were far worse, in whatever part of Erinn they used to be." The fact of their apostacy, however, is not noticed by the Four Masters, nor by the Annals of Ulster; although their existence is often recognised. See Four Mast. and Ann. Ult., from 854 to 856.

[2] *Danars.* Ch. i., p. 3. Observe here the alliteration, "ó genntibh, gormglasa, gusmara;" "ó danaraibh doilge, durchroideacha;" and see note [8], p. 2.

[3] *Armour.* See p. 203.

[4] *Applied.* See p. 159, where we have "Danar dana, durcraidecha; anmargaich [for *Danmarcaich,* the D omitted,] anbli, allmarda; Gaill gormglasa, gentlidi." In both cases the epithet *gormglasa,* "blue or azure," seems to have been selected, principally because its initial letter was *g*; and was therefore equally applicable to *Gaill* and *Gentile.*

foreigners in general. But two distinct nations of the Gaill are here undoubtedly described. They are elsewhere distinguished as white or fair-haired, and black or dark-haired foreigners, the Danes being the dark,[1] and the Norwegians, including, perhaps, Swedes, the white race. The term Lochlann seems used to denote the country of the white foreigners, although not perhaps with entire uniformity.[2] The word is supposed to signify Lake-land,[3] a name which, if we understand the term Lake to include *fiords* or arms of the sea,[4] would well describe the coast of Norway. The two nations are represented as hostile to each other, and battles[5] between them not unfrequently took place. But it is to be regretted that our author does not always very clearly distinguish between them in his descriptions of their devastations in Ireland. We cannot even be sure that the name *Dane* is not sometimes given to the Norwegians. The word Dane in later times was certainly used to signify pirate, robber, a cruel and ferocious barbarian, without distinction of nation.

Date of the Scandinavian invasions.

The date of the Scandinavian invasions is defined at the beginning of the following work by the reigns of the Kings of Ireland and Munster; and an interpolator adds a complete list of all the kings[6] who were "in Cashel" and "in Tara," during the whole period from the first arrival of the strangers to the Battle of Clontarf. The pirates, we are told, appeared when Airtri, son of Cathal, was

[1] *Dark.* Thus the Danes are called "Black Gentile Danars," and the other race "White Gentiles," p. 19. See also p. 27.

[2] *Uniformity.* The name Lochlanners is used as distinguished from Danes, in the MS. L. (App. A., p. 221), and see also *Fragments of Annals*, p. 115, *sq.*

[3] *Lake-land.* So Dr. O'Brien says in his dictionary: but he would apply the word to the black as well as to the white foreigners. The Irish translator of Nennius seems to use the word Lochland to denote Germany. *Irish Nennius*, p. 84. Mr. O'Mahony, in his translation of Keating, p. 493 *n.*, endeavours to prove Lochlannach to be equivalent to Laplander; but his reasons, although ingenious, are not satisfactory.

[4] *Arms of the sea.* The word has frequently this signification in Ireland, *e.g.*, Loch Foyle, Loch Swilly, Belfast Lough, Loch Carman (Wexford), Loch Lurgan (Galway), &c.—all arms of the sea.

[5] *Battles.* See p. 27, and Fragments of Annals, p. 117.

[6] *The kings.* See p. 3–5, and note [3], p. 4.

King of Munster, and Aedh Oirnidhe, was King of Ireland. This latter sovereign began his reign, according to O'Flaherty's[1] chronology, in the year 797, and Airtri, of Munster, died at the beginning of the ninth century.

Testimony of the Irish and Welsh Annals.

The Annals of Ulster, however, mention the first inroad of the Northmen at their year 794, which coincides[2] with A.D. 795, or two years before the reign of Aedh Oirnidhe. Their words are :—

794. Loscad Reċrainne ó Genntiḃ, ocus a scrin do coscraḋ ocus do lomraḋ.	794. The burning of Rechru by Gentiles, and its shrines were broken and plundered.

The Four Masters repeat the same statement under their year 790, which Dr. O'Donovan[3] corrects to 795. And so also the Welsh Chronicle,[4] known by the name of *Brut y Tywysogion*, or "Chronicle of the Chieftains," has a corresponding record, under the year 790, equivalent also to A.D. 795 :—

Deg mlyned a peduar ugein a seith cant oed oet Crist pandeuth y paganyeit gyntaf y Iwerdon.	Ten years with fourscore and seven hundred was the age of Christ when the pagans first went to Ireland.

Three MSS. add, "ac y distrywyd Rechrenn," "and destroyed Rechrenn[5]."

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[1] *O'Flaherty's Chronology*, Ogyg., p. 433. Some remarks on the reigns of these kings will be found in Appendix B.

[2] *Coincides*. The Ulster Annals date from the era of the Incarnation, not from the Nativity, so that their years are all one less than A.D. or the era of the Birth of our Lord.

[3] *Dr. O'Donovan*. Four Mast., vol. I., p. 397.

[4] *Chronicle*. Attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, *Monumenta Histor. Britanniæ*, p. 843. (Reprint for the Master of the Rolls, by the Rev. J. Williams ab Ithel, p. 9).

[5] *Rechrenn*. This name has been given to more than one of the smaller islands near the coast of Ireland. There was a Rechru in Dalriada, now Raghery or Rathlinn island, off the coast of Antrim, which Colgan (*Tr. Th.*, p. 509, 510) thought was the Rechru here intended. He is followed in this by Archdall, *Monast. Hib.*, p. 12. Dr. O'Conor was of the same opinion. But Dr. Reeves, *Adamnan.*, *p.* 164 *n.*, gives some reasons for thinking that Rechru of Bregia, now Lambay (i.e., Lamb-ey, or Lamb island), is intended. This island is situated on the coast of the county of Dublin, in the antient district of Magh Bregh or Bregia. Rechru is the correct name, as we learn from Adamnan (*Vit. Columb.* i. 5), Rechr*ainn* being the genitive and also the accusative case. For an account of the Rechru of Dalriada, see Reeves (Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor, p. 288 sq.), who notices other islands called Rechru, *ib.*, p. 292.

Another form of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, called the Gwentian Chronicle,[1] of Caradoc of Llancarvan, has the following record of the same event, at the same year, 795:—

Y daeth y paganiaid duon gyntaf i ynys Prydain o wlad Denmarc, ac a wnaethant ddrygau mawr yn Lloegr, wedi hynny daethant i Forganwg, ac yno lladd a llosgi llawer, ond o'r diwedd gofu'r Cymry arnynt au gyrru i'r mor gwedi lladd llawer iawn o honynt, ac yna myned i'r Werddon lle y diffeithiasant Rechreyn a lleoeddd eraill.

The black pagans first came to the island of Britain from Denmark, and made great ravages in England; afterwards they entered Glamorgan, and there killed and burnt much; but, at last, the Cymry conquered them, driving them into the sea, and killing very many of them; from thence they went to Ireland and devastated Rechreyn and other places.

Here, under the same date, we have the same fact, with the additional information (not found in the other Welsh chronicles) that the party of "black pagans," who were the first of their nation to land in Ireland, had previously been defeated in Glamorganshire, and after their defeat there by the Cymry, had sought the coasts of Ireland and devastated Rechru.

We may, therefore, safely[2] adopt the year 795, on the

[1] *Gwentian Chronicle.* Published in Welsh in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, and recently with a translation by Mr. Aneurin Owen, by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

[2] *Safely.* It is stated (p. 67 *infra.*) that Corc, son of Cas, son of Ailioll Olum, was "the man who first routed the foreigners." If this were so, the Scandinavians must have been in Ireland at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century. But this is an erroneous reading, as is shown in the note on the passage; the person intended was Corc, son of Anluan, who must have lived about A.D. 800 (see Append. B., Geneal. Table III., No. 18). Dr. O'Conor was of opinion that the first appearance of the Norsemen in Ireland was A.D. 747, in which year, according to his mistranslation of a passage in the Annals of Ulster, Arascach, abbot of Muc-inis, was "drowned by the foreigners." In his version of the Annals of Ulster, *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.* iv., p. 92, he translates "Dimersio Arascachi abbatis insulæ porcorum ab alienigenis," and in his Ann. quat. Magistror. (*ib.* iii., p. 268), he renders the same words "Arasgachus abbas Mucinensis ab alienigenis demersus." Mr. Moore, Hist. of Ireland, Vol. IV., p. 2, improves upon this, and by a most ludicrous blunder, assuming the island spoken of to be the Rechru mentioned above, translates Dr. O'Conor's Latin thus, "The Annals of Ulster refer to A.D. 747, the date of this attack upon Rechrann by the Danes, and record, as the first achievement of these marauders, the drowning of the Abbot of Rechrann's pigs." But the Annals of Ulster at 747 make no mention of Rechrann or of Danes; and instead of the abbot's pigs, record the drowning of the abbot himself.

united authority of the Irish and Welsh Annals, as the real date of the first appearance of Scandinavian pirates in the Irish seas. It is true that they had landed some years before[1] in England, as we learn from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; and our author makes their arrival in Ireland somewhat later. There is not, however, any inconsistency. The year 795 is given in the Annals as the year in which the foreigners plundered the island of Rechru, an event of which the present work makes no special mention. Our author evidently speaks of their landing on the mainland of Ireland, when he dates the beginning of their invasions from the reigns of Aedh Oirnidhe, King of Ireland, and of Airtri, King of Munster. They seem to have attacked at first the islands in which were Monasteries, possessing some wealth; and when they found that the spoils of these establishments were obtained

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See Dr. O'Donovan's note on this passage, Four Masters, A.D. 743, p. 345. The real name of this island (which is in Loch Derg) was *Mucinis Riagail* or *Regail*, "Hog island of Riagal," or St. Regulus. Dr. O'Conor divided Riagail or Re-gail, into two words, and not recollecting that the Irish name for the foreigners was *Gaill*, with a double *l*, not *gail*, he translated "ab alienigenis," assuming *ria*, or *re*, to be a preposition. The passage in the Annals of Ulster records only the fact, that the abbot of *Muc-inis-Riagail* was drowned, without any mention of Danes or foreigners.

[1] *Years before.* See the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 787, where the arrival of three ships on the coast of Dorsetshire is recorded as the first landing of the Northmen in England. They are said to have come from "Hærethalande," which Mr. Thorpe, in the Translation accompanying the reprint of this Chronicle for the Master of the Rolls, says was in Norway. *Hirotha*, or *Irruaith*, is the Irish name for Norway. They are immediately afterwards called Danish ships, "Scipu Dæniscra manna." In 793 we have a record of the destruction of "God's church at Lindisfarne," by heathen men; and in the following year the devastation of Northumberland by the heathen, and the plunder of Ecgferth's monastery at Donemuth, now Wearmouth. At the same year the Annals of Ulster (793=794) have the record "vastatio omnium insolarum Britanniæ a gentilibus." In 795 they plundered Hy, (now corruptly Iona), according to the Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, where the date given is 781; but as this is said to have been two years before the death of Donchadh, King of Ireland, the true date must have been 795. In the same year, according to the same authority, the foreigners burned the islands of Inis Muiredhaigh (Inish-Murry, co. of Sligo,) and Inis-bofinn, (co. of Mayo). But these outrages ought, perhaps, to be dated 807, at which year the burning of Inish-Murry is recorded in the Annals of Ulster.

with little or no resistance, they returned again in greater force, and attacked the mainland. In 798 there was an invasion of the Isle of Man by the "Gentiles," who burned Inispatrick, now Holm Peel, or Peel island, and plundered the country. On their return they took "spoils of the sea," (which probably means the spoils of the Hebrides and other islands) "between Erinn and Alba." These events are described in the Annals of Ulster,[1] in the following words:—

Combustio innse Patraicc ó Genntib, ocus borime na criċ do breiṫ, ocus scrin Daċonna do briseaḋ doaib, ocus indreḋa mara doaib cene, eitir Erinn ocus Albain.

The burning of Inis-patrick by the Gentiles, and cattle plunder of the country was borne off, and the shrine of Dachonna was broken by them, and the spoils of the sea [taken] by them also, between Erinn and Alba.

Our Annals make no mention of inroads upon the mainland of Ireland until the year 807, which was the tenth year of King Aedh Oirnidhe, and is probably the date intended by our author as the commencement of the Scandinavian wars.

O'Flaherty's chronology of these events.

On the whole O'Flaherty's[2] arrangement of these events may be accepted as most consistent with the records preserved in the Irish Annals, and in the present work. The pirates began their devastations on the islands off the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, in the year 795, which was the 25th year of Donnchadh, son of Domhnall, King of Ireland. Three years afterwards, A.D. 798, in the first year of Aedh Ornidhe, they plundered Inis-patrick of Man, and the Hebrides; in 802 they burned I-Columcille, and again in 806 plundered the same island; but, perhaps, not then without resistance, for sixty-eight of the monastic society of the island were slain.[3] The next year, 807, they

[1] *Annals of Ulster.* At A.D. 797 (=798). *Four M.*, A.D. 793 (=798). Dr. O'Donovan understood the Inispatrick here mentioned, of the island so called, on the coast of Dublin. But the mention of the shrine of Dachonna, who was bishop of Man, proves that Peel, on the west of the isle of Man, formerly called Insula Patricii, is intended. See Colgan, *Actt. SS.* (ad 13 Jan.), p. 59. Chronicle of Man, by P. A. Munch, p. 23, *Christiania.* 1860.

[2] *O'Flaherty's.* Ogyg., p. 433.

[3] *Slain.* Annals of Ulster, 801, 805. "Familia Iæ occisa est a gentilibus, id est lxviii." See also Four Masters.

entered for the first time the mainland of the west and south of Ireland, and having burned the island of Inismuiredhaigh, or Inishmurry, off the coast of Sligo, they advanced inland as far as Roscommon.[1] In 812 and 813 we find them in Connaght and Munster, and they suffer more than one defeat from the native chieftains; finally in 815, according to the chronology of O'Flaherty (or more probably, as we shall see, about 830), Turgesius, a Norwegian, established himself as sovereign of the foreigners, and made Armagh the capital of his kingdom.

The present work speaks chiefly of the South.

The present work, however, takes cognizance chiefly of the depredations of the Norsemen in the southern half of Ireland. Camas ó Fothaidh Tire, was the first place at which they landed. Immediately after, Inis Labhrainn[2] and Dair-inis were burned by them, and they were defeated with great slaughter by the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein, now the Lake of Killarney. There is a Dair-inis in the bay of Wexford, called Dair-inis Caemhain, which was plundered by the Danes,[3] A.D. 820. But Dair-inis, or "Oak Island," was a name given to more than one[4]

[1] *Roscommon.* Ann. Ult., 806.

[2] *Inis Labhrainn.* This was an island probably at the mouth of the river anciently called *Labrainne*, which, as Dr. O'Donovan conjectures (Four Mast., at A.M. 3751 note) was the same as that now called Casan Ciarraighe, or Cashen river, county of Kerry. The Eoghanacht of Loch Lein were a tribe seated on the east of the Lake of Killarney, barony of Magunihy, county of Kerry. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 328. See Four Masters, 807; Ann. Ult., 811, true date 812. They had their name from their ancestor Eoghan mór, son of Oilioll Olum, but were the immediate descendants of Conall Corc (4th in descent from Eoghan mór). See Append. B., Table IV., No. 6. *Camas ó Fothaidh Tire* was probably in the territory of Corca-Luighe, S.W. of the present county of Cork. See *Miscellany of Celtic Society*, p. 43, 50–59; and *Four M.*, 813, 849, with Dr. O'Donovan's notes. *Camas* signifies a bend in a river. Keating calls it Caoimh Inis ó bFothaidh, or, according to other copies, Caoimh Inis Uibh Rathaigh; i.e., "Fair, or beautiful island, of O'Fothaidh," or "of Ui Rathaigh." If we adopt the latter reading this island would seem to have been off the coast of Iveragh, anciently Ui or Uibh Rathaigh, county of Kerry. These various readings prove that the exact situation of the place has been for many years uncertain or unknown.

[3] *Danes.* See Four Mast., A.D. 819, and O'Donovan's note.

[4] *More than one.* See Archdall's Monasticon, p. 695; Four Mast., A.D. 742; and O'Donovan, note [d]. See also the Index of Places to the Martyrology of Donegal, published by the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society.

island in various parts of Ireland; and it is evident that the Dairinis here mentioned must have been in or near the territory of the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein. None of these places are now known with any certainty. They were probably ecclesiastical establishments of no great wealth or importance; and having been totally demolished by the Scandinavian pirates on this occasion, their very names may have soon after perished.

First group of invasions A.D. 807 to 812.

This first group of invasions, terminated with the victory by the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein, which is dated in the year after the death of Diman[1] of Aradh, and ten years after the death of Airtri, King of Munster. The year A.D. 812 seems thus determined.

Second group A.D. 822.

The next series of inroads is said to have begun in the second year of Fedhlimidh, son of Crimhthann, King of Munster, or about 822. The places plundered by this party of marauders are all, with two exceptions,[2] still well

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[1] *Diman.* The text says that he was *killed*, or murdered. The Ann. Ult. (followed by the Four Masters) speak of his death only; an event which is dated by them 811, (for 810 of the Ann. Ult. and 806 of the Four Masters coincide with A.D. 811). In the former authority we read "Dimman Aradh-Muminensis anchorita vitam feliciter finivit." Diman was, therefore, an anchorite in Aradh of Munster, now the barony of Aradh or Duharra, county of Tipperary. The death of Airtri, son of Cathal, is not dated in the Annals, but is ascertained here, as the death of Diman is known. A difference of reading, however, causes some difficulty. The text (p. 5) makes the year after Diman's death or 812 to be the tenth *after* (αρn ec, for ιαρn ec) the death of Airtri. Therefore Airtri died 802. The MS. L. (p. 222) reads the tenth year *before* (ρeп ec) the death of Airtri. Therefore Airtri died 822. The discrepancy was probably caused by the insertion of the reign of Tuathal, son of Airtri (*secundum quosdam*, as the Book of Leinster qualifies it), between his father Cathal and Fedhlimidh, son of Crimhthann. The legitimacy of this reign was disputed; and the transcribers of our author wrote *after*, or *before*, according to their opinion on this question, giving the earlier date to the death of King Airtri, in order to make room for the reign of his son. But the later date is more probable, for we find Feidhlimidh in occupation of the throne in 823 (Ann. Ult. 822). Perhaps 802 may be the date of Tuathal's usurpation, and 822 the date of Airtri's death. See Append. B.

[2] *Two exceptions.* Inis Temhni and Rosmaelain are the exceptions. Inis Temhni, or Inis Doimhli, called also Inis Uladh, "because the Ulstermen inhabited it" (Mart. Donegal, 1 Dec., p. 325), is probably the island in the expansion of the Suir, near Waterford, now called "Little Island." See Dr. O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 960,

known, namely, Cork, Inis Temhni, Begere, or Begery Island in Wexford harbour, Cloyne, and Ros-maelain. The barren rock called Scelig Michil, or St. Michael's Rock, the abode of a solitary named Etgall or Edgall, was invaded by them, and as they probably found nothing else to take, they carried off its only inhabitant, who appears to have died soon after in captivity. The death of Etgall of the Scellig is dated by the Annals of Ulster 823 or 824. Keating says that the invaders on this occasion were White Lochlann, or Norwegians. Their devastations seem to have been made along the coast from Cork to Wexford Bay. It was probably on their way back that they entered Skellig-Michael[1] (now the Great Skellig, off the coast of Kerry), and carried away the hermit, Etgall.

Invasion of the North of Ireland A.D. 823 or 824.

The next invasion mentioned was in the north of Ireland. Bangor, the celebrated monastery of St. Comhgall,[2] was burned, the shrine of the saint broken, the bishop of the monastery slain, with its learned men and clergy, and the *Magh* or plain laid waste: but according to another reading,[3] Magh-bile, or Movilla, in the county of Down, was laid waste. This act of sacrilege is dated "four years after the death of Aedh, son of Niall, at Ath-da-Fert." This must be Aedh Oirnidhe, son of Niall Frassach, King

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p. 681 *n.* The Martyrology of Donegal [4 July, p. 187] describes the situation of Inis Doimhle as "*between* Ui Ceinnselaigh [county of Wexford] and the Deisi [Waterford]." This agrees very well with the situation of Little Island, at the mouth of the Suir. Ros-maelain is called in L. Rosniallain, and by Keating Rosmaolaidhe; it is called also Rosgiallain, and Roskellan, and is now perhaps Rostellan, a parish in the barony of Imokilly, county of Cork.

[1] *Skellig-Michael*, or St. Michael's Rock. It was common, from the fifth century, to dedicate such rocks to St. Michael the Archangel. The word Skellig or Skerry is of Scandinavian origin. *Sker* is "Scopulus maris." The text says that Etgall escaped, but afterwards died of starvation *with them* (p. 7). A possible explanation of this contradiction is suggested, p. 223, *n.* [1].

[2] *St. Comhgall.* He was the patron saint of Dalaradia; born A.D. 517. The Four Mast., at 822, and Ult. 823, attribute to him a prophecy in which he foretells the destruction of his shrine on this occasion. Fleming, *Collect. Sacra*, has published his life, p. 303. See also Reeves's *Eccl. Antiq.*, p. 269.

[3] *Reading.* See p. 6, n. [6]. "The burning of Maghbile with its oratories by the Gentiles" is recorded by the *Ann. Ult.* at 824.

of Ireland, who died, according to the Annals of Ulster,[1] at a place called Ath-da-ferta ["Vadum duarum virtutum,"—the Ford of the two miracles], in Magh Conaille,[2] or Conaille Muirtheimhne, a district nearly co-extensive with the county of Louth. The fourth year after the death of Aedh Oirnidhe coincides with A.D. 823 or 824.

Invasions in the South.

Our author then returns to Munster, and records an invasion of Ui Ceinnselaigh, the territory inhabited by the descendants of Enna Cennselach, who was King of Leinster in the middle of the fourth century. This district coincides nearly with the present dioceses of Leighlin and Ferns, in the counties of Wexford and Carlow.[3] By this fleet were plundered Tech Munnu (St. Munna's house), now Taghmon, in the county of Wexford; Tech Moling (St. Moling's house), now St. Mullins,[4] on the river Barrow, county of Carlow; Inis Teoc, now Inistioge,[5] a small town on the river Nore, county of Kilkenny; and the whole district of Ossory, where they were met by a spirited resistance, and lost 170 men. They demolished Dundermuighe [Fort of the oak plain], now Dunderrow, or Dundarro, near Kinsale; Inis Eoghanain, now Inishannon, on the river Bandon; Disert Tipraite, a place not now known; and Lismore. Cill Molaisi, or the Church of St. Molaise, now Kilmolash, five miles S.E. of Lismore;

[1] *Ulster.* A.D. 818 (=819). Keating, for "at Ath da Fert," reads *i Cath da Ferta*, "in the battle of Da Ferta." No such battle or place is known; and it is curious that Keating makes both Aedh Uariodnach and Aedh Oirnidhe to have been killed in the battle of Da Ferta; *O'Mahony's translation*, pp. 468, 498. This looks suspicious, and proves that there has been some mistake or confusion.

[2] *Magh Conaille.* The words of the *Ann. Ult.* are "Mors Aedha mic Neill juxta Vadum duarum virtutum, .i. ag Ath da Fherta, in Campo Conaille." For the situation of Campus Conaille, Magh Conaille, or Plain of Conall, see O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, pp. 10, 11, *n.* 21, 166.

[3] *Carlow.* See *Book of Rights*, p. 208, *n.*

[4] *St. Mullins.* St. Moling Luachra erected a monastery there A.D. 632. Archdall, *Monast.* p. 39. The Four Mast., at 888, speak of "the foreigners of Teach Moling," from which it appears that a permanent settlement of "foreigners" had been made there before the end of the ninth century.

[5] *Inistioge.* See Archdall, *Monast.* p. 359. This place is in Ossory, and was perhaps the first ecclesiastical establishment which was attacked in the district.

Cluain-ard Mobeoc,[1] and Lann Leri,[2] were burned. Another party of the pirates plundered Cenn Slebhi [read Cill-Shleibhe], now Killevy, or Killslevy, near Newry; and another, or the same party, plundered Sord of Columcille, now Swords, near Dublin. Daimhliag Cianain ["the stone church of St. Cianan"], now Duleek,[3] county of Meath; Slane, in the same county; Cell-uasaille[4] ["Church of St. Auxilius"], now Killossy, or Killashee, near Naas, county of Kildare; Glen-da-loch, in the county of Wicklow; Cluain Uamha, now Cloyne, county of Cork; and Mungairit, now Mungret, county of Limerick, were all plundered.

Plunder of the Churches in the interior.

From the wide range of these devastations, it is probable that they were committed by more than one body of invaders, landing simultaneously in different parts of Ireland. The majority of the places named are in Munster, but some are near Dublin, or in the counties of Meath, Kildare, Louth, and Wicklow. Our author gives no date to these depredations, and they are for the most part unnoticed[5] by the Annals; but they probably took place

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[1] *Cluain-ard Mobeog, or Mobecog.* The high lawn of St. Mobeoc, or Mobecoc, *i.e.*, in the simpler form of the name St. Becan. See note [10], p. 7. This place is now Kilpeacon, county of Limerick.

[2] *Lann Leri*, now Dunleer, in the county of Louth; *Lann* [church], having been changed to *Dun* [fortress], at an early period. Dr. Reeves has identified this place with the modern Dunleer by irresistible evidence, from the Primatial Registers of Armagh, and other authorities. Archdall (*Monast.*, p. 722), and O'Donovan (Four Mast., A.D. 740 *n*, and A.D. 826), as well as Colgan, supposed it to be the place now called Lynn, in Westmeath; and for this there is the authority of the Scholia on the Felire of Aengus, at 18 June. But the Registers of Primates Fleming [1415] and Octavian [1497] speak of the church of SS. Brethan and Frethan at Dunleer, in the diocese of Armagh, and these were manifestly SS. Baothan and Furadhran, the patron saints of Lann Leri [Mart. Doneg., 18 June]. Lynn, in Westmeath, could never have been in the diocese of Armagh.

[3] *Duleek.* See *Ann. Ult.*, A.D. 831; Four M., 830; Archdall, *Monast.*, p. 533

[4] *Cell-uasaille.* The reading *Orllasaile* in the text (p. 7) is an evident mistake of the MS.

[5] *Unnoticed.* The *Ann. Ult.* record "an inroad upon Ossory by the Gentiles," A.D. 824; and the *Four Mast.* notice a plundering of Lismore, 831; of Duleek, 830 (*Ult.* 831); Glendaloch, 833 [really 834]; and Mungret, 834 [835].

between the years 824 and 835. It is evident that the pirates had now found their way to the ecclesiastical establishments at considerable distances from the sea coast in the interior of the country. The monasteries and churches were the reputed depositories of wealth, the centres of civilization, and of resistance. They were, therefore, the great aim of the plunderers. On this occasion, as our author tells us, "the greater part of *the churches* of Erinn[1]" were attacked.

Occupation of Limerick.

Luimnech, by which name was then known the great branch of the Shannon from the present city of Luimnech, or Limerick,[2] to the sea, was next occupied by the pirates, who plundered the neighbouring country, namely, Corcobhaiscinn,[3] Tradraighe,[4] and the lands[5] inhabited by the Ui Conaill Gabhra, or descendants of Conall Gabhra. This tribe, under the command of their chieftain, Donnchadh (or Donadhach),[6] who was also head of the Ui-Fidhghente, assisted by Niall,[7] son of Cennfaeladh, gave battle to the foreigners, and defeated them at a place called Senati, Seannad, or Shanid,[8] in the barony of Lower Connello, county of Limerick.

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[1] *Erinn.* See chap. vii., pp. 8, 9.

[2] *Limerick.* The city seems to have been founded by the Danes. See O'Donovan's *Circuit of Muirchertach MacNeill*, line 130, *n.*

[3] *Corcobhaiscinn.* A district represented by the baronies of Moyarta, Clonderalaw, and Ibrickan, county of Clare. See Book of Rights, p. 48, *n.*

[4] *Tradraighe.* A territory east of the river Fergus, in the same county, whose name survives in that of the parish and rural deanery of Tradry. O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 1054, p. 867, *n.*

[5] *Lands.* Now the baronies of Upper and Lower Connello, county of Limerick.

[6] *Donadhach.* So he is called by the Four Mast. (833 and 834) and by the Ann. Ult., 834 (=835), which was the year of his death. See Gen. Table, V., No. 20, and Pedigree of O'Donovan, *Four Mast.*, pp. 2435–6.

[7] *Niall.* Chieftain of Ui Cairbre Aebhda. This Niall succeeded Donadhach as chief of Ui Fidhghenti in 835, and died 846, *Ann. Ult.*, 845. The descent of all the tribes here mentioned will be found in Gen. Table, V., p. 249.

[8] *Shanid.* A defeat of the foreigners by the Ui Conaill Gabhra, under the command of Donnchadh or Dunadhach, is recorded by the Annals of Ulster, the Four Masters, and the Chronicon Scotorum, under the date 834; but Senati or Shanid is not mentioned by them. The exact place so called was probably a little south of the present town of Shanagolden, where, in later

Invasion under Turgesius.

"After this," our author says, came "a great royal fleet into the North of Ireland," commanded by Turgeis, or, Turgesius, "who assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Ireland," and occupied the whole of *Leth Chuinn*, or the northern half of Ireland. In addition to the party under the immediate command of Turgesius, three "fleets," probably in connexion with him, appeared simultaneously. One of these took possession of Lough Neagh, another of Louth, anchoring in what is now the bay of Dundalk, and the third having, as it would seem, approached Ireland from the west, occupied Lough Ree.[1]

Its Chronology.

The chronology of this invasion is fixed by means of the particulars recorded. Armagh was plundered three times in the same month. This, the annalists all say, was the first plundering[2] of Armagh by the gentiles, and is assigned to the year 832.

Turgesius usurps Armagh.

Afterwards, but it is not said immediately afterwards, Turgeis "usurped the abbacy of Armagh," and Forannan, the real abbot, or bishop, and *chief* comharba[3] of Patrick, was driven out; he fled to Munster, carrying with him the shrine of St. Patrick, and continued in exile four years, "whilst Turgeis was in Armagh, and in the sovereignty of the North of Ireland." We afterwards find[4] that, when in Munster, and probably in the territory of the Martini[5] of Munster, Forannan was taken prisoner

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times, a castle was built by a branch of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, whose family cry was *Shanid a boo* (Seanna a buaidh), or "Shanid in victory," i.e., vanquished, to celebrate the seizure of the ancient district by its Anglo-Norman proprietors. This castle, therefore, most probably occupied the site of the ancient Senati.

[1] *Lough Ree.* An expansion of the Shannon between Athlone and Lanesborough.

[2] *Plundering. Ann. Ult.*, 831 (=A.D. 832). The Four Masters make the same statement at their year 830, that Armagh had never been plundered by strangers before.

[3] *Chief Comharba.* As there were coarbs or successors of Patrick in other churches, his successor at Armagh was distinguished as "Chief Coarb."

[4] *Find.* See c. xiii., p. 15.

[5] *Martini.* See p. 15. This people were a tribe of the Belgæ or Firbolgs, of whose territory, Emly, in the co. of Tipperary, was the capital. *B. of Lismore*, fol. 172, *b.a.* (quoted by O'Curry, *Battle of Magh Lena*, p. 76, *n.*). Their name is written also Mairtine and Muirtine. The place Cluain Co-

by the Norsemen of Limerick, who carried him off to their ships, having broken the shrine of Patrick. In the same year Turgesius was made captive by Maelseachlainn, then king of Meath, and drowned in Loch Uair, now Lough Owel, near Mullingar, county of Westmeath.

Date of his death.

This event, our author takes care to date accurately. It occurred, he says, "the year before the drowning of Niall Caille," king of Ireland, and "the second year before the death of Feidhlimidh, son of Crimhthann," king of Munster. These criteria indicate[1] the year A.D. 845.

Duration of his dynasty.

The two facts here made known to us—for which the present work is the only authority,—that the duration of Forannan's exile was four years only, and that he returned to Armagh immediately upon the death of Turgesius—enable us to ascertain the duration of this dynasty with tolerable certainty. Turgesius was recognised by all the foreigners then in Ireland as their sovereign. Having fixed his head-quarters in the North, he attacked Armagh, where it is evident that he must have met with some resistance. The sacking of the town thrice in one month seems to prove that he did not obtain possession of it until after a second and a third assault. And, as he probably lost no time in seeking to become master of a place so important, we may fairly infer that the date of this event is the date also, or very nearly so, of his arrival in the North of Ireland. For nine years afterwards, he seems to have remained content with his secular possession of the country, or unable to overthrow the power of the ecclesiastical authorities. It was not until the year 841 that he succeeded in banishing the bishop and clergy, and "usurped the abbacy," that is to say, the full authority and jurisdiction in Armagh and in the North of Ireland. From these considerations we

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mairdi, from which Forannan was carried off to Limerick, although now forgotten, was probably in this territory.

[1] *Indicate.* Niall Caille was drowned in the river Caille or Callen, A.D. 846; and Feidhlimidh died 847. See *Ann. Ult.*, 844, 846.

infer that the entire duration of the tyranny of Turgesius cannot have been more than about thirteen[1] years, from 831 or 832 to his death[2] in 845.

Dissensions of the Irish chieftains in the 9th century.

The times immediately preceding the arrival of Turgesius and his followers were remarkable for internal dissension amongst the Irish chieftains. An old feud had existed for more than a century between the north and south of Ireland, owing to the pretensions of the kings of Cashel or Munster to be kings of all Ireland; and Feidhlimidh, son of Crimhthann, the Munster chieftain, at the period of which we speak, had prosecuted this claim with great pertinacity. About A.D. 840, he seems to have obtained a temporary submission from Niall Caille, the sovereign of the O'Neill

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[1] *Thirteen.* Not *thirty*, as Giraldus Cambrensis makes it (*Topogr. Hib.* Dist. iii., c. 42), whose authority has been followed by Keating (O'Mahony's translation, p. 505) and by O'Flaherty (*Ogyg.*, p. 433). These authors suppose Turgesius to have been in Ireland seventeen years before the plundering of Armagh; and, therefore, to have arrived in 815. The authentic Irish annals make scarcely any mention of Turgesius, until they record his death. The *Chronicon Scotorum*, which has probably preserved part of the lost portion of Tighernach, first notices him at the year 845, where mention is made of his having erected a fort (*Dún*) at Loch Ree, from whence he plundered Connaught and Meath, and his being drowned the same year in Loch Uair. The present work contains more full notices of him than any other Irish authority. The thirty years assigned to him have, therefore, no other foundation than the testimony of Cambrensis; and O'Flaherty's date is only a conjecture, in order to reconcile that testimony with the Irish annals.

In p. 9, the arrival of Turgesius is said to have been *after* the defeat of the foreigners by the Ui Conaill Gabhra, at Shanid. If so, the battle of Shanid must have been before A.D. 832, which all the annals agree in giving as the date of the first plunder of Armagh. Perhaps the battle mentioned in the annals, at 834, may have been a second battle under Donnchadh, chieftain of the Ui Conaill; and it is worth noting that the clause of the present work in which Donnchadh is mentioned seems to have been an interpolation, as it is added in the margin, and not in the text of the older MS. See note, p. 8, and App. A., p. 224.

Ussher makes Forannan to have been expelled from Armagh the same year in which Turgesius was drowned, and gives 848 as the date in his *Index Chron.* Lanigan has adopted this mistake, iii., p. 276, *sq.* But neither of these authors had access to the present work.

[2] *Death.* The romantic story of his death, told by Cambrensis, (*Topogr. Hib.*, Dist. iii., cap. 40), is not found in any old Irish authority, although Keating repeats it. See note [6], p. li. It is evidently an imitation of the story of Hengist's treacherous banquet to Vortigern, as recorded by Nennius, c. 47.

race, and to have been recognised as King of all Ireland.[1] Although he was himself an ecclesiastic, abbot and bishop, as well as king of Cashel, he did not hesitate, in the prosecution of his political designs, to plunder the most sacred places of the northern half of Ireland, and to put to the sword their monks and clergy. In 826, and again in 833, he had spoiled the Termon lands or sanctuary of Clonmacnois; on which last occasion he slew many of the religious, and burned the Termon up to the very doors of the principal church. He had treated in the same way the celebrated Columban monastery of Durrow. In 836 he took the Oratory of Kildare by force of arms from Forannan of Armagh, who seems to have found refuge there with his clergy, and exacted from him a forced submission.[2] In 840, Armagh was burned "with its oratories and its cathedral;" the Four Masters say "by the foreigners," which may have been so, for it was in 841, as we have seen, that Turgesius "usurped the abbacy;" but the Annals of Ulster make no mention of the Norsemen, and seem to leave it doubtful[3] whether this outrage was not com-

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[1] *All Ireland.* See Dublin Ann. of Inisfallen, at 840. Hence Giraldus Cambrensis is not wrong when he calls Feidhlimidh King of Ireland, *Topogr. Hib.* Dist., iii., c. 36, 44. The submission of Niall, is recorded by the Bodleian *Ann. Innisfallen.* A.D. 824, 826 [but we must add 13 years to these dates]. See O'Donovan's *Book of Rights*, Introd., pp. xv., xvi. Dr. O'Donovan does not seem to have observed that the Annals of Ulster and the Four Mast. support the statement of the Ann. of Inisfallen. At 839 (which is 840) both say that Feidhlimidh, after plundering Meath and Bregia, *rested* at Tara, comᴅᴅeiɣiᴅ (Ult.) or conᴅeiɣiᴅ, *settled, consedit.* As Tara had long before ceased to be a royal residence, this can only mean that Feidhlimidh had caused himself to be recognised as King of Tara, i.e., King of Ireland.

[2] *Submission.* It is probable that after this submission of Forannan and his clergy, Feidhlimidh went to Armagh, where, as we are told by an authority quoted by Dr. O'Donovan (*Book of Rights*, Introd., p. xvi., *n.*)—"he remained a whole year, during which he preached to the people every Sunday." In other words, he usurped the authority of the rightful bishop, and set an example which the Norsemen were not slow to follow.

[3] *Doubtful.* The words of the Annals of Ulster at 839, are "The burning of Ard-machæ with its oratories and stone church [ᴅaimʟiacc]. Feidhlimidh, king of Munster, plundered Meath and Bregia, so that he rested at Tara." For the meaning of the word *Daimliacc*, see Petrie, Round Towers, Transact. R. Irish Acad., vol. xx., p. 141, sq. The Chron. Scoto-

mitted by Feidhlimidh, who (as they tell us in the same sentence) plundered Meath and Bregia, and took possession of the royal seat of Tara, in other words, of the throne of Ireland. Be this, however, as it may, Feidhlimidh, in 846, plundered once more the Termon of Clonmacnois, and the next year[1] died of a disease which was supposed to have been miraculously inflicted, in punishment of his sacrilege, by Saint Kieran of Clonmacnois himself.

Contests among the clergy.

About the same period, that is to say, during the first half of the ninth century, there were also disputes and contests amongst the clergy themselves, at Armagh especially. The succession of abbots or bishops there, was interrupted by these feuds; the Annals differ as to the order and time of each prelate's incumbency. Eoghan Mainistrech,[2] and Airtri, son of Conchobhair, the immediate predecessors of Forannan, were in continual warfare. Airtri was in alliance with Feidhlimidh,[3] of Cashel, and had the support of Cumasgach, son of Cathal, lord of the Oirghialla, who was his half brother; Eoghan, on the

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rum, although it mentions at 840 the plunder of Meath and Bregia by Feidhlimidh, and his "resting at Tara," takes no notice of the burning of Armagh.

[1] *Next year.* It will be borne in mind that the Annals of Ulster are always one year, and the Four M., in this place two years earlier than the true dates, as given above. The plunder of Clonmacnois in 846, is recorded by the Four M. at 844; but is omitted by the *Ann. Ult.* The sacrilegious life of this plundering bishop-king did not hinder his being regarded as a saint after his death. His festival was observed on the 28th Aug. See *Mart. of Donegal*, p. 129; Colgan, *Triad. Thaum*, p. 186, *n.* 54. The *Ann. Ult.*, in recording his death, call him "optimus scriba et anchorita." If the latter years of his life were spent in retirement and penitence, there must be some mistake in the date assigned to his death: it is probable that he may have retired from public life, struck by conscientious scruples, and devoted his declining years to religion. If so, the date usually assigned to his death may have been really the date of his monastic profession.

[2] *Eoghan Mainistrech.* "Eugenius de Monasterio," *i.e.*, of Monaster-boice. He had been "Lector" or *ferleighinn* of that monastery. For the story of the contests between him and his rival, see Four M., 825, Ann. Ult., 826, 830.

[3] *Feidhlimidh.* In 822 [823], we are told "the law of Patrick was promulgated in Munster by Feidhlimidh, son of Crimhthann, and Airtri, son of Concobhair, bishop of Armagh." Ann. Ult., and Four M., A.D. 822.

other hand, appears to have been countenanced by Niall Caille, afterwards King of Ireland, whose confessor or "spiritual adviser" he had been. In 826 or 827, Cumasgach drove Eoghan forcibly from Armagh, and put Airtri into his place. The same year Cumasgach was defeated and slain, at the battle of Leith-cam, by Niall Caille; and Eoghan recovered his bishopric, in which he continued for nine years afterwards, upheld, as the Four Masters tell us, "by the power of Niall Caille," who, as they observe, although he had not yet succeeded to the throne of Ireland, was "powerful in Ulster." In 829 or 830 the abbacy[1] of Armagh seems to have been usurped by Suibhne, son of Fairnech,[2] who died after being in possession for two months. The following year Eoghan was plundered, and his cattle carried off or killed, by Conchobhair, son of Donnchadh, king of Ireland, who appears at that time to have been in alliance[3] with Feidhlimidh of Cashel. Similar contentions existed between Forannan, the prelate whose place was usurped by Turgesius, and Diarmait, who is usually accounted his successor. Their contest must have lasted during their whole lives, for they both died in the same year.[4]

Apparent object and policy of Turgesius.

It was not wonderful that these dissensions should have suggested to Turgesius the expulsion of the contending parties, for the purpose of taking the power into his own hands. He seems to have had in view a higher object than the mere plunder which influenced former depreda-

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[1] *Abbacy.* The abbot of Armagh, in the phraseology of the Annals, frequently signifies the bishop; the two offices being, at this time, usually, although not always, combined, and the abbacy being regarded as the higher in point of jurisdiction.

[2] *Fairnech.* "Alias MacForannain," Ann. Ult., 829; Four M., 829.

[3] *Alliance.* The same year Feidhlimidh was aided by Conchobhair in the plunder of Magh Bregh and Magh Lifé. *Ann. Ult.*, 830. Five years before, they had held a conference at Birr, in which they appear to have made some sort of alliance. Four Mast., 825.

[4] *Same year.* "Duo heredes Patricii, i.e., Forannan scriba et episcopus et anchorita; et Diarmait, sapientissimus omnium doctorum Europæ, quieverunt." *Ann. Ult.*, 851, *Four Masters*, 851.

tors of his nation. He aimed at the establishment of a regular government or monarchy over his countrymen in Ireland, the foundation of a permanent colony, and the subjugation or extermination of the native chieftains. For this purpose the forces under his command, or in connexion with him, were skilfully posted on Loch Ree, at Limerick, Dundalk Bay, Carlingford, Lough Neagh, and Dublin. He appears also to have attempted the establishment of the national heathenism of his own country, in the place of the Christianity which he found in Ireland. This may be the significance of his usurpation of the "abbacy" of Armagh. This may also be the meaning of the pretended prophecies,[1] quoted by our author, and attributed to the celebrated saints and prophets, Berchan, Columcille, Ciaran (or Kieran), and Bec-mac-De.[2] These prophecies are, no doubt, palpable forgeries. But the fact that they were forged indicates the popular belief in a special contest between the Christian institutions of the country and the heathenism of the new comers. The common topic of them all is a complaint of the outrages committed by the invaders upon the churches and monasteries of Ireland.

Turgesius attempts the subjugation of all Ireland.

Turgesius was not satisfied with the full supremacy he had acquired in the north of Ireland. He aimed at the extension of his power by the conquest of Meath and Connaught, as a step to the subjugation of the whole country; for this purpose he appears to have gone to Loch Ree,[3] to take the command in person of the "fleet," which had been stationed there. From this central position he plundered, as our author tells us, the principal ecclesiastical establishments of Connaught and Meath, namely, Clonmacnois in Meath; Clonfert of St. Brendan, in Connaught; Lothra, now Lorrha, a famous monastery founded by St. Ruadhan,

[1] *Prophecies.* See chaps. ix., x., pp. 8–13.

[2] *Bec-mac-De*, or Mac Degadh. A celebrated prophet, whose name occurs in the Irish Calendars at Oct. 12. Martyrol. of Donegal, p. 273. He is said to have flourished in the 6th century. See O'Curry's Lectures, p. 399, sq.

[3] *Loch Ree.* See chap. xi., p. 13.

or Rodan, in the county of Tipperary ; Tir-da-glas,[1] now Terryglass, in the same county; Inis-Celtra, an island on which were seven churches, and all the other churches of Loch Dearg in like manner. This seems to prove that his object was the suppression of the ecclesiastical as well as civil authorities of the country, and the destruction of the Christian church. With this view he placed his wife, Ota, at Clonmacnois, at that time second only to Armagh in ecclesiastical importance, who gave her audiences, or, according to another reading,[2] her oracular answers, from the high altar of the principal church of the monastery.

His success in Connaught.

In Connaught his arms appear to have had a full triumph, for our Annals,[3] at the year 835, which is probably A.D. 838, mention a most cruel oppression of all the districts of Connaught, and soon after this, speak of the battle recorded by our author,[4] in which Maelduin, son of Muirghes, heir apparent of the throne of Connaught, was slain. This, however, seems to have been just before the usurpation of the abbacy of Armagh, and the war in Connaught was, therefore, most probably conducted by his officers, not by Turgesius in person.

Reinforcements arrive at Dublin.

There had arrived almost annually during this period great reinforcements to aid the troops of Turgesius, and the number of the foreigners now in the island must have been considerable. A fleet of three score and five ships landed at "Dubhlinn of Ath-cliath,"[5] about 837 or 838,

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[1] *Tir-da-glas.* Adamnan translates the name "Monasterium duorum rivorum." *Vit. Columbæ*, Lib. ii., c. 36. Ed. Reeves, p. 153, *n.* The identification of this place with the modern Terryglass is due to Dr. Reeves.

[2] *Reading.* See note 8, p. 13. The Scandinavian name of this lady was probably *Audr* or *Auda.* She is not mentioned, so far as the editor knows, in any of the Sagas.

[3] *Annals.* "Vastatio crudelissima a gentilibus omnium finium Connachtorum." *Ann. Ult.*, 835, *Four M.*, 835.

[4] *Our author.* Chap. xi., p. 13. This battle is dated by the Four M., 838, and by the Annals of Ulster, 837. The true date was 840.

[5] *Dubhlinn of Ath-Cliath.* "Blackpool of the ford of hurdles," the ancient name of Dublin. This is probably the same invasion which the Four M. and Ann. of Ulster mention at 836, although they speak of two fleets of Northmen, of 60 ships each, one on

and plundered Leinster and Magh Bregh, or Bregia, the plain to the north of Dublin. The copy of this work in the book of Leinster[1] adds, that after the plunder of Leinster and Bregia, the Dalriadans, headed apparently by their king, Eoghanan, son of Aengus, went northwards from Dublin, and gave the Norsemen battle; but, as it would seem, with doubtful success, for Eoghanan himself was slain.[2] Whether this battle was fought in the Irish Dalriada (now the Route, county of Antrim), or in the Scottish Dalriada, now Argyle, is left uncertain by our author. But it is most probable that the Scotch district is intended. For, since the establishment of the independence[3] of the Scotch and Irish branches of the tribe, the Irish Annals employ the name Dalriada, almost uniformly, to signify the Scottish colony. Moreover, Eoghanan was King of the Albanian Dalriada, and the Four Masters tell us that Goffraidh,[4] son of Fergus, chief of Oriel, "went over to Alba, in 835 (A.D. 837 or 838), to strengthen the Dalriada, at the request of Cinaedh (or Kenneth) MacAlpinn." This may have been on the occasion of the invasion here mentioned, when Eoghanan lost his life; for the Annals of Ulster speak of the battle, at

Battle in Scotland.

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the Boyne and the other on the river Liffey; "these two fleets," they add, "plundered and spoiled Magh Liphe and Magh Bregh." See Dr. O'Donovan's note, *Four Mast.*, p. 454. The Four Masters, following the Chronicon Scotorum, tell us that this was "the first taking of Ath-cliath by the Gentiles."

[1] *Book of Leinster.* See Append. A., p. 226. Magh Bregh was the plain extending from the sea into the co. of Meath, between the rivers Liffey and the Boyne. Its ancient limits, on the side of Meath, are not very accurately known.

[2] *Slain.* See p. 13, *note* [12].

[3] *Independence.* Viz., at the Synod or convention of Drumcheatt, A.D. 590. "From this time forward," says Dr. Reeves, "the Irish Annals make occasional mention of the lords or chiefs of Dalriada, by whom they intend the Albanian princes; while the Irish territory is comparatively unnoticed, inasmuch as it was a mere sub-territory, of the kingdom of Ireland." *Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 322.

[4] *Goffraidh.* This must be the Scandinavian name Gothofred, and is a very early instance of the adoption of such names by the Irish, indicating the intermarriages which afterwards became very usual between the two people, notwithstanding their hostility.

the year 838 (=A.D. 839), as having been fought in Fortrenn,[1] or Pictland, a name sometimes used loosely to signify Scotland in general.

Reinforcements in Munster.

At this period our author says the sea seemed to vomit forth floods of invaders, so that "there was not a point of Ireland without a fleet." Nevertheless this statement probably refers, at least in the first instance, to Munster. For the places said to have been plundered by the newcomers are Bri-Gobhann,[2] in the county of Cork; Cill Ita and Cuil Emhni, by a fleet which landed in Ciarraighe Luachra, now Kerry[3]; and the Martini[4] of Munster, a tribe seated near Emly, by the fleet of Limerick. On this occasion, as we have already[5] seen, Forannan, the exiled bishop of Armagh, was made prisoner by the pirates of Limerick, and the shrine of Patrick was broken by them.

Turgesius drowned.

This was in 845; and in the same year Turgesius was arrested in his victorious course, and drowned[6] in Loch

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[1] *Fortrenn.* "Bellum re genntibh for firu Fortrenn, in quo ceciderunt Eogunan mac Aengusa, et Aed mac Boanta; et alii pene innumerabiles occiderunt." *Ann. Ult.* See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 390. Kenneth mac Alpinn succeeded his father, A.D. 838, and united the Picts to his kingdom, A.D. 842, thus becoming king of Alba or Scotland. See Ussher, *Index Chron.*, and O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 481, where 858 is an error of the press for 838.

[2] *Bri-Gobhann.* "Hill of the Smith," now Brigown, an old Church, which had formerly a round tower, near Mitchelstown, co. of Cork. Cill Ita or Church of St. Ita, now Killeedy, is in the co. of Limerick. Cuil Emhni, is unknown, but was probably in the same district.

[3] *Kerry.* Called *Ciarraighe*, from the descendants of Ciar, son of Fergus, king of Ulster, in the first century, and *Luachra* [of Luchair], from the mountain Sliabh Luachra, to distinguish it from other districts inhabited by the Ciarraighe.

[4] *Martini.* See above note 5, p. xlii.

[5] *Already.* See p. xlii.–iii.

[6] *Drowned.* The story of his death, as told by Cambrensis, is refuted by Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. iii., p. 287 (Kelly's edit.) and was disbelieved by Colgan, Act. SS., p. 509, n. 4. But the legend was too tempting to be omitted by Keating. It is briefly this: Turgesius being enamoured of the daughter of King Maelsechlainn, it was arranged that she should receive him at a banquet, in an island in Loch Uair, where she appeared, surrounded by fifteen beardless youths in female attire. They carried arms, however, concealed under their garments; and when Turgesius, who had also fifteen attendants, advanced to embrace them, they suddenly drew their daggers and slew him with his followers.

Uair, by Maelsechlainn, then king of Meath, who soon afterwards succeeded to the throne of Ireland.

Is Turgesius to be found in Scandinavian history?

This may be the proper place for some observations on the attempts that have been made to identify the Turgesius of Ireland with some of the heroes of Scandinavian history.

His real name, Thorgils or Thorkils.

The name Turgesius or Turgeis, is evidently the Latin or Celtic form of Thorgils or Thorkils, which occurs so frequently in the northern Sagas; and the celebrated historian Snorro Sturleson[1] certainly regarded them as the same, for he tells us that Thorgils, the son of Harold Harfagr, was sent by his father with his brother, Frode, on an expedition to Scotland, Ireland, and Bretland, or Britain. They were the first of the Northmen, he adds, who took Dublin. Frode was poisoned there; and Thorgils, after a longer reign "fell into a snare of the Irish, and was killed." This proves that the historian intended, beyond all doubt, the Turgesius of Ireland. The allusion is evidently to the story of the youths, disguised as girls; and it is remarkable that Giraldus speaks of it, in the same language used by Snorro, as "a snare" laid for him, by which he lost his life.[2] From this it seems almost certain that Snorro had Cambrensis before him, and that he meant to identify his Thorgils with the Turgesius of Irish history.

Not the son of Harold Fair-hair.

It is evident, however, that Turgesius could not have been the son of Harold Harfagr, and that Snorro has erred by placing him nearly a century too late.[3] The very mention of Dublin in Snorro's narrative is additional evidence of the anachronism; for, according to the unanimous testi-

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[1] *Snorro Sturleson.* Heimskringla Saga, iii., ch. 37 (Laing's transl., i., p. 304).

[2] *Life.* Topogr. Hiberniæ, Dist., iii., cap. 37.

[3] *Too late.* This conclusion has been drawn from the same reasoning, by P. A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie* (Christiania, 1852), vol. i., p. 440; and by Maurer, *Die Bekehrung des Norwegischen stammes zum Christenthume* (München, 1855), Band. i., p. 73. See also Langebek I., p. 518, n. (a.) The reign of Harold Harfagr is usually dated 861 to 931. If he had had a son old enough to command an expedition to Ireland in 831, he must have been considerably more than 100 years of age when he died, in 931.

mony of the Irish Annals,[1] it was in 837 or 838 that Dublin was first taken by the foreigners, who erected a fortress there in 841 or 842. This was too soon for any son of Harold Harfagr; but it was within the period of the domination of Turgesius, who, according to every account, must have been slain, whilst Maelseachlain was still king of Meath, and, therefore, before the year 846, when that chieftain became king of Ireland.

The occupation of Dublin.

It has been suggested[2] also that Turgesius may have been the king of Denmark and Norway, who is usually known by the name of Ragnar Lodbrok, or Hairybreeks. The history of this personage is full of fabulous and even contradictory adventures, insomuch that some have maintained that there were two of the name, and others solve the difficulty by denying the existence of Ragnar Lodbrok altogether, except in the legends of romantic history. This latter hypothesis, however, is scarcely consistent with the place he holds in Scandinavian genealogy, and he is not the only chieftain of his age and nation whose story has been interwoven with fable. His date[3] agrees sufficiently well with the chronology of the reign of Turgesius, and there are some other very curious coincidences. Saxo Grammaticus,[4] for example, tells us that Ragnar, with his sons, after having spent a year in England, in-

Suggestion that Turgesius was the same as Ragnar Lodbrok.

Ragnar invaded Ireland according to Saxo.

[1] *Annals.* Chron. Scotorum, 837. Four Masters, 836.

[2] *Suggested.* This suggestion is due to Charles Haliday, esq., of Dublin, who kindly communicated to the editor the materials of a learned and valuable paper on the Irish Norsemen, which, it is hoped, may soon be published. In this able paper Mr. Haliday supports the identity of Turgesius with Ragnar Lodbrok, by some very acute and ingenious arguments. Dr. O'Donovan (Fragments of Annals, p. 124, *n.*) has suggested the same identity, but the editor happens to know that he borrowed the opinion from Mr. Haliday.

[3] *Date.* The limits of Ragnar's reign are variously assigned. Torfæus dates the beginning of his reign from 809 to 815, and his death from 841 to 865. *Ser. Reg. Dan.*, p. 389. Heinsfeld makes him reign from 818 to 865. Lyschander, 812 to 841. Svaning, 815 to 841. See Langebek, *Rer. Dan. Scriptores*, I., p. 268. The Annales Islandici, have 812 to 845; placing his death in this latter year.

[4] *Saxo Grammaticus.* Histor. Dan. lib. ix., p. 459, ed. Müller, *Hafn.*, 1839. "Cumque ibidem [scil. at Norwich, after having vanquished Hella] annum victor explesset, consequenter, excitis in opem filiis, Hyberniam petit, occisoque ejus rege Mel-

vaded Ireland, "killed its king, Melbricus, and took Dublin, a city then full of barbarian wealth." Now, it is curious, that the Irish Annals at a date which answers to 831, mention an inroad of "Gentiles" upon the district of Louth, when *Maelbrighte*, king of the Conaille, and his brother, Cananann, were taken prisoners by them, and carried to their ships.[1] It seems highly probable that the Melbricus of Saxo was the Maelbrighte of the Irish historians, and, if so, that Ragnar Lodbrok was the leader of this party. The year 831 was, therefore, the date of his appearance in Ireland; but 832, as we have seen, was the year in which Turgesius invaded the north of Ireland, and plundered Armagh three times in one month. Here then is a coincidence, which, as far as it goes, would seem to identify the tyrant, Turgesius, with Ragnar Lodbrok. It is true there are discrepancies in the narrative, which shake the certainty of this conclusion. There is no mention of Dublin in the Irish accounts, and the first occupation of Dublin was some six or seven years later. Saxo says that Melbricus was killed, whereas the Annals speak only of his having been made prisoner. But he may have been made prisoner, and afterwards been put to death. There is, therefore, no real contradiction; and so also Turgesius, although he did not take Dublin in 831, did certainly occupy it as a garrison a few years afterwards.

Difficulties in identifying him with Turgesius.

The serious difficulty, however, is, that Ragnar Lodbrok, according to Saxo's account, is said to have remained in Ireland for one year only; nor was he slain in Ireland, as Turgesius was, but returned to his native land to prosecute further conquests. These may indeed be all fabulous variations of the history. A tradition that Lodbrok was slain in Ireland certainly prevailed in the north. It

Northern tradition that Ragnar was slain in Ireland.

brico, Duflinam, barbaris opibus refertissimam obsedit, oppugnavit, accepit; ibique annuo stativis habitis, mediterraneum fretum pernavigans, ad Hellesponticum penetravit, &c."

[1] *Ships.* See Ann. Ult., 830, Four M., 829. The Conaille were the inhabitants of the district of Muirtheimhne, comprising that portion of the co. of Louth between Cuailgne (now the Cooley mountains) and the river Boyne. See the Editor's *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 406.

is preserved in the chronicle of King Eric[1]; and another Scandinavian authority asserts that he was put to death "by Hella, an Irish regulus,"[2] in the year 854 or 864.

Add to this that the text of the Icelandic Annals gives the year 845 as the date of Ragnar's death, thus coinciding remarkably with the date assigned in Irish history to the death of Turgesius. It must be admitted, however, that the argument from this coincidence is impaired by the various readings[3] in other MSS. of those Annals.

Date of Ragnar's death, in the Icelandic Annals.

It is not explained how Ragnar could have come to be known in Ireland under the name of Thorgils, unless we suppose him to have assumed that title as descriptive of his zeal for the god Thor, or possibly of his office, as high priest of Thor, when he usurped the "abbacy" of Armagh, and endeavoured to convert the Christian capital of Ireland into the head quarters of Scandinavian idolatry. But in the Sagas the name Thorgils seems to be in every instance employed as a man's ordinary name; we have no evidence of its having been used as a title of office, or to signify a high priest. And Turgesius may have equally represented the Scandinavian name *Trygve*.

The change of name from Ragnar to Thorgils not explained.

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[1] *King Eric.* Apud Langebek, *Rer. Dan. Scriptt.* tom. I., p. 156. "Tandem in Hibernia occisus est, et filii ejus fere omnes in diversis locis sunt occisi." The Lodbrokar Quida (*Stroph.* 16), represents Ragnar as having slain *Marstein*, "a king of Ireland," at Vedrafiord (Waterford). The historical authority of this poem is not great; but this passage seems evidence of the existence of a tradition that Ragnar had been in Ireland.

[2] *Regulus.* See *Cornel. Hemsfort, Series regum;* ap. Langebek I., p. 36. "Qui Regnerus ab Hellâ Hybernorum regulo captus, gravi supplicio afficitur, necatus in carcere anno 854, Fossius habet 865." This seems a version of the story, that Ragnar, being taken captive by Ella, king of Deira, or Northumberland, was cast into a dungeon and stung to death by venemous snakes. *Islendzkir Annal.*, p. 5. Turner's *Anglo Saxons* (2nd. edit.), i., 223. Lappenberg (Thorpe's transl.), ii., p. 30. Ella or Hella, may have been considered an Irish regulus, because in the ninth and tenth centuries the Scandinavian kings of Dublin were also kings of Northumbria; and the *snakes* may have been a bardic description of the *poignards* of King Maelsechlainn's daughter and her followers; but there is anachronism as well as confusion in the story.

[3] *Various readings.* Other MSS. of the Icelandic Annals, give the dates 838, 850, and 885. *Islendzkir Annalar*, ed. Werlauff (*Hafn.*, 1847), p. 7.

The kings of Northumberland and Dublin were the descendants of Ragnar.

It is certain, however, that the chieftains who carried on the war in Northumberland from the middle of the ninth century, and who subsequently became masters or "kings" of Dublin, were sons[1] and descendants of Ragnar Lodbrok. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mentions Ingvar or Ivar, and Ubba, as the leaders of the heathen army which was quartered at Thetford, and there gained a victory over king Eadmund, A.D. 870, in which "the king was slain, all that land subdued, and all the monasteries which they came to destroyed." This seems to have been the same army[2] which had settled in East Anglia in 866. The Ivar or Ingvar here mentioned, as we learn from the Icelandic Annals,[3] was Ivar, surnamed Beinlaus, or the Bone-less, son of Ragnar Lodbrok, by his third wife, Aslauga,[4] or Asloga, daughter of Sigurd Fofnisban. Ubba or Ubbo, was also a son of Lodbrok, but, as it would seem, illegitimate.[5] His name does not occur in the Irish Annals; but Ivar is mentioned in the Annals of the Four

[1] *Sons.* See Lappenberg Hist. of England (Thorpe's transl.), ii., p. 30.

[2] *Army.* See Anglo-Saxon Chron. at the date mentioned above. Ethelweard, Chron. lib. iv., c. 2, A.D. 866.

[3] *Icelandic Annals.* Hafniæ, 1847, p. 5. The story is thus told. When the news of Ragnar's having been put to death reached his sons, who were then celebrating some public games, Ivar went to England. His brothers followed him soon after with great forces, slew Ella, and Ivar became king of England, i.e., of Northumbria. Saxo Grammaticus has the same story, but he makes the sons of Ragnar to have been in Ireland when the news of their father's death reached them; lib. ix., p. 461.

[4] *Aslauga.* Landnamabok, p. 385. Their sons were Sigurd Ormr-i-auga (or Serpent-eye); Huitserk, K. of Reidgothia and Finland; Biorn Iarnsida (Ironside); and Ivar Beinlaus (the boneless). They had one daughter, Ragnhillda.

[5] *Illegitimate.* Saxo, tells the story of his birth, *Hist. Dan.*, lib. ix., p. 451. There is a passage in Asser's Gesta Ælfridi, or rather in some copies of it, at the year 878, which proves it to have been the popular belief that Hungar or Ivar, and Ubba were the sons of Ragnar Lodbrok; speaking of their banner called Reafan [the Raven] "illud vexillum quod Reafan nominant,"—he says, "dicunt enim quod tres sorores Hungari et Hubbæ, filiæ videlicet Lodbroki, illud vexillum texuerunt, et totum paraverunt illud uno meridiano tempore; dicunt etiam quod in omni bello ubi præcederet idem signum, si victoriam adepturi essent, appareret in medio signi quasi corbus vivens volitans: sin vero vincendi in futuro fuissent, penderet directe nihil movens: et hoc sæpe probatum est." *Monumenta Hist. Britann.* (ed Petrie), p. 481. Cf. *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, A.D. 878.

Masters as being in alliance with Cearbhall, or Carroll, king of Ossory, and the Gaillgaedhil, or apostate Irish, when they defeated the Cinel Fiachach,[1] in 856 or 857, in the county of Tipperary. In the same year, according to the Annals of Ulster, Ivar and Amlaf, or Olaf, gained a victory over Caittil Find[2] and the Gaillgaedhil in the territories of Munster. If these dates are correct, Ivar Beinlaus was in Ireland ten years before his first appearance in England; and it was from Ireland he conquered the kingdom of Northumbria.

Battle of Roscrea, A.D. 845.

The Earl Onphile is mentioned[3] as a leader of the party of foreigners who were defeated, and Onphile killed, at Roscrea,[4] the Irish having been assembled in great numbers at the fair which was held there on the festival of Paul and Peter (29th June), the same year in which Turgesius was drowned, A.D. 845.

New Invasions.

Our author then gives a list of a great number of inva-

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[1] *Cinel Fiachach*, or Kinelea, the inhabitants of the present barony of Moycashel, in Westmeath.

[2] *Caittil Find.* This seems to be the Scandinavian name Ketill, with the Irish addition of Finn, white. He is probably the same whose destruction with that of his whole garrison is mentioned, ch. xxiii., p. 23, of the present work. See p. lxxi, note [2].

[3] *Mentioned.* See chap. xv., p. 15, and p. 227. The name of this chieftain, which, in some MSS., is written Oilfin, or Oilfinn (perhaps the Scandinavian Halfdane), does not occur in the Irish Annals, and the present work seems the only ancient authority in which the battle of Roscrea is recorded.

[4] *Roscrea.* Keating (O'Mahony's transl., p. 546,) quotes a tract by Fingin or Florence MacCarthy, as his authority for the account he gives of this battle. This tract is a letter, the original of which is in the Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin, E. 3, 16. It is in English, addressed to some nobleman who is called "your Lordship," but whose name does not appear. The passage referred to by Keating is as follows.—Speaking of the existence of markets and fairs as a proof of the ancient commerce of Ireland, MacCarthy says, "Such as when in the times when the Danes invaded that country, Counte Olfyn ledd 3,000 or 4,000 Danes from Limericke to ruffle or spoyle the fayre that was on St. Peter and Paule's day at Rosscrea in Elie" [i.e., Ely O'Carroll, King's co., and part of Tipperary.—see *B. of Rights*, p. 78, *n.*]: "the number of buyers and sellers that were here came in armes against him, and overthrew and killed him and his forces." The letter is subscribed "your Lordship's most humble and faithfull to be commanded *Florentius Macartye*." It is not improbable that the present work may have been MacCarthy's authority for this notice of the battle of Roscrea.

sions to which he assigns no exact dates. The first of these was by a fleet of sixty ships, which appeared at the mouth of the Boyne, and plundered Bregia and Meath. The arrival of this fleet is dated by our Annals in the same year in which a fleet of sixty ships landed at Dublin,[1] and plundered the plains of Liffey and Bregia. But if our author intended the order of his narrative to be chronological, the sixty ships on the Boyne must have arrived in or after the year 845.

It seems scarcely necessary to do more than mention here the parts of the coast at which the several "fleets" are said to have landed, with the places noticed by our author as having been plundered by each party of invaders. They are as follow :—

Fleets at Lough Neagh and Dublin.

A fleet settled on Loch Echach or Loch n-Echach [now Lough Neagh] and plundered all before them to Armagh. Another on the Liffey, and plundered Magh Breagh, "both country and churches."[2] Then came "a very great fleet" (ch. xvii.) to the south of Athcliath, or Dublin, which plundered the greater part of Ireland.

Monasteries plundered by the fleet of Dublin.

Our author gives the names of the principal ecclesiastical establishments that suffered from this invasion, but he evidently does not enumerate them in the order in which they were plundered. Hi Coluim-cille was probably attacked by the pirates on their way to Ireland. Inis-Muiredhaigh,[3] an island off the north coast of Sligo, was

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[1] *Dublin.* See chap. xii., and the note [5], p. xlix, *supra.*

[2] *Churches.* It is possible that this may be a duplicate entry of the arrival of the fleet mentioned, chap. xii. If not, we have three fleets spoken of as having landed at the same place, which plundered nearly the same district about the same time, viz.: 1. The fleet of sixty-five ships which landed at Dublin, and plundered Leinster and Bregia (chap. xii.) 2. The fleet of sixty ships which landed at the Boyne and plundered Bregia and Meath (chap. xvi.): this fleet our author says came *after* the battle of Roscrea, i.e., after 845. 3. A third fleet, which settled on the Liffey (meaning, perhaps, the plain so called, not the river), and plundered Bregia (chap. xvi.)

[3] *Inis-Muiredhaigh.* "Island of St. Muiredhach," first bishop of Killala, now called Inishmurray.—*Archdall, Monast.*, p. 635. If the pirates had come from Hi Coluimkille to Inishmurray, it is not likely that they would have gone round all the way to Dublin without landing; possibly, therefore,

not in their course from the Northern seas to Dublin, but it may have been plundered on their way home. It will be seen from the places[1] mentioned that this party of marauders had penetrated into the very heart of the country.

We have next (ch. xviii.) a list of the several ecclesiastical cells and monasteries plundered by a fleet which came to the south of Ireland[2]. The pirates are said to have killed "Rudgaile, son of Trebtade, and Cormac, Monasteries plundered by a fleet from the south.

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the Ath Cliath (Hurdleford) where they are said to have landed, was not *Dublinn Atha Cliath*, as it is called, chap. xii., p. 12, but *Ath Cliath Medraighe*, now Clarinbridge, at the eastern end of the bay of Galway. The Eiskir, or ridge of gravel hills which divided the northern from the southern half of Ireland, ("Leth Cuinn" from "Legh Mogha,") is terminated at its eastern extremity by Ath Cliath Dublinne, and at its western by Ath Cliath Medraighe. The ancient district, called Medraighe, was identical in extent with the present parish of Ballynacourty.—(See *Circuit of Muirchertach*, p. 47, note, and *O'Flaherty's West Connaught* by Hardiman, p. 41). However, when Ath Cliath is spoken of simply, without anything to distinguish it from other places of the name, Dublin is generally intended. The present town of Ballymote, in the barony of Corran, county of Sligo, was anciently *Ath Cliath an Chorann;* but as this is an inland town it could not have been the Ath Cliath here intended. There were many other places called *Ath Cliath* in Ireland.—*O'Donovan's Hy Fiachrach*, *p.* 171, *n.*, 262, *n.*

[1] *The places.* These are *Daimhinis*, now Devenish island, in Loch Erne, county of Fermanagh; *Glendaloch*, in the county of Wicklow; *all Leinster*, as far as to *Achadh-ur*, (now Freshford, county of Kilkenny: see *Petrie*, *Round Towers*, p. 282, sq.); and to *Achadh-bo*, (now Aghaboe, Queen's county: *Archdall*, p. 588); and to *Liath Mocaemhoc*, (now Leigh, in the east of the parish of Two-mile Borris, in the barony of Eli-Fogarty or Eliogarty, county of Tipperary); and to *Daire-mor*, which the Martyrol. of Donegal says was only a mile from Liath, (May 20, p. 135,) The Life of St. Mochaomhoc, (quoted Four Mast. 1014, p. 781, *n.*,) states that Daire-mor was "in regione Muminensium;" and Dr. O'Donovan identifies it with Kilcolman in the present King's county, which was indeed a part of the antient Munster, (*B. of Rights*, p. 79, *n*). But Kilcolman must have been more than a mile from Liath. The other places mentioned are *Clonfert-Molua*, now Kyle, near Borris-in-Ossory, Queen's county; *Roscre*, now Roscrea, county of Tipperary; *Clonmacnois*, King's county; *Saighir*, now Seirkieran, near Birr, King's county; and *Durmhagh*, now Durrow, the celebrated abbey of St. Columkille, barony of Ballycowan, King's county. It will be observed that every one of these places was the site of a remarkable ecclesiastical establishment.

[2] *South of Ireland.* The copy of this work preserved in the Book of Leinster says, to Limerick.

son of Selbach, an anchorite," of whom no mention has been found elsewhere.[1] But they met with a very decided opposition. They were "slaughtered" at Ard-Feradaigh by the Mumha Medhonach, or men of Middle Munster; and they were opposed by "the south of Ireland," that is to say, by the Eoghanacht Ua nEochaidh,[2] who were under the command of their chieftain, Donnchadh, son of Amhalgaidh, and of Clochna, (or as the Four Masters call him, Clothnia,) Lord of Corca-Laighe. The latter of these warriors, and probably both, were slain on this occasion, for the Four Masters record the deaths of both in the same year, 844 (really 845), without saying that they were killed in battle, although our author expressly tells us that Clochna was *slain* by the foreigners, and the MS. L. adds, after the mention of Donnchadh, the parenthesis,[3] "it was at Cork he was killed." The battle of Ard Feradaigh, or Carn Feradaigh, as it is also called, a mountain in the south[4] of the county Limerick, is dated by the Four Masters 836 (=838). This, with the date they have given to the deaths of the chieftains who commanded the troops of South Munster, sufficiently fixes the chronology[5] of this invasion. It will be observed

[1] *Elsewhere.* The editor has not succeeded in discovering elsewhere the legend that Cormac, son of Selbach, was thrice set free by an angel, and thrice bound again. See p. 19.

[2] *Eoghanacht ua nEochaidh.* The descendants of Eochaidh, son of Cas, son of Conall Corc.—See Append. B, Table IV., No. 8, p. 248, and note [8], p. 18. Their territory was originally the barony of Cinel-mBece, now Kinelmeaky, county of Cork, but they afterwards encroached on the neighbouring districts.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 256, *n.* Corca-Laighe, the country of the Ui Edirsceoil or O'Driscolls, was nearly coextensive with the present diocese of Ross.—See *Miscell. of Celtic Soc.*, *App.* E., p. 87.

[3] *Parenthesis.* See p. 19, *n.* [8].

[4] *South.* In the territory of Cliu Mail. *Four Mast.* A.D. 822, p. 245, *n.* O'Donovan suggests that it may have been the ancient name of Seefin, barony of Coshlea, county of Limerick, *Four Mast.*, A.M. 3656.

[5] *Chronology.* If, however, we give any weight, as marks of chronology, to the words of our author, "there came *after this*," which he repeats at every record of a new invasion, there is some discrepancy between his chronology and that of the Four Mast.: for this latter authority dates the slaughter of the pirates at Carn Feradaigh 836, =838. These must, therefore, have been in Ireland before the death of Turgesius, which took place in 845,

that all the places attacked or plundered are in the south,[1] and in Munster.

Additional list of places plundered by the fleet of Dublin.

Then follows (chap. xix.) a list of places plundered by "the fleet of Ath-Cliath," or Dublin. This was apparently the fleet mentioned in chapter xvii., which our author says landed at the south of Ath-cliath and plundered the greater part of Ireland. He had interrupted his list of their depredations in the interior of Ireland to speak of the other fleet which had appeared in the south of Munster about the same time, and he now continues his account of the monasteries[2] plundered by the former party. In the course of his narrative he particularly mentions the death of Aodh, son of Dubh-da-Crich, who was comarb or successor of Colum Mac Crimhthainn, that is, abbot of Tirdaglass,[3] and also successor of St. Fintan, in other words abbot also of Cluain Eidneach, or Clonenagh. This event is placed by the Annals of Ulster and by the Four Masters in the same year in which Turgesius was slain. The Ulster Annals agree with the statement of our author that the abbot Aodh was slain in the attack upon Dun-Masc; but the Four Masters[4] tell us that he was taken

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whereas our author makes them the third fleet of invaders that arrived *after* that event. Compare chaps. xvi., xvii., xviii.

[1] *South.* These are *Scelig Michil*, the island of which we have already spoken (see p. xxxviii). *Inis Flainn*, or more correctly Inis Faithlenn, now Inisfallen, an island in the Lower Lake of Killarney; *Disert Domhain*, now unknown; *Cluain mór*, now Cloyne; *Ros Ailithri*, now Ross, county of Cork; and *Cenn-mara* (head of the sea), now Kenmare, county of Kerry.

[2] *Monasteries.* These are *Cilldara*, or Kildare; *Cluain Eidhnech*, now Clonenagh, the celebrated monastery of St. Fintan, in the Queen's county; *Cenn-Etigh*, now Kinnetty, King's county; *Cill Ached* now Killeigh, King's county; *Dun Masc*, [fortress of Masc, an ancient chieftain,] then most probably ecclesiastical, now the rock of Dunamase, near Maryborough, Queen's county—(see Dr. O'Donovan's note, *Four Mast.*, 843); *Cennannus*, now Kells, county of Meath; *Mainister Buite*, the monastery of St. Buite or Boetius, now Monasterboice, county of Louth; *Daimhliac Cianain*, now Duleek (of St. Cianan); *Sord of Colum Cille*, now Swords, near Dublin; and *Finnghlass-Cainnigh*, now Finglas, near Dublin, where there was a famous monastery, founded by St. Cainnech, or Canice, of Achadhbo, and of Kilkenny, in the 6th century.

[3] *Tirdaglass.* See above, p. x, *n* 2.

[4] *Four Masters.* The record of this event in the Annals of Ulster is this: "Plunder of Dun Masc by the Gentiles, where was slain Aedh, or Aodh, son of

prisoner and carried off to Munster, where "he suffered martyrdom for the sake of God."

Arrival of the Dubhgaill, or Danes.

So far our author has chronicled the depredations of the White or azure Gentiles, that is to say the Norwegians, down to the end of the dynasty of Turgesius, for none of the invasions hitherto mentioned, so far as we can ascertain their actual dates, seem to have been much later than the death of that chieftain. He now proceeds (chap. xx.) to record the arrival of the *Dubhgaill*, Black Gentiles, Danars, or Danes, who contested possession of the country with the Finngall or White Gentiles.

They take Dublin.

The Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters tell us that this Danish fleet first came to Dublin in 852, where they plundered, after great slaughter, the fortress erected by the Finngall or Norwegians, and that there was soon afterwards a great battle between the two parties at Linn-Duachaill,[1] in which the Danes were victorious. The Norwegians or White foreigners then mustered a fleet of eight score ships and gave battle to the Danes at Snamh

Battle of Carlingford.

Dubh-da Crich, abbot of Tir-da-glass and of Cluain Eidhneach, and where were slain Ceithernac, son of Cudinaisc, sub-abbot of Kildare, and many others." *Ann. Ult.*, 444. The Four Masters (843) have the following entry: "An army by the foreigners of Ath Cliath at the Cluana an Dobhair," [the plains round Killeigh, King's county,] "and the burning of the fort of Cill-achaidh" [Dr. O'Donovan has "the fold," an error of the press for *fort*, of Cill-achaidh, or Killeigh,] "and Nuadhat, son of Seighen, was martyred by them. The plunder of Dunmasc by the foreigners, where Aedh, son of Dubh-dacrich, abbot of Tir-da-glas, and of Cluain-eidhnech, was taken prisoner; and they carried him into Munster, where he suffered martyrdom for the sake of God; and Ceithernac, son of Cudinaisg, prior of Cilldara, with many others besides, was killed by them, during the same plunder."

[1] *Linn Duachaill:* not Magheralin, county of Down, as O'Donovan once thought; *Circuit of Ireland, note on line* 35. He afterwards corrects the error, *Fragments of Annals*, p. 120. *Four M.*, 1045, p. 848, *n.* Linn-Duachaill was in the county of Louth, S.E. of Castle-Bellingham. It was on the banks of the river called Casan Linné, *Mart. Doneg.* (March 30, p. 91, comp. *Colgan*, Actt. SS., pp. 792, 793). This river is mentioned in the circuit of Ireland (*loc. cit.*) as a station *south* of Glen Righe, or the vale of Newry, and between it and Ath Gabhla on the Boyne. This does not describe the position of Magheralin, which is considerably to the north, and inland. Part of the name Casan Linné is preserved in the name Annagassan [*Aonach g-Casain*, "Fair of Casan,"] a village at the tidal opening of the junction of the rivers Glyde and Dee; a much more likely place for a Danish

Aidhnech[1] or Carlingford. The contest lasted three days and three nights. The Danes gained the victory, and the Norwegians abandoned their ships. The Annals of Ulster mention the names of the two Norwegian leaders in this conflict, Stam, (or perhaps we should read Stain,) who escaped by flight, and Iercne who was beheaded.[2]

Account of this battle in the Mac Firbis Annals.

The "Fragments of Annals,"[3] copied by Duald or Dudley Mac Firbis, from a MS. belonging to Gilla-na-naemh Mac Egan, add the following very curious particulars to this narrative :—

The Lochlanns or Norwegians (we are not told where they were at the time, perhaps at Dublin,) perceive the approach of a fleet. Being uncertain whether it was friendly or hostile, they send out a swift ship to ascertain the fact. The strangers prove to be Danes; and the Norwegian ship is received with a shower of arrows from the nearest vessel of the enemy. A battle at sea ensues between the two hostile ships, in which the Danes are victorious, and the crew of the Norwegian ship are all

piratical settlement than Magheralin. There is a townland called *Linns*, in the parish of Gernonstown, which runs down along the sea to Annagassan Bridge. The Casan Linné was probably the river now called the Glyde, and Linn-Duachaill must have been at the united mouth of the Glyde and Dee. For this information the editor is indebted to Dr. Reeves.

[1] *Snamh Aidhnech.* This was the ancient name of the present Carlingford bay, which, however, is tautology; for the Scandinavian termination *fiord* signifies "bay." The Four M. have the simple name *Cairlinn* frequently. *Karlinfordia* occurs in Giraldus Cambrensis. *Snamh* in Irish topographical names is a swimming place, a ford, narrow enough to be crossed by swimming, but too deep to be passed on foot. Snamh Aighneac is the reading of the Brussels Fragments of Annals p. 121; of the Four Mast.; Ann. Ult.; and L.; but the apparent differences Eidhneach, Aidhneach, and Aignech are only variations of spelling. See note [13], p. 19. The place is called *Snamh Ech* in the Mart. of Donegal, (2nd April, p. 93), which signifies "the horse swimming ford." Dr. Reeves has shown that the Danish settlement at Snamh-aighnech was near Caoluisce or Narrow-water, at the head of Carlingford Lough. See his note on *Cill snabha* (Itinerary of Father Cana.) *Ulster Journal of Archæol.*, vol. ii, p. 45.

[2] *Beheaded.* "Stam [*read* Stain] fugitivus evasit et Iercne decollatus jacuit." *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 851=852. The Scandinavian names of these chieftains were probably *Stein*, or *Steinar*, and *Eirekr*.

[3] *Annals.* Edited by Dr. O'Donovan from a MS. (not, however, the autograph of MacFirbis,) in the Burgundian Library at Brussels. (Printed for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society—1860.)

slain. The Danes bring up their fleet to the shore, and in another battle kill thrice their own number, and decapitate every one of the slain. They take the ships of the Lochlanns with them to a port (probably Dublin, which the Annals represent as the scene of this first battle,) and carry off "the women, the gold, and all the property of the Lochlanns with them." "And thus," says the historian, "the Lord took away from them [*i.e.* from the Norwegians] all the wealth which they had taken from the churches, and sanctuaries, and shrines of the saints of Erinn."

The vanquished collect great forces, and with seventy ships,[1] under their leaders Zain (Stain) and Iargna, make their appearance at Snamh Aighnech or Carlingford, where the Danes had stationed their fleet. The Norwegians or White Gentiles are victorious,[2] and the Danes abandon their ships. The Danish general, Horm, harangues his

[1] *Seventy ships.* The Four M., A.D. 850 [852], and Ann. Ult. 851, say 160. The chieftains here called Zain and Iargna are evidently the same who are called Stain and Iercne in the Annals of Ulster.

[2] *Victorious.* This seems at variance with the account given by the Ulster Annals and by the Four M. But the discrepancy is perhaps only apparent. For the Danes were ultimately victorious: and the only real difference is that the Annals have omitted the story of their having been at first defeated, and afterwards gaining the victory by the intercession of St. Patrick. This story was probably invented to blacken the Norwegians, whose depredations were especially directed against the churches and religious houses of Ireland, and who are, therefore, represented as having been punished by an intervention of Heaven. The Danes may have been vanquished in the first engagement, or else were made to have been vanquished to give greater eclat to their subsequent victory against superior numbers, "by the tutelage of St. Patrick," although they had not at the time received Christianity. They are represented as still barbarous and brutal; supporting, on the bodies of the slain, the spits on which their meat was roasting. Nevertheless, the story of their vow to St. Patrick is not, in itself, incredible. The doctrine of tutelary saints, whose patronage was especially granted to certain territories, was so closely allied to the pagan notion of tutelary gods, that it readily commended itself to the heathen, who knew the Christianity of that age only by this prominent feature of it; and we can easily understand why ecclesiastics, living at the time of the Reformation, would naturally suppress the story of the Danes having purchased the patronage of St. Patrick, by sharing with him the spoils gained by their victory. Their general, Horm, Gorm, or Gormo, may have been possibly the same who was surnamed *Enske* or *Anglicus*, because he was born in England. This Gormo was ultimately converted to Christianity, which renders it the more probable that he may have suggested on this occasion the invocation of St. Patrick.

men; representing to them that they had everything to lose, and advising them to put themselves under the protection of St. Patrick, by promising to the saint "honourable alms for gaining victory and triumph" over enemies who had plundered his churches and outraged all the saints of Ireland. This advice was followed; and in the next engagement, although with very inferior numbers, the Danes gain the victory "on account of the tutelage of St. Patrick." The "treasures of gold and silver" in the camp of the Norwegians became the prize of the victors, together with "the other property, as well of their women and ships." Five thousand[1] "goodly born men," with "many soldiers, and people of every grade in addition to this number," were slain[2] in the engagement.

The county of Kerry invaded.

The arrival of another fleet in Ciarraighe[3] is then recorded (ch. xx). They plundered "to Limerick and Cill Ita."[4] If this be understood as including Limerick, this "fleet" was probably Danish, for we know that Limerick was already in the possession of the first comers, and was probably founded by them.

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[1] *Five thousand.* This seems an incredible number. The Roman numerals ii. and u, might easily have been confounded.

[2] *Slain.* "Fragments of Annals," pp. 114–123. The historian adds, p. 125, that the Danes fulfilled their vow, and after the victory filled "a good wide trench with gold and silver to give to Patrick;" for he adds, the Danes were "a people who had a kind of piety, i.e., they gave up meat and women a while for piety."

[3] *Ciarraighe.* The tribe name of the posterity of Ciar, son of Fergus, king of Ulster, by Meadhbh or Maud, queen of Connaught. There were several districts in Ireland, called Ciarraighe, where branches of this family had settled (see O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 276), but the principal of these tribes was the Ciarraighe Luachra, or Ciarraighe of Mount Luachair, in the territory of O'Conor Kerry. This district is probably here intended, not only because the name occurs without any other designation, but also because the places mentioned as having been plundered, were all easily reached from the county of Kerry.

[4] *Cill Ita:* now *Killeedy*, four Irish miles from Newcastle, co. of Limerick, the site of a once famous monastery, dedicated to St. Ita, in the spot called Cluain Creadhail, *Mart. Doneg.*, 15 Jan., p. 17. The other places mentioned are Imleach Ibhair, now Emly; Caisil of the Kings, now Cashel; the eastern Cechtraighe; and Liath Mocoemhoc, of which we have already spoken; (see p. lix. note [1]). Cethtraighe (Cechtraighe, L.) is the name of a tribe now unknown. Perhaps we should read *Ciarraighe.*

Chronology of these events.

Our author adds, "It was in the time[1] of Feidhlimidh, son of Crimthann, that all these ravages were perpetrated." This remark, although it occurs in the ancient fragment of the present work preserved in the Book of Leinster, is probably misplaced. The Annals date the death of Feidhlimidh 847; and the arrival of the Danes, or the battle of Carlingford, 852, five years afterwards. Therefore we must infer either that the above chronological note ought to have been placed before the coming of the Danish ships, or else that the date assigned by the Annals to Feidhlimidh's death is erroneous.[2]

Victories of the Irish over the invaders.

Having hitherto spoken of the ravages committed by the invaders, our author (chaps. xxi. xxii.) next gives a list of the defeats they had sustained from the native Irish: and here it is evident that he makes no distinction between the Danes and other foreigners; neither can we regard his narrative as containing a complete enumeration of these defeats, for many, of which he takes no notice, are recorded in the Irish Annals. At Eas-Ruaidh,[3] now Assaroe, near Ballyshannon, county of Donegal, they were defeated by the Cinel-Conaill, the descendants of Conall Gulban (son of Niall, of the Nine Hostages), the original possessors of the district now called, from them, Tirconnell. This victory is dated[4] 838. In Munster they were defeated at Loch Derg Dheirc, now Lough Derg, by the Dal Cais.[5] The Ui Neill, that is, the southern O'Neill, defeated them at Ard Brecain, now Ardbraccan, county of Meath. Earl Saxulf[6] was slain by the O'Colgain; but the Four Masters and Annals of Ulster call him "Chief-

[1] *Time.* The word ꞃeꞿꞃ in the text, p. 20, has been translated "reign;" but its more literal signification is *time, period.*

[2] *Erroneous.* See above, p. xlvi., note [1], where it is suggested, on other grounds, that the date assigned to Feidhlimidh's death by our Annals is really the date of his monastic profession.

[3] *Eas Ruaidh:* properly Eas Aedha Ruaidh, the waterfall of Aedh the red. See *Four Mast.*, A.M. 4518.

[4] *Dated.* Four Mast. 836, =A.D. 838.

[5] *Dal Cais*, pron. *Dal Cash*, the descendants of Cas Mac Tail. See *Gen. Table* III., No. 8, p. 247, and O'Flah. *Ogyg.*, p. 386. This victory is not recorded in the Annals.

[6] *Earl Saxulf.* The ancient MS. L. reads "Earl Ralph."

tain of the Gaill," and tell us that he was slain by the Cianachta, meaning the Cianachta Bregh, a tribe[1] descended from Cian, son of Oilioll Olum, king of Munster, and seated in Bregia, north of Dublin, where they occupied a district extending from the baronies of Upper and Lower Duleek to the Liffey. The death of Saxulf is dated by the Annalists[2] in the fifth year of Niall Cailne, or 838.

Battle of Sciath Nechtain.

The next defeat mentioned is the battle of Sciath Nechtain, after an interval of ten years[3] from the death of Saxulf. The leaders of the Irish forces were Olchobhar, king of Munster, and Lorcan, son of Cellach, king of Leinster. In this battle 1,200 of the Lochlainn chieftains or nobles were slain, together with the heir apparent or *tanist*, that is (*second*, or next in succession to the throne,) of the king of Lochlainn. The Four Masters tell us that this chieftain's name was Tomrair,[4] which in other

[1] *A tribe.* See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* p. 332. The Ui Colgan, or O'Colgan, seem to have been a branch of the Cianachta seated on the banks of the Liffey. There is, therefore, no contradiction.

[2] *Annalists.* Ann. Ult. and Four M. 836, =838. The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen record the event thus: "837. Six score men of the Lochlanns were killed by the men of Bregia, and their chief, Saxulf, was slain by Cinaodh, son of Conall, and by the Connaughtmen." This should be Cinaodh, son of *Conaing*, who was chieftain of the Cianachta Breagh at the time. The mention of Connaughtmen seems a mistake of the compilers of these Annals. For *Conachta* we should read *Cianachta*.

[3] *Ten years.* In the second year of Maelseachlainn I. *Four M.* 846; *Ult.* 847, =848. Sciath Nechtain (*Scutum Nechtani*) was a place near Castledermot, county of Kildare.

[4] *Tomrair.* The name Tomrair is, perhaps, the Scandinavian *Thormodr* [Thor's man,] which was a common name in Iceland. The Tomrair or Tomar here mentioned is spoken of as a Norwegian. But a Danish chieftain of the same name afterwards became celebrated at Dublin, and indeed Tomar or Thormodr seems to have become a sort of common title given by the Irish to all the kings of Dublin, who are called "chieftains of Tomar," *Book of Rights*, p. 40; the king of Dublin is called "Torc Tomar," *i.e.* "Prince Tomar," *ib.* p. 207. In Dr. O'Donovan's *Introd.* to *B. of Rights*, p. xxxvi. *seq.*, and *Four M.*, A.D. 846, p. 475, *n.*, we read of the ring of Tomar and the sword of Carlus [son of Amlaff, Four M. 866,] which were carried off from Dublin by King Malachy II., in 994 (Four M.) The ring was, no doubt, one of those deemed sacred by the Northmen, and upon which oaths were sworn—*Anglo Sax. Chron.*, A.D. 876. It is possible (as Mr. Haliday has suggested) that the splendid gold ring, with a smaller one running upon it, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, is the identical ring of Tomar—the "holy ring" of the Scandinavian kings of Dublin. There was a wood, called Tomar's wood, between Clontarf and Dublin. See pp. 197, 199, of the present volume.

authorities is also written Tomhrar, Tomhar, or Temar. King Olchobhar soon afterwards demolished Tulach-na-righna,[1] which seems to have been a fortress or settlement of the enemy, and they were all ultimately cut off by the men of Leth Mogha, or of Munster.

Minor victories.

The other victories recorded may be more briefly noticed. They are, the battle of Caislen-glinni or Caisglinne,[2] under Maelsechlainn, king of Ireland, in which 700 were slain. The battle of Daire-Disiurt-Dachonna,[3] by Tighernach, lord of Loch Gabhair,[4] when 500 of the enemy fell. The battle of Dun-Maeltuli, in which their loss was twelve score, under Olchobhar, king of Munster, and the Eoghanachts[5] of Cashel. Three hundred and sixty-eight of the Danes, it is not said where, were slain by the White Gentiles or Norwegians.[6] Perhaps this may have been the result of the conflict between the seven score ships of the Danes that arrived about this time, "to contend with the

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[1] *Tulach-na-Righna.* Tulach-na-reena, "hill of the Queens;" a place not now known, unless it be the hill now called Knocknaree, near Castledermot.

[2] *Caisglinne.* So read the MS. B., and Keating. Compare also *Battle of Magh-rath*, p. 349. Caislen-glinne signifies Glen-Castle; there are several places of the name: this one was probably somewhere in Meath, within the territory of the Clann Colmain. Perhaps this is the same battle which the Four M., 846, and Ann. Ult., 847, mention as having been fought at Forach, (now Farragh, near Skreen, county of Meath,) *in which* 700 *were slain.* See O'Donovan's note, Four M., *l. c.*

[3] *Daire-Disiurt-Dachonna.* The oak wood of Disiurt-Dachonna, the wilderness of St. Dachonna, or St. Conna. This place was in Ulster (*Mart. Doneg.*, 12 April, p. 101), but Dr. O'Donovan had not identified it. Four M., 846, note.

[4] *Loch Gabhair.* Now Lough Gower or Logore, near Dunshaughlin, county of Meath. The Four M. say that twelve score fell in this battle, which is also the reading of B. The Ann. Ult. read 1200. The numbers of slain in this and the next battle have evidently been transposed. See the various readings, p. 21, notes.

[5] *Eoghanachts.* See Table IV., p. 248, Dun Maeltuli, "the fort of Maeltuli" is probably in the county of Tipperary, but its exact site is now unknown.

[6] *Norwegians.* B. reads "by the Ui Fidhghente," a tribe settled in the county of Limerick; (see Gen. Table V., p. 248, No. 6, and Book of Rights, p. 67, *n.*) But this reading is not probable, although Keating follows it. Ui-fidhgente and finn gente might easily be confounded. There are also considerable variations in the MSS. as to the number of the slain. See ch. xxii., p. 21, *n.* 14.

foreigners that were in Ireland before them," and as the Four Masters and Ulster Annals tell us "disturbed Ireland between them."[1] At Inis-Finmic, now Inch, near Balrothery, county of Dublin, 200 were slain by the Cianachta, meaning evidently the Cianachta Breagh, in whose territory Inch was situated. The same tribe, in a month afterwards, gained another victory, in which they slew 300 of the enemy at Rath-Alton, or Rath-Aldain, now Rathallan, near Duleek, in the same territory.[2] This catalogue of victories is concluded by the battle of Rathcommair[3] gained by King Maelseachlinn, and another gained by the Ciarriaghe Luachra, or people of Kerry, the exact site of which is not recorded.

Arrival of Amlaff or Olaf.

The coming of Amlaibh, (Amlaff or Olaf,) "son of the king of Lochlainn," is the next event chronicled by our author. The arrival of this chieftain is dated ten years *before*[4] the death of Maelseachlainn or Malachy I., king of Ireland, and therefore in the year 853.

This was, beyond all doubt, the Amlaff, or Olaf Huita

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[1] *Between them.* Four M., 847. Ann. Ult., 848, really 849.

[2] *Territory.* The Four Masters make no mention of Inis-finmic, but record a slaughter of the foreigners in the East of Breagh, and in the same month, the battle of Rath-Aldain, at 850[=852]. Of the Cianachta Breagh we have already spoken, see p. lxvii.

[3] *Rathcommair.* The word *Commar* or *Cumar* signifies the meeting of two or more rivers; and the Rathcommair here mentioned was probably a Fort at the confluence of the Boyne with some four or five small rivers at Cluain-Iraird, now Clonard, county of Meath. There is a *Cumar-tri-nuisce* (meeting of three waters) near Waterford (Four M., at 856); but it is more likely that the battle gained by Maelsechlainn was in his own territory.

[4] *Before.* In the text (chap. xxiii.) we have translated "ten years *after*" the death of Malachy: but the annals, Keating, and other authorities all seem to have read, or at least to have understood, as in the MS. L., ꝑe nec, *before* the death of Malachy, instead of aꝑ nec, the reading of B. *after* his death. It is probable that aꝑ, in our author's dialect of Irish really did signify *before*. If so, the Editor in translating it *after* (assuming aꝑ to have been put for iaꝑ), was under a mistake. See note [8], p. 22. The Four Mast. date King Malachy's death 860, but as they tell us that he died on *Tuesday*, Nov. 30, the Sunday letter of the year must have been C, which shows that the true year was 863.

If we adhere to the translation *after*, Olaf did not arrive until 873, and his exploits are dated in our annals twenty years too soon. This no doubt would diminish some chronological difficulties.

His exploits.

(the white), of Scandinavian history, who was usually styled king of Dublin,[1] and was the leader of the Northmen in Ireland for many years. His exploits on his first arrival in Ireland are thus described:[2] The drowning of Conchobhar,[3] son of Donnchadh. The overthrow of the Deisi at Cluain-Daimh,[4] where all the chieftains of the Deisi were slain. The slaughter of the son of Cenn-

[1] *Dublin.* The Landnamabok (p. 106), gives the following account of this chieftain: "Olaf the White [Oleifr hinn Hvite] was the Pirate-King [Herkóngr] who was the son of King Ingialld, son of Helga, son of Olaf, son of Gudraud, son of Halfdan Whitefoot [Hvitbein], King of Upland. Olaf the White went as a pirate westwards, and seized Dublin in Ireland, and the Dublin-shire [oc vann Dýflina á Irlandi oc Dýflinnarskiri] where he was made King." The name is written *Amhlaibh*, *Anlaff*, *Onlaf*, *Olaf* or *Olave*, *Awley*, *Auliff*. Thora, grandmother of Olaf the White, was the daughter of Sigurd Orm i augr [serpent eye], son of Regnar Lodbrok. The polygamy of the pagan Scandinavians, their very early marriages, and the early age at which they went forth to seek their fortunes in piratical adventures, may have reduced the length of a generation. But the reduction should be considerable to render it possible, assuming Lodbrok to have been slain in 845, for his son's great-grandson to be the leader of a piratical invasion of Ireland in 853. Supposing the average generation to be 20 years, Regnar Lodbrok would have been 80 years of age at the birth of Olaf the White.

[2] *Described.* Chap. xxiii., p. 23.

[3] *Conchobhair.* He is called in the text "heir apparent of Tara," meaning not heir apparent to the throne of Ireland, but only to the chieftainship of the Clann Colmain, or of East Meath. The Four Mast. (862=864) call him "the second lord that was over Meath;" and the Annals of Ulster (863=864) "half King of Meath." This alludes to the partition of Meath into two kingdoms by Aedh Oirnidhe in 802 (797 of the Four M.), to which Conchobhar, son of Donnchadh (afterwards King of Ireland) and his brother Ailill were appointed. King Aedh's object evidently was to strengthen himself by weakening the power of the Clann Colmain in Meath. At the time here spoken of, Lorcan, son of Cathal, was lord of one half of Meath, and Conchobhar of the other. Lorcan was blinded by Aedh Finnliath, still jealous of the Meath chieftains, and Conchobhar was drowned, as the Four M. tell us, at Cluain-Iraird (now Clonard) by Amlaff, lord of the Gaill. This Conchobhar was probably a grandson of King Conchobhar. He is called "son of Donnchadh" in the text, and also by the Four M., the Ann. of Ult., and the Brussell's Fragments (p. 157), as well as by Keating (reign of Aedh Finnliath). We must, therefore, reject the reading of O'Clery's MS. of the present work where he is called "Son of Cineadh." See Gen. Table II., p. 246.

[4] *Cluain-Daimh.* This place is now unknown. The word signifies "Plain or Lawn of the Deer or Oxen." The Deisi Bregh, whose territory is represented by the two baronies of Deece, county of Meath, are probably intended.

faeladh,[1] king of Muscraighe Breoghain, and the smothering of Muchdaighren, son of Rechtabrat, in a cave. The destruction of Caitill Find,[2] (Ketill the White) and his whole garrison. This latter chieftain, judging by his name, was probably a Norseman; but some authorities call him Cathal; and we learn from the Annals of Ulster that his followers were the Gaill-Gaedhil, or apostate Irish. We are told also that the battle was in the districts of Munster; but no other clue is given to the position of the fortress of Gaill-Gaedhil to which this garrison belonged, which is not noticed in the Four Masters. His "destruction" in the Ulster Annals is dated 856, equivalent to 857.

Death of Maelgualai, King of Munster.

The death of Maelgualai, son of Dungaile, king of Munster, his back being broken by a stone, is the next exploit of the Danes recorded by our author. Its date[3] is 859. The next clause is obscure—"they were all killed by the men of Munster:" this seems to mean that the men of Munster, in other words the army of the king of Munster, notwithstanding the loss of its sovereign, gained a complete victory over the enemy; but are Ona, Scolph, and Tomar (see p. 23), the chieftains whose troops were cut off? Or are they Scandinavian leaders fighting on

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[1] *Cennfaeladh.* This passage is so corrupt that it is difficult to guess at the original reading, especially as the Annals make no mention of these events. The son of Cennfaeladh is not named. See the various readings, note [8], p. 22. For an account of the districts called Musc-raighe or Muskerry, see O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, p. 42, *n.* *O'Flaherty*, *Ogyg.*, p. 322. Muscraighe Breoghain was a part of the present barony of Clanwilliam, county of Tipperary.

[2] *Caitill Find.* Ware calls him Cathaldus albus; *Antiq.* p. 128, *Ed. 2da.*, and Cathal Finn is the reading of B. That name would be Irish; or an Irish spelling of the Norse name *Ketill.* The Dublin Ann. of Inisfallen (857) call him *Cartan*, or *Carthan Finn*, a name which looks like the Scandinavian *Kiartan.* Dr. O'Conor (*Ann. Ult.*), although his text reads *Caittil find*, translates "de Cathaldo albo." In his edition of the Dublin Ann. Inisf. he omits the years 856, 857, 859, and part of 860. Mr. Robertson has suggested that the Caitill Finn here mentioned may have been the Ketill Flatnef (Flatnose), of Scandinavian history, *Scotland under her early Kings*, p. 44. But Caitill Finn is said by our author to have been *killed* on this occasion, 857, a fact that cannot be reconciled with the history of Ketill Flatnose.

[3] *Date.* Four M., 857. Ult., 858 really, 859.

the side of the Munster army, and therefore sharers in the victory[1]? The fragment of this work in the Book of Leinster adds the name of Turgesius to the other three—which, if it be not a mistake, must intend a different Turgesius from the celebrated usurper of the See of Armagh. The whole of this passage, however, is evidently corrupt.[2]

Arrival of Oisill or Oisli.

We read next of the arrival of a chieftain[3] whose name in MSS. of the present work is written Ossill, and Oisli, the true Scandinavian name having perhaps been *Ossur*, or possibly *Flosi*, as other spellings of the name such as Uailsi or Vailsi, lead us to conjecture. He is styled by our author "son of the king of Lochlann," but he can scarcely be the same as the chieftain whose exploits, under the name of Auisli or Uailsi, are narrated by the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters. For the Ossill of our author is represented as having fallen in a battle with the Irish in Munster, whereas the Uailsi of the Annals was slain by his own brethren.[4]

His defeat and death.

Ossill, we are told, succeeded in plundering "the greater part of Ireland." How long a time this occupied is not recorded; but his army was cut off with a loss of five hundred men,[5] and he himself slain "by the men of Erinn" in Munster. Some MSS. attribute this victory to the "men

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[1] *Victory.* The reading of L. (see note [8], p. 23) favours the former of these interpretations.

[2] *Corrupt.* B. omits the names of the Scandinavian leaders altogether: and the words of the text, ceoꝑa 7c., "one hundred and three," are obscure. The contraction, 7c., "et cetera," was probably mistaken for "et c." i.e. "and one hundred," and ceoꝑa, "three," was made *Turgeis.*

[3] *Chieftain.* Chap. xxiv. See note [10], p. 23.

[4] *Brethren.* "Auisle tertius rex gentilium (the other two being Olaf and Ivar) dolo et parricidio a fratribus suis jugulatus est," *Ult.* 866. From this hint the Brussels Annals make Amlaff, Imhar, and Oisle to be three brothers, and give a minute account of the murder of the last. *Fragments of Annals*, p. 171. In another place (see p. 33) our author records the murder by Amlaibh, of his own brother, who is there called *Osill.* There appear, therefore, to have been two of the name.

[5] *Five hundred men.* The MS. L. omits the number of slain.

of Munster," instead of to the men of Erinn, the distinction being that the former phrase denotes the clansmen or troops under the command of the provincial king of Munster, and the latter the troops of the *Ard-Ri*, or chief king of Ireland.

Destruction of Colphinn at Kincurry, A.D. 869.

Although our author in this place has given us no means of ascertaining the exact date of this event, which is not noticed in the Annals, he assumes it to be well known, and goes on to tell us that in the same year another chieftain, whom he calls Colphinn,[1] with the fleet of Dun-Medhoin, was destroyed at Cenn Curraig. The Irish pursued them, with slaughter,[2] from Cenn Curraig to Lismore, and many of them were killed by Rechtabrat,[3] son of Bran, chieftain of the Deisi, whose territory is represented by the districts now called Decies, in the county of Waterford. A reference to this victory in another place (see ch. xxix.) enables us to assign it to the year 869.

Death of the Earls Badbarr and Tomar.

The Earl Baethbarr or Badbarr (probably *Bodvar*), who escaped from this slaughter with many followers, reached Dublin in safety, but was there soon afterwards drowned, "through the miracles of Ciaran and Aedh Scannail,"[4] whose monasteries or religious houses he had besieged. No notice of this chieftain occurs in the Annals. In the same year[5] Earl Tomar was killed, and his death is attri-

[1] *Colphinn.* Not mentioned in the Annals. The true name was probably *Kolbein.* Dunmedhon (Middle-fort) is now unknown. Cenn Curraig, now Kincurry, is a small village on the banks of the Suir, not far from Clonmel, but in the county of Waterford.

[2] *Slaughter.* The literal translation is "They were in their being slaughtered from Cenn Curraig to Lismore."

[3] *Rechtabrat.* The death of this chieftain is recorded by the Four M. at 874=876.

[4] *Scannail.* Ciaran was, of course, the celebrated St. Kiaran of Clonmacnois: but no saint named Aedh Scannail is mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal, or elsewhere so far as the Editor knows. The MS. B. reads "Ciaran and Aedh and Sgandall." If we follow this reading the churches intended are probably those of St. Kieran, of Clonmacnois; of St. Aedh, or Moedhog [Mogue] of Ferns; and of St. Scannall of Aghaboe, who died 774 (=780) Four M.

[5] *Same year.* It is difficult to give much weight to these chronological notes: for in this case Tomar or Tomrair is said by the Four Masters to have been slain in the battle of Sciath Nechtain, A.D. 847. See p. 21, and p. lxvii. above.

buted to the vengeance of St. Brendan, whose church at Clonfert he had plundered three days before.

Battle of Loch Foyle.

"In that year" also, our author says, the victory of Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, was gained over the Danes at Lough Foyle: but this battle is dated by the Four Masters 864, which is 867 of O'Flaherty's corrected Chronology, and therefore not the year to which the same Annalists have assigned the battle of Sciath Nechtain.

Baraid with the Dublin garrison plunders from Leinster to Kerry.

We next read of a Scandinavian chieftain named Baraid or Barith, (possibly *Bárdr*), who, "with Amlaibh's son, and the fleet of Ath-Cliath," meaning the Scandinavian garrison of Dublin, plundered Leinster and Munster until they reached Ciarraighe, the present county of Kerry.[1] "And they left not," says our author, "a cave under ground that they did not explore; and they left nothing from Limerick to Cork that they did not ravage." The Annals[2] speak of a plundering of the caves in the territory[3] of Flann, son of Conang, king of Bregia in Meath, under "the three chieftains of the foreigners," Amlaibh, Imhar, and Uisli, with Lorcan, son of Cathal, king of Meath. But our author here speaks of the plunder of the sepulchral caves by the army under the command of Baraid and Amlaibh's son,[4] in their expedition from Leinster to Kerry and from Limerick to Cork; we may therefore infer that these caves contained treasures of gold and silver buried with the dead, of which the Northmen had discovered the intrinsic value, and therefore made it a practice to plunder such monuments wherever they found them.

Emly and Decies plundered.

On this expedition the ecclesiastical establishment of Imleach Ibhair (now *Emly*) was burned, and the southern Deisi, now Decies in the county of Waterford, ravaged.

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[1] *Kerry.* Ch. xxv., p. 25. So the MS. B. interprets, by reading *Ciarraighe Luachra.* See above, p. lxv., *n.*

[2] *Annals.* Ult., 862. Four M., 861.

[3] *Territory.* See Dr. O'Donovan's note, Four Mast. 861, p. 496.

[4] *Amlaibh's son.* He is not named. Perhaps he may have been Thorstein the Red, son of Olaf the White. The death of Carlus, who is called son of Amlaibh, is recorded by the Four M. at 866=868.

Two years before,[1] the same party had plundered Meath and Connaught, as far as Corcumruadh, (now Corcomroe, county of Clare,) and Leim Concullain,[2] or Loophead: but they were ultimately killed by "the men of Erinn."

The foreigners slaughtered by Aedh Finnliath.

The foreigners, under the command of Ragnall's son,[3] were slaughtered by Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, at a banquet given to their chieftain at Dublin. This seems to imply that treachery was employed: but, on this occasion, Ragnall's son escaped, for he was slain, as our author tells us (p. 27), in a battle which took place soon afterwards between the Fair Gentiles and the Black Gentiles, the former being apparently under the command of Barith, who was wounded in the engagement, and is probably the same who was called Baraid just before. The MS. L. adds that Barith was lame ever after from this wound, and that the Black Gentiles "after this," meaning apparently in consequence of Barith's victory, were driven out of Ireland, and went to Alba, or Scotland, where they gained a battle over the men of Alba, in which Constantine, son of Cinaedh, or Kenneth, was slain, and many others with him. This event must be dated[4] A.D. 877. The editor

The Black Gentiles take refuge in Scotland, A.D. 877.

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[1] *Before.* This chronological note is omitted in the Book of Leinster.

[2] *Leim Conchullain.* "The Leap of Cuchullan." The modern name *Loophead*, is a corruption of *Leap-head.* It is called *Jölduhlaup*, "mare's leap," in the Landnamabok, p. 5.

[3] *Ragnall's son.* Sigurd-Serpent-eye is called Ragnvald, or Regnald, on the authority of *Regn. Lodbr. Saga*, Langebek II., p. 272, *n. f*, and by Saxo Grammaticus (lib. ix., p. 450), who mentions *Regnald*, Witserc [or Hvitserk] and Eric, as the three sons of Regnar Lodbrok by Suanloag [same as Asloga] dr. of Sigurd Fofnisban. Langebek, however (*loc. cit.*), seems to have been of opinion that Regnald is to be distinguished from Sigurd, who, he says, was the fifth and youngest of Ragnar Lodbrok's sons by Asloga—"Itaque Sigurdus Anguioculus quintus fuit filius, et ceteris fratribus junior." See p. lvi., *supra.*, *n.* 4.

[4] *Dated.* Ann. Ult. 876; O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 485. Robertson's *Scotland under her early Kings*, I. p. 48, *n.* The *Ann. Ult.* have the following record of this battle under their year 874, "Congressio Pictorum *fri Dubgalla* et strages magna Pictorum facta est. Oistin mac Amlaiph regis Norddmannorum ab Albann per dolum occisus est." "A battle of the Picts with the black foreigners, and a great slaughter was made of the Picts. Oistin [Eystein or Thorstein], son of Amlaf, king of the Northmen, was treacherously killed by the men of Alba." In the next year we read "Constantinus mac

has not found elsewhere any notice of the miraculous bursting open of the earth under the men of Alba, which is said to have occurred on this occasion.

The forty years' rest, (A.D. 875 to 915, circiter.)

A period of "rest to the men of Erinn," we are told,[1] followed this expulsion of the invaders, and their victory in Scotland. For upwards of forty years, counted back from the year before the death of Flann Sionna,[2] king of Ireland, and the accession of his successor, Niall Glundubh, the country is said to have remained "without ravage from the foreigners;" and the annals undoubtedly support this assertion. During this period of forty years we read of no new arrivals of the Scandinavian invaders. The settlements already made in Ireland at Dublin, Limerick, Lough Foyle, and elsewhere, continued; churches were occasionally[3]

Cinaedha, rex Pictorum [moritur]:" which seems as if the Annalist did not suppose him to have fallen in the battle. The Chron. Pictorum (*Pinkerton's Enquiry*, I. p. 495,) makes Constantine the victor, and says that Amlaibh (read son of Amlaibh?) was slain. The Landnamabok, p. 107, tells us distinctly that Olaf the White was slain in Ireland; but the date of his death is not recorded in the Annals.

[1] *Told.* See ch. xxvi., p. 27.

[2] *Flann Sionna.* The Annals have recorded that Flann Sionna died on Saturday, the 8th of the Kalends of June, A.D. 916. Calculating, therefore, forty years from the year before, we have A.D. 875 as the commencement of the forty year's rest.

[3] *Occasionally.* A few instances may be mentioned, from the Four Mast. In 883 [886] Kildare was plundered by the foreigners, who carried off to their ships fourteen score men with the prior Suibhne and valuable property. In 885 [888] the abbot and prior of Cluain-Uamha (Cloyne) were slain by the Northmen. In the same year King Flann was defeated by the Gaill of Dublin, and the bishop of Kildare with others slain. In 886 [889] Ard-Breccan, Domnach-Patraic, Tuilen, and Glendaloch were plundered by the Gaill. In 887 [890] Kildare and Clonard were plundered, and there was a slaughter of the foreigners by the Hi Amhalgaidh (the men of Tirawley), in which Elair [Hilary], son of Baraid, was slain. In 888 [891] a battle was gained by Riagan, son of Dunghal, over the Gaill of Port Lairge (Waterford), Loch Carman (Wexford), and Teach Moling, in which 200 foreigners were slain. In 890 [893] Armagh was plundered by the Gaill of Dublin, under the command of Gluniarain (comp. Ann. Ult. 893). In the following year Flannagan, lord of Breagh, was slain by the Northmen, and a battle gained by the Conailli, in which were slain Amlaph, grandson of Ivar, and Gluntradhna, son of Gluniarain, with 800 of their men. These examples will suffice to show that the forty years' *rest* recorded by our author was a rest from fresh invasions only, and is not to be understood as implying an entire cessation of hostilities.

plundered, and there were conflicts now and then between the foreigners and the native chieftains. But during the whole reign of Flann Sionna, son of Maelseachlainn, there appears to have been no new arrival of a foreign fleet, no invasion properly so called; and the outrages recorded are all of the nature of those minor feuds which were continually going on between the native tribes and chieftains themselves. It was not until 913 (916), and again in 915 (918), the year before the accession of Niall Glundubh, that the arrival of new fleets in Loch-da-Caech, the harbour of Waterford, is mentioned,[1] after which numerous reinforcements continued to pour in. There had been a settlement at Waterford before, for which reason that harbour appears to have been chosen as the head-quarters of the new comers. Haconn, or Hakon, and Cossa-Narra are said to have been the leaders of the expedition that arrived just before the death of Flann Sionna. The names of these chieftains are not mentioned in the Annals, nor in any other authority known to the editor. They appear to have commenced at once the subjugation of Munster, but were defeated in three or four battles in Kerry[2] and in Tipperary. The Northmen of Limerick seem to have come to their assistance, but were defeated by the men of Connaught, and again by the men of Kerry and Corcobhaiscinn at the river Lemain, now the Laune near Killarney.

New fleets at Waterford, A.D., 916.

Next came a "prodigious royal fleet" of the Clann

The Clann Ivar.

Keating speaks of a state of peace and prosperity, which he attributes to the wise rule of the celebrated Cormac Mac Cuillenain, king of Munster and bishop of Cashel (p. 519, *O'Mahony's Transl.*) But as Cormac reigned for seven years only, his reign can only be taken as a very small part of the forty years' rest, and other causes must have been at work to extend "the rest" for so long a period to the whole of Ireland.

[1] *Mentioned.* Ann. Ult. 912, 913. Four M. 910, 912, 913 (really 913, 915, 916). See also *Fragments of Annals*, p. 245.

[2] *Kerry.* The battle in Kerry is recorded by the Four M. at their year 915=A.D. 916, the first year of Niall Glundubh. The names of Thomas of Cinn Crede, Rolt Pudarill, or Rolt and Pudrall, and Muraill or Smurall, mentioned in the text, do not occur elsewhere, and are probably corrupt. See the notes pp. 27, 28.

Imhar, or children of Ivar, to Dublin (chap. xxvii.), and plundered the greater part of Ireland. But what follows in the text gives birth to considerable chronological difficulties, and is inconsistent with the limits already assigned by our author to the forty years' rest. It is evident that the remainder of this chapter is misplaced and belongs to an earlier period. The defeat of Flann Sionna by the Danes of Dublin, in the battle wherein fell Aedh, son of Conchobhair, king of Connaught, Lergus, son of Cronecan, bishop of Kildare, and Donnchadh, son of Maelduin, abbot of Delga or Kildalky, is dated by the Four Masters, 885 (= 888); and the other events mentioned are all grouped round[1] that year. They are, in fact, the exploits of an earlier party of the clann Ivar, who had settled in Dublin and were in alliance with Cearbhall, son of Dunghal, chieftain of Ossory, and king of Dublin.

History of the Danes of Dublin.

To make this clear it will be necessary to call to mind some particulars of the history of the Danes of Dublin. That fortress seems to have been originally founded[2] as a trading and military station by the "White Gentiles," who had established themselves in Ireland before the coming of the "Black Gentiles," or Danes. The arrival of these latter invaders is dated 851. Their chieftain Olaf [the White] came, we are told, to levy rents and tributes,[3] but finding opposition from the Scandina-

[1] *Grouped round.* It has already been suggested that there must be some corruption in the words "the year in which Maelsechlainn was killed," and that the year in which Maelfebhail, daughter of Maelsechlainn, died (Four M. 884=887) may have been intended (see note, p. 233). The plunder of Cluain Uamha [Cloyne] and the death of its bishop-abbot Fergal, son of Finachta, and its prior Uanan or Uamanan, is dated 885= 888 (Four M.) The death of Donnchadh, son of Dubhdaboirenn, king of Munster, is also placed by the Four M. in the same year (they do not say that he was killed); but they make no mention of the death of Sitric, or the burning of Lismore by the son of Imhar.

[2] *Founded.* See p. lxii. The Four Masters record the first taking of Dublin or Athcliath at 836 (838); and the erection of the fortress (Longport) there 840 (842).

[3] *Tributes.* Fragments of Annals, p. 125, 127. The Four Masters mention the first coming of the Dubhgall to Dublin, at 849 (851); and the first coming of Olaf, 851 (=853).

vians already in possession of the country, he left suddenly, probably to seek reinforcements. In 856 he returned to Ireland, and received the submission of all the foreign tribes.[1] At this time he probably obtained possession of Dublin, and is said to have been joined by "his younger brother, Ivar," who seems to have followed him on this occasion, or to have accompanied[2] him at his first coming to Ireland.

Arrival of Ivar, king of Northumbria.

There was however another Ivar, the leader of a more considerable party, who, about four years later, invaded East Anglia, where he was met by Amlaff, from Scotland. This was most probably Ivar Beinlaus,[3] son of Regnar Lodbrok, who is called by the Ulster Annals[4] "Rex Nordmannorum totius Hiberniæ et Britanniæ." He was the same Ivar who became king of Northumbria, and was the founder[5] of the Scandinavian dynasty in that country, which was afterwards so closely connected with the Danish kings of Dublin. He appears to have arrived at the time when Amlaf, or Olaf the White, with Auisle [or Flosius] was in Pictland, with all the Gaill of Ireland and Scotland, where they "plundered all Pictland, and took Hostages."[6] In this year (866), says Ethelwerd,[7] the only

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[1] *Tribes.* Fragments of Annals, A.D. 856, p. 135.

[2] *Accompanied.* See Fragments of Annals, p. 127. The Sagas, however, do not seem to have recorded any Ivar, brother of Olaf the White. It is possible that what is here said of his younger brother Ivar is a mistake, and that Ivar Beinlaus is intended. He is not called the brother of Olaf by the Ann. Ult. or by the Four M. There is confusion between the names Inguar, Igwar, Imar, Ivar, Ifar, in the English as well as in the Irish Chronicles.

[3] *Beinlaus.* Or the Boneless.

[4] *Annals.* Ult. 872 (=873) which was the year of his death. Annal. Island, p. 5.

[5] *Founder.* In *Olaf's Tryggvasonars Saga* (c. 64, p. 117), *Kaupmanna.* 1825, (*Fornmanna Sögur*, vol. 1.), we are told that Ivar Beinlaus had no children, and was incapable of having any. But this, perhaps, signifies only that he had gone to England, and having never returned, there was no record of his children in the Scandinavian Chronicles. Thorkelin, Fragments of Engl. and Irish Hist. (*Nordymra*, p. 26), mentions Inguar and Husta, two sons of Ivar by a concubine. In the English and Irish records he is evidently the ancestor of the Clanna Ivar or Hy Ivar, who were the kings of Northumbria and Dublin.

[6] *Hostages.* Ann. Ult. 865 (=866).

[7] *Ethelwerd.* Monumenta Hist. Brit., p. 512, E. Angl. Sax. Chron. 867.

English historian by whom the leader of the expedition is named, the fleets of King Ivar arrived, "advectæ sunt classes tyranni Igwares." The two chieftains uniting their forces crossed the Humber to York, and slew the kings Osbright and Ella[1]; they remained a year at York,[2] and the next year (870 or 871) returned to Dublin from Scotland with booty[3] and captives. Ivar died[4] in 872 or 873, four or five years before the commencement of the forty years' rest chronicled by our author. In 875 Oistin or Eystein, (probably the same as Thorstein the Red), son of Amlaff, was slain *per dolum*, as the Ulster Annals say, in Scotland[5]; and in the same year, or the year before, Cearbhall (*pron.* Carroll), son of Dunghall, chieftain of Ossory, succeeded Ivar Beinlaus as king of Dublin,[6] and

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[1] *Ella.* Ann. Ult. 866; Anglo-Sax. Chron. 867; Lappenberg (Thorpe's transl.) ii., 33, 34.

[2] *York.* Anglo-Sax. Chron. 868-9.

[3] *Booty.* Ann. Ult. 870 [871]. Amlaf's fortress (Longport) at Clondalkin had been burned by the Irish (865=868, *Four Mast.*), who gibbeted 100 heads of the slain; the next year his son Carlus fell in battle. These outrages probably excited his thirst for vengeance; and on his return in 870, he plundered and burned Armagh (*Four Mast.* 867=870). The A. S. Chron. expressly mentions Inguar (or Ivar) and Ubba as the chieftains who slew King Eadmund in 870. See above, p. lvi.

[4] *Died.* Ann. Ult. 872; Ann. Inisf. (Dubl.) 873.

[5] *Scotland.* Ann. Ult. 874; Robertson's Scotland under her early King's, I. p. 47.

[6] *Dublin.* See the Genealogy of Cearbhall, *O'Donovan's Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory* [enlarged from Trans. Kilkenny Archæol. Soc. *Dublin*, 1851], pp. 11–13. This chieftain had formed an alliance with the Danes of Dublin soon after their arrival; and indeed Thorstein, Olaf's son, was married to Thurida, Cearbhall's grand-daughter, by his daur. Rafertach, who had married the celebrated Eyvind Austmann, so called because he had come to the Hebrides from Sweden. In 856 (Four M.) really 857 or 858, we find Cearbhall in alliance with Ivar (probably the same who is called Olaf's brother), and they vanquished the Cinel Fiachach (who seem to have had the Gaill Gaedhil of Leth Cuinn, or the northern half of Ireland, on their side,) in a battle fought in Aradhtire, now the barony of Arra or Duharra, county of Tipperary. Cearbhall then attacked Leinster, probably with a view to the possession of Dublin, and took hostages, amongst whom was Cairbre, son of Dunlang, heir apparent to the sovereignty of Leinster. The next year he attacked Meath, in alliance with Amlaff and Imhar (Four M.); but the Synod of Rath-aedhamac Bric, now Rath-hugh, in Westmeath, under the bishop of Armagh and the abbot of Clonard, made a temporary peace between the contending parties. It was in 865, according to

continued to be recognised as such until his death in 888. It is evident that during his reign the Scandinavian leaders had abandoned to him and their other followers the care of their colony at Dublin. His death seems to have created in the native chieftains the hope of obtaining possession of the fortress by the expulsion of the Danes; for in that very year Flann,[1] king of Ireland, joining his forces to those of the king of Connaught, and aided by the ecclesiastical authorities of Leinster, attempted the overthrow of the Danish dynasty of Dublin, but was defeated, as we have seen, with the loss of almost all his allies.

The Danes of Dublin leave Ireland for Scotland.

"Four years after this," adds our author, (meaning apparently four years after the death of Donnchadh, king of Munster, or A.D. 888, and the other contemporary events recorded in this chapter,) "the foreigners left Ireland and went to Alba with Sitriuc, son of Ivar."[2] This clause,

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the Ann. Ult., that Amlaff and Auisle went to Scotland, and plundered all Pictland. It is doubtful whether this event or the death of Ivar in 873 should be regarded as the occasion which enabled Cearbhall to make himself king of Dublin. His reign is not recognised by the Irish Annals, possibly because of its connexion with the Danish usurpation. It is a remarkable proof of the importance of Dublin as a Danish settlement that Cearbhall, king of Dublin, (Kiarvalr ar Dyfflini á Irlandi) is enumerated amongst the principal sovereigns of Europe at the period of the occupation of Iceland. *Landnama.* p. 4.

To the English historians Dublin was wholly unknown; it is mentioned but once in the A. S. Chron., and then only incidentally, as the place to which the defeated Northmen retired after the battle of Brunanburg (937–8). Cearbhall's death is recorded by the *Four Mast.* 885 (=888); by the *Ann. Cambriæ*, 887; and by the *Brut y Tywysogion* in the same year.

[1] *Flann.* This prince was the son of Lann (or Flanna, as she is called, *Fragments of Annals*, p. 179), daughter of Dunghall or Dunlaing, lord of Ossory, (and therefore sister of Cearbhall,) by Maelseachlainn, king of Ireland; after whose death, in 863, she married Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, the immediate predecessor of her son Flann—*Fragments of Annals*, pp. 129, 139, 157. She appears also to have had a son Cennedigh (or Kennedy) by Gaithin, lord of Leix, whether legitimately or not is not recorded. *Ibid*, pp. 157, 165, 173, 179. Aedh Finnliath had also married Maelmuri, (daughter of Cinaedh, or Kenneth mac Alpin), who was the mother of Niall Glundubh, and therefore probably Aedh's first wife—(Keating).

[2] *Sitriuc, son of Ivar.* Two chieftains, named Sitric, are mentioned in this chapter. One (styled "king of the foreigners," or as the MS. B. reads, "son of the king of the foreigners,") is said to have been killed with Donchadh mac Dubhdabhoirenn, king of

however, does not appear in the MS. L, nor is the information it contains to be found in the Irish Annals. But it is remarkable that the Annals of Ulster, at their year 892 or 893, which is the fourth year after 888, mention a victory by the Saxons over the Black Gentiles with great slaughter, which was followed[1] by "a great internal dissension among the foreigners of Dublin, who divided themselves into factions, one part siding with the son of Imhar, and the other with Sichfrith the Earl." This dissension no doubt weakened the Dublin Danes, and the year noted by the Annals of Ulster, although not the exact date of their leaving Ireland, was perhaps the beginning of their loss of power. The exact year of their expulsion is given by the Four Masters 897, really 900, and by the Annals of Ulster,[2] 901 or 902. It appears that in that year a new attack was organized against the Danes of Dublin, headed by Maelfinnia, king of Bregia, and by Cearbhall, son of Muiregan, king of Leinster; the confederates succeeded in displacing the foreign garrison, who "escaped half dead across the sea," leaving behind them a great many of their

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Munster, in 888; but there seems some confusion about him. L. calls him "*Siugrad*, son of Imar, king of the foreigners," p. 233; and the Ann. Ult. at 887 = 888, have "*Sicfrith* mac Imar rex Nordmannorum a fratre suo occisus est." Siugrad, if the *u* be pronounced *v*, does not differ essentially from Sicfrith; the name is frequently used as identical with Sitric and Sigurd, even by Scandinavian writers. The other Sitriuc is spoken of as the leader of the foreigners who left Ireland, and went to Scotland, in 902. A third Sitriuc (if he be not the same as the first) is mentioned by the Ann. Ult. 895 (896): "Sitriucc mac Imair ab aliis Nordmannis occisus est." Of him, most probably, at 893 (894), the same Annals say "Mac Ivar" (but without naming him) "came again to Ireland." Mac Imair iterum do cum nErenn.

[1] *Followed.* It is not, however, said expressly that the one was the consequence of the other, although the two events are recorded in immediate juxtaposition.

[2] *Ulster.* The event is thus recorded by the Ulster Annals: "The banishment of the Gentiles from Ireland, i.e., from the fortress of Dublin, by Maelfinnia, son of Flannagan, with the men of Bregh, and by Cerbhall, son of Murigan, with the men of Leinster, so that they left great numbers of their ships behind them, and escaped half dead across the sea wounded and broken." Comp. Robertson, *Scotland under her early Kings*, vol. i., p. 56, *sq.*

ships. The Four Masters add that they were afterwards beseiged, and reduced to great straits, at Inis mac Nesain, now Ireland's Eye,[1] where they appear to have taken refuge on their way to Scotland. The Annals make no mention of their leader on this occasion ; the present work is the only authority which tells us that he was Sitriuc, son of Imhair, apparently not the same as "Sichfrith the Earl,"[2] who is distinguished in the Annals of Ulster from "the son of Imhair" as having been the leader of the party opposed to him.

The forty years' rest, incidentally confirmed.

It appears then that the forty years' "rest," interpreted as a rest from fresh invasions, although it is not expressly mentioned in the Annals, is perfectly consistent with the events recorded by them; and that there was such a period of rest is incidentally confirmed by the circumstance mentioned in the Annals of Ulster, that in 877 (878), about three years after the commencement of the forty years' rest, the Scrinium, or shrine of St. Columcille, with his *minna* or precious things,[3] were removed to Ireland "to protect them from the foreigners ;" and the year before *i.e.*, 876 (877), as the same Annals[4] inform us, Ruaidhri, son of Murminn [Mervyn], king of Britain or Wales, fled to Ireland to escape the Dubhgaill or Danes.

Its probable cause.

Ireland was therefore then regarded as a place of comparative safety ; and the absence of fresh inroads during the long period of forty years, may possibly be accounted for by the hope of more valuable booty held out to the Northmen of Ireland, by the extensive depredations[5] of their

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[1] *Ireland's Eye*, antiently Inis Faithlenn, *Mart. Doneg.* (15 *March*). A small island north of Howth. *Eye* here is the Scandinavian *Ey*, insula, not the English *Eye*, oculus. Inis mac Nechtain, in the printed text of the Four M., is a mere error of transcription.

[2] *Sichfrith the Earl.* There was a Sigfried, Earl of Orkney, at this time.

[3] *Precious things.* See Reeves's Adamnan, p. 315, sq. ; Ann. Ult. 877 ; Four M. 875 (=878).

[4] *Annals.* Ult. 876 ; Four M. 874. See also Keating (reign of Aedh Finnliath).

[5] *Depredations.* See Depping, *Hist. des expéditions des Normands et leur établissement en France*—(Livre III.) *Paris*, 1843. Biörn Ironside, son of Regnar Lodbrok, is said to have been the leader in some of the earlier depredations of the Northmen on the Continent of Europe. *Ibid*, p. 135.

countrymen at that period on the Rhine, in France, Britanny, Italy, and other parts of the Continent of Europe, as well as in Great Britain.

Arrival of Danes at Waterford.

The reinforcements which came to the Danes of Waterford[1] are next mentioned, chap. xxviii. They are described as "innumerable hordes," under the command of Ragnall, grandson of Ivar, and of the Earl Ottir. This latter chieftain is not mentioned in the Annals, although they record at A.D. 916 (first year of Niall Glundubh) the arrival of Raghnall,[2] grandson of Ivar, to reinforce the foreigners already established at Waterford. In chap. xxxv. we have mention of an earl called Ottir Dubh, or the black, who came with 100 ships to Waterford, and put all Munster under tribute. We read also in the Annals of Ulster, A.D. 913, of a Barid, son of Ottir, who was killed in battle at the Isle of Man, by Raghnall, on his way to Waterford.[3] Ottir, or Ottar, the father of this Barid, can scarcely have been the same Ottar the Earl, who accompanied Ragnall three years afterwards as his ally and joint commander of reinforcements to the Danes of Waterford.

Munster plundered.

After some exploits[4] of minor importance, this party of

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[1] *Waterford.* Called in the text Loch Dacaech: the estuary or bay of Dacaech, for so the word Loch here signifies. See above, p. xxxi., n. Dacaech (according to the Drimseanchus) is the name of a woman. The Four M. first mention the settlement of Danes in Waterford at A.D. 912—*Ann. Ult.* 913.

[2] *Raghnall.* He is called king of the black foreigners, or Danes, by the Four Masters, 915; Ult. 916. At 913 (Ult.), and 912 (Four M.), we have mention of "a great new fleet of gentiles at Loch Dacaoch." We ought, perhaps, to infer from this that the reinforcements recorded in the text arrived between the years 913 and 916.

[3] *Waterford.* The words are "Bellum navale oc [i.e. *apud*] Manainn etir [*inter*] Barid Mac nOitir, et Ragnall ua Imair, ubi Barid pene cum omni exercitu suo deletus est." *Ann. Ult.* 913. Dr. O'Conor (*Rer. Hib. Scriptt.* iv. p. 247,) reads *Barid mac Noctir*, a mistake for Mac n-Oitir. Mr. Robertson (Scotland under her early Kings, i. p. 57,) has it "Barid mac Nocti." The Dublin MS. of the Ulster Annals has *Mac n-Oitir*, "son of Oitir," which is evidently the true reading.

[4] *Exploits.* These were, the murder of Domhnall or Donnell, son of Donnchadh, heir apparent of Cashel, who was probably son of Donnchadh mac Dubhdabhoirenn, king of Munster (see App. B., p. 238); the plunder of Musc-

invaders divided themselves into three companies, one of which took up their station at Corcach,[1] the other at Inis-na-hEidhnighi, in Kerry, and the third at Glas-Linn. From these garrisons they plundered the whole of Munster, so that there was not a house left standing from the river,[2] meaning, perhaps, the Shannon, southward to the sea; and it is particularly mentioned that Gebennach, son of Aedh, king of the Ui Conaill Gabhra,[3] was beheaded by them. A chronological note is added that this conquest of Munster took place in the year *before* the death of Flann Sionna. This ought perhaps to have been the year *after*,[4] or A.D. 917.

Ragnall and Ottir in Scotland.

A paragraph which stands in the text at the end of the next chapter,[5] is obviously misplaced, and ought to come in here; all that intervenes belongs to an earlier period, and is evidently an interpolation.[6] The paragraph alluded to records the flight or banishment of Ragnall and Ottir into Scotland, where they were defeated, and both chieftains slain by Constantine, son of Aedh. This battle, according to some English authorities, took place at Tynemore, or Tynemoor,[7] in the year 918;

raighe [now Muskerry, co. of Cork,] and of Ui Cairpre, or Ui Cairpre Aebhdha, in the co. of Limerick. (*Book of Rights*, p. 77.)

[1] *Corcach*, now Cork; Inis-na-hEidhnighe, now Iny, in Kerry; Glas-Linn, (probably on the Shannon; see *Tribes and Customs of Hy Many*, p. 130, *n.*)

[2] *River*. The original word is Luı, a stream, flood, or river, written also Lı, Lıa; (Welsh, *Llif*, the sea); probably cognate with *f-lu-men*, and with the Irish Lı-naꝺ, to fill. It is also the name of the river Lee, which is generally written Laoı, *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, p. 164. In this sense it has been taken in the translation, p. 31, and p. 234. But the district from the Lee to the sea southwards would be a very small portion of the country.

[3] *Ui Conaill Gabhra*. See note, p. 31, and comp. *Book of Rights*, p. 76, *n.* The descent of this tribe is given App. B., *Genealog. Table* V. For the other chieftains slain, see p. 31, and note [9].

[4] *After*. We have already had occasion to notice the ambiguity of the phrase ꝑe nec, which may signify *before* or *after* the death, perhaps according to the pronunciation of ꝑe. See p. lxix, *n.* Flann Sionna died 8 Kal. Jun. 916. *Ogyg.*, p. 434. This chronological clause does not occur in the ancient MS. of the present work, and is therefore probably an interpolation.

[5] *Next chapter*. See p. 35.

[6] *Interpolation*. See p. 34, and n. [2], p. 234-5.

[7] *Tynemoor*. Innes, *Critical Essay*, App. 3. Simeon Dunelm. says, at Corbridge-on-Tyne, ii., c. 16.

and the Annals of Ulster, at that date, give a more circumstantial account of it than is customary with them; but without saying where the battle was fought. They tell us that Ragnall was accompanied by two earls, Ottir and Gragaban,[1] with some others whom the annalist calls *og-tigherna*, "young chieftains." The North Saxons also were in alliance with "the men of Alba;" which circumstance seems to prove that Ragnall's object was to secure his right to the sovereignty of Northumbria, and consequently he was resisted. He divided his forces into four battalions—one led by his brother Godfrith, grandson of Ivar; one by the two earls; one by "the young chieftains;" and the fourth kept in concealment or ambuscade by himself. The united forces of Constantine and his Saxon allies soon routed the first three battalions, and "there was a great slaughter of the Gentiles round Ottir and Gragaban." Then Ragnall attacked the victors in the rear, and rendered the result of the battle doubtful; "for neither king nor *mormaer* [great steward or earl]" was slain by the Danes, and "night alone put an end to the conflict." In other words the battle was a drawn one.[2] It is not said in the Ulster Annals that Ragnall or Ottir, or any other of the leaders, was slain; but we infer that at least Ragnall, grandson of Ivar, whom they call "king of the Fingall and Dubhgall," survived; for they record his death three years after the battle,[3] A.D. 921.

Battle of Tynemoor.

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[1] *Gragaban.* Im Ꝺraꝺꝺabain, "with Graggaban." It is evident that this is the name or surname of a man. He is not mentioned in the other Annals; but Simeon Dunelm. in his shorter Chron. (*Monum. Hist. Brit.* p. 686, B.) at the year 812, mentions this chieftain under the name of *Osvul Cracabam*, in these words, "Reingwold Rex, et Oter Comes, et Osvul Cracabam irruperunt et vastaverent Dunbline" [Dunblain]. In Lappenberg's Hist. of England (Thorpe's ed. ii. p. 94) Cracabam is mistaken for the name of a place. But it is a well known name or surname, and is supposed to signify *crow-foot*, indicating skill in augury. See Langebek, ii. p. 153, *n.*

[2] *A drawn one.* Ann. Ult. 917 (918). Dr. Reeves has given this passage in the original, and with a translation, *Adamnan*, p. 332, *n.* See a good account of this battle in Robertson's *Scotland under her early Kings*, i. p. 57, *sq.*

[3] *Battle.* Ann. Ult. 920, *al.* 921.

Slaughter of the Gaill at Dun Main

The other events recorded in this chapter (xxix.), which, as we have said, are not in their chronological order, fall within the period which our author calls "the rest," that is to say, the forty years during which there were no fresh invasions of Ireland. These were "an extraordinary and indescribable slaughter of the foreigners at Dun Main,[1] in the west of Ireland," or, according to another reading, in the west of Munster. The Dun itself was demolished, and was therefore probably a fortress of the enemy; for the victors were the principal tribes of the south-west of Ireland, namely, the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein, or Killarney, under the command of their chieftain, Conligan,[2] son of Maelcron; the Ui Conaill Gabhra, of Limerick, under Flannabrat, or Flannery, grandson of Dunadach,[3] their king; and the Ciarraighe, or men of Kerry, under their chieftain, Congalach,[4] son of Lachtna.

Contemporary events.

Our author fixes the date of this great victory by telling us that in the same year the following events took place:—1. Colphinn[5] was slain at Cenn Curraigh, and Baethbarr was slain at Dublin. 2. Amlaff plundered Lismore. 3. Foenteran, son of Drognean, chieftain of the Fir Muighi (now Fermoy), burned Amlaff's camp on the same night, in revenge for the plunder of Lismore. 4. After which Amlaff murdered[6] his own brother, Osill, or Oislé. These calamities were brought upon the Danish chieftains by the miraculous vengeance of St. Mochuda,[7] patron of Lismore, for their sacrilegious plundering of that sacred place.

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[1] *Dun Main.* This place is not mentioned in the Annals. There is a Dunmaine in the west of Kerry. Dun-Medhoin is mentioned, p. 25, which is perhaps another spelling of the name.

[2] *Conligan.* This chieftain is not mentioned in the Annals, although the Four M. record the death of his father, Maelcron, at their year 837.

[3] *Dunadach.* He died 833 (=835), *Four M.* See App. B., Genealog. Table V., No. 20. Flannabrat was killed, A.D. 876 (=878). *Four M.*

[4] *Congalach.* He is not mentioned in the Annals.

[5] *Colphinn.* See chap. xxiv., p. 26, and p. lxxiii above.

[6] *Murdered.* See Fragments of Annals, p. 171, and p. lxxii., supra.

[7] *Mochuda.* Called also Carthach, from the name of his master, St. Cathach. See Mart. Donegal, 14 May, p. 127. His original name was Cuda.

Their date determined.

Unfortunately, however, none of these events are mentioned in the Irish Annals, and therefore we are ignorant of their precise dates. But the next paragraph in our author's narrative enables us to supply this defect. He there tells us that this was the same year in which Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, with Conchobhair,[1] or Conor, king of Connaught, gained the battle of Cill Ua nDaighre[2] over "the Fair Gentiles," six years after the death of King Maelseachlainn, and therefore A.D. 869.

The battle of Cill Ua nDaighre or Killineer.

It appears from the curious account of this battle given in the Brussels "Fragments of Annals," that it originated in some insult offered to King Aedh Finnliath, by his nephew Flann,[3] king of the Cianachta Bregh, who called to his assistance the crews of a fleet of Norsemen, at that time anchored at the mouth of the Boyne. He had also as his allies the men of Leinster, and thus was considerably superior in point of numbers to the king of Ireland. Nevertheless he was defeated with great slaughter, and beheaded. The chronicle[4] represents the victory as due

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[1] *Conchobhair.* See Dr. O'Donovan's note [b], *Four M.* 866, p. 504.

[2] *Cill Ua n-Daighre:* now Killineer, near Drogheda. (See *Fragments of Annals*, p. 183, *n.*)

[3] *Flann.* The Annals of Ulster (867) give the following account of this battle—"Bellum [battle gained] by Aedh Mac Neill, at Cill-oa-nDaigri, over the Hy Niall of Bregia and the Leinstermen, and over the great army of the Gaill, i.e. 300, or 900, or more. In which fell Flann, son of Conang, king of all Bregia, and Diarmait, son of Edirsceil" [Driscoll], "king of Loch Gabhor" [Loch Gower or Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, co. of Meath] "et in isto bello plurimi Gentilium trucidati sunt. And Fachtna, son of Maelduin, *righdomhna* [heir apparent] of the North, fell in the heat of the battle, et alii multi." Flann was the son of Conang, or Conall, king of the Cianachta (or posterity of Cian) of Bregia, by a daughter of Niall Caille, whose name is not preserved, and sister of Aedh Finnliath. To her the poem quoted in the text is ascribed; and see the other poems quoted by the Four M., A.D. 866 (=869), on the battle of Cill-Ua-nDaighri, showing that the victory was considered at the time one of great triumph and importance.

[4] *Chronicle.* Fragments of Annals, p. 181, *sq.* Before the battle, Aedh is represented as reminding his army that "it is not by force of soldiers that a battle is gained, but by the aid of God and the righteousness of the prince. Pride" (he adds) "and superfluous forces are not pleasing to God, but humility of mind and firmness of

to the piety and Christianity of King Aedh, who spared the men of Leinster after the battle, as being Christians, and turned his troops altogether against the Pagan Norsemen.

Battle of Cenn Fuait.

The events recorded in the next chapter (xxx.) are dated in the year "in which Niall-Glun-dubh became monarch of Ireland," or A.D. 916. At this epoch Sitric, grandson of Ivar, and brother of Ragnall of Waterford, of whom we have just spoken, came with another fleet and settled at Cenn Fuait.[1] From this place they plundered Leinster, and soon afterwards gained a great battle over the king of Leinster. Our author does not say where; but the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters tell us expressly that the battle was at Cenn Fuait, which was probably somewhere near the coast of the counties of Kilkenny or Wexford. After their victory[2] they went northwards

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heart." Flann, on the other hand, avows to his followers that his sole object is ambition, "to gain the throne of Ireland or be killed." Again King Aedh exhorts his soldiers "Think not of flight, but trust in the Lord, who gives victory to the Christians;" and after the battle, "Beloved people spare the Christians, and fight against the idolaters, who are now routed before you." It appears, therefore, that the religious element had begun to make itself felt in the contest between the parties.

[1] *Cenn Fuait:* "Fuat's Head." This place, Dr. O'Donovan conjectures (*Four M.* 915, notes, p. 589, 560), is now Confey, in the county of Kildare, near Leixlip, (the Danish *Lax-lep*, Salmon Leap,) in the barony of *Salt* (Saltus Salmonis). But the Annals of Ulster, at 916 (Four M. 915), tell us that Cenn Fuait was i nairiur Laigin, "in the East, or anterior part of Leinster;" and it must have been near the sea, as Sitric, "with his fleet," settled there. A poem, quoted by the Four M., seems to speak of the battle (if it be the same) as having taken place in "a valley over Tigh Moling," which may signify either Timolin, in the south of the county of Kildare, or St. Mullins on the Barrow, in the south of the county of Carlow. This latter place may have been approached by water, from Waterford, and as it is situated at the foot of Brandon Hill, the battle may have been in some "valley over Tigh Moling," and the Danish fortress called Cenn Fuait, on some *head* in the mountain, accessible to light ships by the Barrow.

[2] *Victory.* In the battle we are told were slain 600, with fifty kings. The following are named:—1. Ugaire, son of Ailill, king of Leinster, whose father was also slain by the Norsemen in 871 (Four M. 869); 2. Maolmordha, son of Muiregean, king of western (or more probably eastern) Liffey. See note [4], p. 34. That part of the county of Kildare which lies between

and plundered Kildare, and "the greater part of the churches of Erinn."

The Clanna Ivar land forcibly at Dublin.

We next read of the arrival of another party of the Clanna Imhar, or children of Ivar, as the Irish call them. They came in "an immense royal fleet," under the command of Sitric, grandson of Ivar, to Dublin, where they "forcibly[1] landed," and encamped. Whether this was the same Sitric, grandson of Ivar, who was the leader of the Gentiles of Cenn Fuait three years before, is not certain. He is here called Sitric *Caech*, "the Blind," and by the Four Masters (at 917) Sitric *Gale*, a word which, if it be Irish, may signify "the champion" or "hero."

Battle of Kilmashogue and death of Niall Glundubh, 919.

Be this however as it may, King Niall Glundubh lost no time in mustering his clansmen and kindred from the north of Ireland. He attacked the invaders, and a great battle ensued in the mountains south of Dublin, where he himself was slain; twelve kings fell in the battle, with a great part of the nobles of the northern half of Ireland,

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the river Life or Liffey and the sea, and is included in its horse-shoe winding, was eastern or Airther Life; the rest of the county was western or Iarthair Life (See Four M. 628, note [z], p. 250). 3. Mughron, son of Cenneidigh, king of Laighis (now Leix) and the three Comanns, (septs situated in the north of the county of Kilkenny. See Four M. 871, note [l], p. 516). His father, Cenneidigh, or Kennedy, was the son of Gaithin, by Lann, sister of Cearbhaill of Ossory. See above, p. lxxxi, note [l]. 4. Cinaodh, son of Tuathal, king of the Ui Enechglais, a tribe seated in the barony of Arklow, county of Wicklow. They were descended from Bresail, surnamed Enechglais, or of the green face, son of Cathair Mór, king of Ireland in the second century (Four M. 915, p. 590). 5. Maelmoedhog, son of Diarmaid, abbot of Glenn Uissen, now Killeshin, Queen's county, in the territory of Ui Bairche. He was probably abbat-bishop; and is called by our author Archbishop of Leinster, i.e. Ard- (chief or eminent) bishop, because of his eminence in learning, for the Four Mast. tell us that he was "a distinguished scribe, anchorite, and learned sage, in Latinity and in the Scotic speech." The Ann. Ult. call him "a sage, and bishop of Leinster." He is not mentioned by Ware or Harris, nor does his name occur in connexion with any of the known episcopal sees. There were no Archbishops, in the modern sense of the word, at that time in Ireland; see *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 14, *sq.*

[1] *Forcibly.* We have seen that the foreigners were expelled from Dublin in 902 by the Irish chieftains, who probably still held possession of the place, and resisted the landing of the new invaders. This explains the phrase ar eicciu, "by force."

and a "countless army besides." The Annals have recorded chronological criteria which place it beyond a doubt that Wednesday, September 15th, 919, was the precise date of this engagement, and the Four Masters tell us that the battle was fought at Cill Mosamhog,[1] now Kilmashogue, in the mountains near Rathfarnham, about six miles from Dublin.

The names of the twelve[2] kings or chieftains who were slain in the battle are then given in detail; and it is evident Twelve kings slain.

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[1] *Cill Mosamhog.* The church of Mosamhog. The name of this saint would be Samh, or perhaps Sabh, taking away the devotional prefix *mo*, my, and the termination *og*, little or young. But no such name has been found in the Irish Calendars. Sabia or Sabina, was the mother or grandmother of St. Cuthbert. The remains of a very large cromlech are still to be seen on Kilmashogue mountain, in the grounds of Glen Southwell, near St. Columba's College. This, in all probability, marks the grave of the chieftains and kings slain in the battle. Kilmocudrig, or the church of St. Cuthbert, now Kilmacud, is in the neighbourhood.

[2] *Twelve.* See note, p. 36, where the variations of the MSS. and other authorites in the list of the kings are collected. The Dublin MS., from which the text is taken, is the only authority which adheres to the number twelve. The names are there given thus:—1. Conchobhair, son of Maelseachlainn I., heir apparent of Tara, that is, of the chieftainry of the Clann Colmain. (See Geneal. Table II., p. 246). 2. Conaing, son of Flann Sionna, heir apparent of Ireland (*ib.*) 3. Flaithbhertach, s. of Domhnall, another heir apparent of Ireland. 4. Aedh, son of Eochaidh [Eochagan, *Four M.* 917,] king of Uladh. Reeves's *Eccl. Antiq.*, p. 352, *sq.* 5. Maelmithigh, son of Flannagan, king of Bregia; a district including the counties of Meath, Westmeath, Dublin (north of the Liffey), and part of Louth (*Book of Rights*, p. 11, *n.*) 6. Eremhon, son of Cennedigh, chief of Cenel Mani, a tribe in Teffia, Westmeath. (*Ibid*, p. 180, *n.*) 7. Congalach, son of Cele, king of Ua Mac Uais, now the barony of Moygoish, in Westmeath. 8. Congalach, son of Dreman, k. of Crimhthainn, now the barony of Lower Slane, in Meath. 9. Maelmuire, son of Ainbith, k. of Mugornn or Mugdhorn, now Cremorne [the anglicized form of Crioch Mughhorn], county of Monaghan. 10. Deochan, son of Domhnall, king of Cianachta, a district of Bregia, in Meath. 11. Dunan, or Diman, son of Cerballan. 12. Brenan, son of Fergus. These two last named are not elsewhere mentioned. The MS. B. adds the three following names—(see p. 36, n. 4):—1. Maeldubh, king of Oirghiall (Louth and Monaghan), [who is called Maelcroibhe Ua Dubhsionaigh, lord of Oirghiall, by the *Leabhar Gabhala* and *Four Mast.*, and Maelcraibi Mac Dubhsionaigh, king of the Airghiallu, by the *Ann. Ult.*] 2. Maelcraibi, son of Doilgen, whom the Four M. call king of Tortan, or of the Ui Tortain [a tribe of the Oirghialla seated near Ardbraccan in the co. of Meath]; and 3. Cellach, son of Fogartach, king of South Bregia.

that those who obeyed the summons of King Niall were the families immediately interested in the succession to the monarchy, namely, the tribes of Meath and those of Tyrone and Down. The possession of Dublin was of peculiar importance to the Clann Colmain, from the disposition shown by the neighbouring chieftains of Ossory and Leinster to make alliances with the invaders.

Godfrey, grandson of Ivar, plunders Armagh, A.D. 921.

In the next chapter (xxxii.) we read that Gothrin, Gofraigh, or Godfrey,[1] "son of Imar," plundered "the north of Erinn," and spoiled Armagh. He must have been not son but *grandson* of Imar, as he is rightly styled in the Brussels Annals, and by the Four Masters. The attack upon Armagh is dated in the Annals,[2] Saturday, the day before the feast of St. Martin (Nov. 11), which indicates the year 921; and it is evident that the paragraph in which this event is recorded is out of its place, and ought to be at the end instead of the beginning of this chapter. For our author's next words (p. 37), "notwithstanding that *this battle* was gained over them," that is, over the Irish, evidently refer to the Battle of Kilmashogue, not to the battle (if there was one) in which Armagh was spoiled; but the words above quoted ought to have been rendered "that battle, however, was avenged on them in full measure[3] before the end of a year," meaning, no doubt, a year after the battle of Kilmashogue; for Donnchadh, grandson[4] of Maelseachlainn, gained a battle over the Danes at Tigh Mic Deicthig in which an im-

Battle of Tigh Mic Deicthig.

[1] *Godfrey.* The Annals of Ulster (921) record the death of Ragnall, "grandson of Ivar, king of the Finngall and Dubhgall; and immediately afterwards "Goithbrith, grandson of Ivar, in Athcliath;" in other words Gotfrith, immediately after the death of his brother Ragnall, came from Armagh to claim the sovereign power in Dublin, and to take advantage of the victory gained at Kilmashogue by his brother Sitric. See Appendix D, Geneal. Table, VII.

[2] *Annals.* Ult. 920 or 921. Four M. 919. See p. 37, n. [9].

[3] *Measure.* The word tomaṙ signifies measure. In the text, p. 36 (as Mr. Hennessy has pointed out), it was mistaken for a proper name.

[4] *Grandson.* The text has *son*, which is a very common mistake, and in this case a palpable error of the scribe. See p. 37, n. [11], and Geneal. Table, II., p. 246. There is obscurity in our author's phraseology, "notwithstanding, however," (he says) "that this battle was gained over them," meaning the Irish, "Donnchadh gained a battle over them," meaning the Danes.

mense number of the enemy was slain, and there escaped "not more than enough to tell what had happened;" and "in this battle," say the Four Masters,[1] "revenge was had of them for the battle of Ath-cliath" (meaning the battle of Kilmashogue), "for there fell of the nobles of the Norsemen here, as many as had fallen of the nobles and plebeians of the Gaedhil in the battle of Ath-cliath."

Arrival of Tomar Mac Elgi.

The arrival of Tamar, or Tomar, "son of Elgi," is next recorded (chap. xxxiii.). He is said to have come "after that," that is either after the battle of Kilmashogue, which is most probably the meaning, or after the battle of Tigh-mic-Deicthig. He landed at Inis-Sibhtonn, now King's Island, at Limerick, with "an immense fleet," and plundered "the chief part of Munster, both churches and chieftainries." Our author adds that Lorcan,[2] son of Conligan, was king of Cashel at that time. Tomar was the name given by the Irish to the Scandinavian chieftain Gormo *Gamle* (the aged), called Mac Elgi, that is son (but perhaps grandson) of Gormo *Enski* (the *English*),[3] the Guthrum of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, surnamed *Enski*, because he was born in England.

A fleet on Lough Derg.

The next chapter (xxxiv.) speaks of a fleet on Loch

[1] *Four Masters.* The battle of Tigh mic Deicthig is placed by the Ann. Ult. in 919 or 920, and by the *Four M.* in the first year of King Donnchad, which began September 919; a year or two therefore *before* the spoiling of Armagh by Godfrey, and a year after the battle of Kilmashogue. Tigh-mic-Deicthig, is variously written, Tigh mic nEathach (*Four M.*), and Tigh meic Nechtaigh (B.): the words mean, House of the son of Deicthach, or Eochadh, or sons of Nechtach. The place is now unknown; but the Four Masters (A.D. 918, p. 599) tell us that it was in the district of Cianachta Bregh, in the counties of Meath and Dublin.

[2] *Lorcan.* He began his reign 920 (=922), *Four M.* He was of the race of Failbhe Flann, (son of Aedh Dubh), ancestor of the Hi Failbhe. See Geneal. Table, IV., No. 11, p. 248. His genealogy up to Aedh Dubh is given in the Book of Leinster thus: Lorcan, son of Conligan [sl. 898=901, *Four M.*], s. of Corcrain, s. of Corc, s. of Artgall, s. of Domhnall, s. of Conall, s. of Snedgus, s. of Natfraich, s. of Colga, s. of Failbhe Flann, king of Munster, who died 638 (Four M. 633).

[3] *English.* The Danish word *Enski* (English) was corrupted by the Irish into *Elgi*, *Ailche*, or *Ailge*. It is not so easy to see how Gormo became Tomar. See p. lxvii, *n.* The genealogy of this Gormo, and of his successor Gormo Gamle (*grandævus*), is very obscure and confused.

Derg-derc, the celebrated expansion of the Shannon now known as Lough Derg. This fleet seems to have been sent out from the Danes of Limerick; for the historian adds, that after having plundered several of the ecclesiastical islands of the Lough, and committed other outrages,[1] they "arrived again in safety at Limerick without battle or conflict."

Apparent conclusion of a section of the work.

These, our author says, were the "mighty deeds" of the Clanna Elgi, or sons of Gormo Enski, and of the ships of Dublin, in the northern division of Ireland (called Leth Cuinn or Conn's Half) and in Leinster. These words seem to mark the conclusion of a division or section of the work, in which the northern half of Ireland was principally concerned; but as the sons of Elgi are particularly mentioned, perhaps the "mighty deeds" spoken of are only those described in chapters xxxiii. and xxxiv. The remainder of the work is devoted to the history of the conflicts between the men of Munster and the sons of Ivar, or Danes, properly so called, of Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford.

The oppression of Munster; Ottar Dubh at Waterford.

The oppression of Munster began by the arrival of a fleet of one hundred ships, under the command of Oiter Dubh,[2] or Ottar the black, at Port Lairge, or Waterford.

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[1] *Outrages.* They plundered Inis Celtra, and "drowned," i.e. cast into the lake, its shrines, relics, and books. They plundered also Muc-inis-Riagail, (Hog-island of St. Riagal or Regulus, see above, p. xxxiii, n. 2), and other churches on the islands of the lake. On the mainland they plundered Tir-daglas (Terryglass, in Tipperary), Lothra (see above, p. xlix), Clonfert, nd Clonmacnois. Sailing up the Shannon to another expansion of the river, called Loch Ribh or Loch Ree, they plundered its islands also, on which there were celebrated religious houses; especially Inis Clothrann (now Inchcleraun) and Inis-bo-finne (Inch-bofin, the white cow's island). They then attacked the west of Meath, and south of Connaught, (the present King's county and south of Galway,) where they slew Duach, king of Aidhne, i.e. of Ui Fiachrach Aidhne, in the south of Galway, a territory represented by the present diocese of Kilmacduagh. See note [3], p. 39.

[2] *Oiter Dubh.* Chap. xxxv. The English Chronicles, at dates which vary from 912 to 918, mention a fleet of "Pagan pirates" who, having left Britain for Gaul nineteen years before, now returned from Llydwicca [Armorica] under the command of *Ohter* and Rhoald; they entered the mouth of the Severn, but being driven off, took refuge in South Wales, and then

This chieftain plundered the eastern coast of Munster, compelling the inhabitants to pay tribute, or personal service. In his wake followed innumerable hosts, so that, in the language of our author (p. 41), "there was not a harbour, nor a landing-port, nor a Dún, nor a fortress, nor a fastness, in all Munster without fleets of Danes and pirates." The leaders of several of these fleets are named,[1] and a pathetic description is given of the ravages and outrages committed by them, which exceeded, we are told, all that the country had hitherto endured. Particular mention is made of the captives of both sexes, who were carried off, "over the broad green sea," into oppression and bondage; and our author exclaims, "Alas! many and frequent were the bright and brilliant eyes that were suffused with tears, and dimmed through grief and despair, at the separation of son from father, and daughter from mother, and brother from brother, and relatives from their race and from their tribe."

Outrages committed upon the Irish.

In the next three or four chapters[2] we have a record of some battles in which the Danes of Dublin and other

Victories of the Danes of Dublin.

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sailed to Ireland. "Ii tamen clade oppressi, quandam insulam, quæ Reoric [Flatholme] nominatur, petierunt, ubi tamdiu considerunt, quousque plures eorum essent fame consumpti; unde necessitate compulsi, prius ad Deomedum [Suthwalliam], deinde autumnali tempore ad Hiberniam navigarunt." So says *Flor. Wigorn.*, A.D. 915 (*Monum. Hist. Britan.* p. 570). Comp. *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* A.D. 912 (*Ibid*, p. 375) and *Lappenberg* (Thorpe's Transl.) ii., p. 94 *sq.* The Ohter and Rhoald of the English Chronicles are very probably the Oiter or Ottir and Ragnald of the Irish (see ch. xxviii., p. 31, and note [6], p. 39). This is rendered the more likely, because Waterford Harbour, where they landed, is easily reached by sailing due west from South Wales. The date also agrees sufficiently. We have seen also that our author's statement (ch. xxix., p. 35) that Otter and Raghnall were both killed in Scotland, is not confirmed by other records. See p. lxxii.

[1] *Named.* These are Oibert, Oduinn, [Audunn?] Griffin, Snuatgar, Lagmann, Erolf, Sitriuc, Buidnin, Birndin, Liagrislach, Toirberduch, Eoan Barun, [John the Baron?] Milid Buu, [the Knight Buu?] Suimin, Suainin, and the *Inghen Ruaidh*, which is Irish, and signifies the red or red-haired virgin. Examples of female adventurers, taking the command of a fleet, are not uncommon in Scandinavian history. The Editor has not identified the above named chieftains with any of those mentioned in the Sagas.

[2] *Chapters.* See p. 43, chaps. xxxvii-xl.

parties of the enemy were victorious over the native chieftains.

Battle of Muine Broccain.

The first of these was the victory gained by the fleet of Ath Cliath, or Dublin, and the sons of Imar, in the battle of Muine Broccain, a place now unknown, but probably in the county of Meath.[1] In this battle were killed Ruaidhri (*pron.* Rory) O'Cannannain, king of Tir Connell (county of Donegal), who was by some deemed king of Ireland,[2] and around him fell many of his kinsmen, "the Nobles of the North." This event is carefully dated

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[1] *Meath.* We may infer this from the fact, recorded by the Four M. (A.D. 992), that the foreigners of Ath Cliath plundered Ardbraccan, Domhnach Patrick, and Muine Broccain. Therefore, as the two former are known to be in Meath, Muine Broccain was probably in the same neighbourhood. Comp. 4 *M.* 948 (p. 663).

[2] *King of Ireland.* Rory O'Cannannain was of the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. His ancestor Cannannan, from whom the tribe name, was the son of Flaithbertach, king of Ireland (727–734.) See the Genealogical Table in O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 338. Ruaidhri appears to have asserted his claim to the throne of Ireland in 947 (945, 4 *M.*) when he gained a battle over the legitimate king, Congalach, son of Maelmithigh, who was supported by Amlaf, or Olaf Cuaran, the Danish king of Dublin. This was near Slane, in Meath. Two years afterwards the Danes burnt the belfry or round tower of Slane, in which perished Caenechar, Lector (*Firleighinn*) of Slane, who had taken refuge there, with the crosier of his patron St. Erc, a sacred bell, and many relics. O'Cannannain the same year (949) gained another victory over Congalach, whom he reduced to great straits, entering Bregia, which he plundered. He encamped at Muine Broccain [Brogan's Brake or shrubbery], and there assumed the name and authority of king of Ireland; "the dues of the king of Ireland," as the Four Masters tell us, "were sent him from every quarter:" his own people gave him the name of king; but the Annals style him only Righ-domhna, or heir apparent, i.e. eligible to the throne. After remaining encamped at Muine Broccain for six months, he appears to have been attacked by the Danes of Dublin, and was slain, after a bloody battle, in which the Danes lost Ivar, tanist or heir apparent of their chieftain, as the Four Masters call him. Another of their chieftains, Godfrey, son of Sitric, escaped by flight. The Four Masters make the victory to have been on the side of Ruaidhri, notwithstanding his having fallen in the battle, and tell us that 6,000 of the foreigners were slain. The *Ann. Ult.* say "2,000 vel plus."

O'Cannannain's pretensions to the throne were probably founded on the fact that Congalach, the actual king, was of the Southern Hy Neill, and had therefore succeeded irregularly, his predecessor, Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, having been also of the same race. See Append. B., p. 243.

by our author: it was thirty years after Nial Glundubh was slain, two years after Lachtín, son of Goffraith, was slain, and four years after the death of Muirchertach,[1] son of Niall Glundubh, the hero of the Leather cloaks. It was the year in which the foreigners plundered Cennannus[2] of Colum Cille, now Kells, county of Meath, and also the year in which Ceinnedigh,[3] or Kennedy, son of Lorcan, king of North Munster, or Thomond, was slain. These criteria seem to indicate the year 949 or 950 as the date of the battle of Muine Broccain.

Death of Congalach, King of Ireland.

In the next chapter (xxxviii.) is recorded the death of Congalach,[4] son of Maelmithigh, king of Ireland. He was slain whilst engaged in an inroad upon Leinster, with the nobles of Meath, in an ambuscade laid for him, by the Dublin Danes,[5] under the command of Amlaff, or Olaf Cuaran, son of Sitric, king of Dublin. This was seven

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[1] *Muirchertach.* Perhaps we should read *six* instead of four years, for he was slain by the Danes in 943. See *Circuit of Ireland*, p. 9, *sq.* The numerals ıu and uı might be easily confounded. It is curious that our author has made no other mention of this celebrated chieftain, and has passed over without notice his many combats with the foreigners. This silence was probably the result of partisanship. Muircheartach was an O'Neill, and a hereditary enemy of the Munster tribes. Lachtín, son of Godfrey, is not elsewhere mentioned.

[2] *Cennannus.* See the Four M. at their year 949, and Ann. Ult. 950 or 951.

[3] *Ceinnedigh.* This chieftain, "heir apparent of Cashel," i.e. of the sovereignty of Munster, was the father of the celebrated Brian Borumha, but the date of his death is not given in the authentic Annals. The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen, as they are called, mention his death at 951, the same year as the plunder of Cennannus or Kells, and the other churches of Meath, recorded by the Four M. under their year 949 (=951).

[4] *Congalach.* He is described as "king of Temhair and of all Erinn;" that is, king of Tara, or chieftain of the Clan Colmain, of Meath, and also king of all Ireland. See App. B., Geneal. Table II., p. 246.

[5] *Dublin Danes.* The Ann. Ult. say that he was slain by the foreigners of Dublin and the Leinstermen, A.D. 955 or 956, at Taig-giurann *illaignib* [i.e. in Leinster]. The Four M. (954) spell the name of this place *Tigh-Ghighrainn*, [House of Ghighran,] and in the B. of Leinster (folio 16, *b. a*) it is written *Ailen Tighi Giurand* [island of Tech Giurand]: this explains the genitive form *Tigh*, in the other spellings of the name, which is otherwise anomalous. Mr. Hennessy suggests that the place may be Inchicore (formerly written Inchi-gore, for *Inis-tigh-Gore*), a few miles from Dublin, near the Liffey.

years after the death of Ruadhri O'Cannannain, mentioned in the preceding chapter, and therefore in the year 956.

Battle of Cill-Mona.

The battle of Cill-Mona [church of St. Munna], now Kilmoon, near Dunshaughlin, county of Meath, is next mentioned. It took place, our author says, "seventeen years" after the death of Congalach, which would give its date, 973. But the Annals[1] do not agree in this Chronology. They give us, however, the additional information, that Domhnall, son of the late King Congalach, in alliance with Amlaff, or Olaf, and the Danes of Dublin, had in this battle defeated the actual sovereign, Domhnall O'Neill, his father's successor. It appears, therefore, that he had been tempted by an alliance with the Dublin Danes, notwithstanding their slaughter of his father, to dispute the succession of the Northern Hy Neill, in the hope of obtaining the sovereignty for himself. But his victory on this occasion did not secure his object, for Domhnall, son of Muirchertach Leather-cloaks, continued to be recognised as king of Ireland until his death in 980.

Chieftains slain.

The chieftains slain in the battle of Cill-Mona are enumerated[2] by our author, as well as in the Annals;

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[1] *Annals.* The Four Mast. (976) say the twenty-second year of King Domhnall [O'Neill] or 22 years after the death of Congalach, i.e. 978; but the Annals of Ulster record it under the year 969 or 970, which would be only 13 or 14 years after the death of Congalach.

[2] *Enumerated.* These are—1. Ardul, son of Maducan, (called Ardgal, or Ardgar, s. of Madudain, *Ann. Ult.* 969, *Four M.* 976), king of Uladh; who is the 42nd king in Dr. Reeves's list. *Eccl. Antiq.*, p. 355. 2. Donncuan, s. of Maelmuire (called Donnagan, or Donnacan, in the Annals). The Four M. give him no title. The Ann. Ult. call him simply "Airchinnech;" and our author, who is followed by Keating, styles him "King of Airghiall, or Oirghiall," in Louth and Monaghan, called Uriel or Oriel by the English. Its boundaries are described by Dr. O'Donovan, *B. of Rights*, p. 21, n. [s]. 3. Cinaedh, son of the son of Cronghaille, called son of Cronghaille [Cronnelly] by the Four M. and Ann. Ult. This personage is called King or Lord of Conaille by the Annals, and the death of a Cronghaille, Lord of the Conaille Muirtheimhne, the inhabitants of the level plain of Oirghiall, co. of Louth, is mentioned by the Four M. at 935 (=937). See *B. of Rights*, *loc. cit.* and p. 166, *n.* i. 4. Maelbrighde, son of Gairbith, King of Ui nEchdach, now Iveagh, co. of Down. See p. 44, *n.* 12, and Reeves's *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 348. This chieftain is not mentioned in the Annals, and has also been overlooked by Dr. Reeves, *loc. cit.*

and we are told that eight years after this battle, the two heirs of Ireland, namely, the heirs of the Northern and Southern claimants of the throne, were slain "by them," that is to say, by the Danes of Dublin. The first of these was Muircheartach, son of Domhnall O'Neill, heir presumptive to the throne of Ireland, in the line of the Northern Hy Niall.[1] The second was Congalach, son of Domhnall, and grandson of the King Congalach whose death in an ambuscade laid by the Danes has just been recorded.[2] Thus the two rival claimants being removed, the throne, on the death of Domhnall O'Neill, reverted to the southern line in the person of Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II., son of Domhnall, the last of his race who ever held the undisputed sovereignty of Ireland.

Battle of Cathair Cuan.

A battle fought in Munster, at Cathair Cuan, by Brian, is assigned to the same year, that is to say, the same year in which the two heirs of Ireland were slain. This is the battle recorded by the Four Masters, under the same year as the battle of Cill-Mona (976=978). They do not, indeed, mention Cathair Cuan,[3] but they describe a battle wherein Donnabhain, son of Cathal, lord of Hy

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5. Fergus Fial, king of Codlaighe, or of Cuailgne, which is probably the true reading, a district in the co. of Louth, (now *Cooley*). See note 13, p. 45, and Reeves *ibid*, p. 369, note b. This hero has been also passed over without notice in the Annals. It will be observed that all the chieftains here mentioned were in the interest of the Northern Hy Niall.

[1] *Northern Hy Neill.* See Geneal. Table I., p. 245 *infra*.

[2] *Recorded.* See Geneal. Table II., p. 246 *infra*. The Four Masters give the death of the two heirs in the year *before* the battle of Cill-Mona, or in their year 975 [=978], and tell us that they were slain by Amlaf, son of Sitric, that is to say, by Olaf Cuaran. The *Ann. Ult.* have the same entry at their year 976 or 977 [=978], but place the battle of Cill-mona *eight* years before. Tighernach dates the death of the two heirs 977.

[3] *Cathair Cuan.* This place has not been identified: the name signifies "Fort of Cuan," perhaps from Cuan, son of Conall, chieftain of Hy Fidhgente, who was slain in the battle of Carn Conaill A.D. 649, (*Tigh.* 645, *Four M.*) Cathair Cuan is mentioned ch. lxiv., p. 103, whence we infer that it was in Hy Fidhgente, co. of Limerick, *B. of Rights*, p. 67, *n.* 9, and that it was a fortress of Donnabhan, or Donovan, chieftain of the Hy Cairbhre Aebhda, as also lord of the Hy Fidhgente (see *Geneal. Table*, V., p. 249 *infra*). Comp. also Four M. and Tighernach 976.

Fidhgente, in alliance with the Danes of Limerick, was defeated by Brian; and we learn, from a subsequent mention of it in this work (see p. 103), that Donnabhain was slain at Cathair Cuan.

Victories of the Danes.

The next chapter (xxxix.) records several battles in which the Danes of Dublin were victorious over the native chieftains. The first of these was a victory over Ugaire, son of Tuathal, king of Leinster, at Bithlann,[1] now Belan, in the south of the county of Kildare. Another battle, in the same year (where,[2] we are not told), was gained by them[3] over the Cinel Conaill, of Tirconnell, county of Donegall; in which Niall, grandson of Cannannan, king of the Cinel Conaill, and other chieftains[4] fell.

Battle of Tara, 980.

Two years after this, a more important battle was fought at Temhair, or Tara, against Maelsechlainn, or Malachy, son of Domhnall, who this same year (980) became king of Ireland. Our author admits that the victory gained by the Irish chieftain was dearly purchased. "It was woe," he says, "to both parties, but it was worse for the foreigners." They lost in the battle Ragnall, son of Amlaibh, or Olaf Cuaran, king of Dublin, and Conmael, son of Gille, whom our author calls "another[5] high king

[1] *Bithlann.* This battle is dated 977 or 978, *Ann. Ult.*, and 976 [=978] *Four M.* In it fell Ugaire, king of Leinster; Muiredach, son of Rian (or Brian, as Tighernach calls him), king of the Ui Ceinnselaigh (see *Book of Rights*, p. 208, *n.*); and Congalach, son of Flann, king of Lege [now Lea, Queen's co.] and of Rechet, [or Magh-Rechet, now Morett, near Maryborough, same co.]

[2] *Where.* The Four M., 976 (978), say that this was a naval battle on Loch Erne, gained by the Airghialla, or Oighialla, over the Cinel Conaill. So also Ann. Ult. 977 (978). But they were probably aided by the Danes.

[3] *By them:* i.e., by the Danes of Dublin. But see p. 46, note [5].

[4] *Other Chieftains.* Niall, grandson of Cannanann, is not mentioned in the Annals; but the Four M. record the death of his son, A.D. 996 (=998). See also Dr. O'Donovan's *Hy Many*, p. 335. "The son of the son of Congalach," ought to be "son of Congalach," as in the MS. B., for the death of the grandson of Congalach, in the battle of Cill-Mona, was recorded, chap. xxxviii. In like manner, "son of the son of Murchad Glun-fri-lar" ought to be "son of Murchad Glun-fri-lar," as in B. and the Four M. He was of the race of the Northern O'Neill, and Heir of Ailech."

[5] *Another.* The name Conmael, or Conamael, son of Gilli, is decidedly Celtic, and the MS. B. calls him simply Conmael, omitting the words "son of

of the foreigners," together with "all the nobles of the foreigners" of Dublin.

Consequences of the battle.

One of the most important consequences of this battle was that Amlaibh Cuaran, king of Dublin, leaving his authority to his son Sitric, quitted Ireland and went on a pilgrimage to Hi Coluim-Cille, the celebrated monastic island, now corruptly called Iona, where he died.[1] Another result of the battle was that the Danes were compelled to liberate all the hostages in their custody, and especially Domhnall Claon, king of Leinster, whom they had taken prisoner more than a year before. The annalist Tighernach, and after him the Four Masters, represent the liberation of this chieftain as the result of a second attack on the Danes of Dublin, in which Malachy, in conjunction with Eochaidh, son of Ardgall, king of Uladh,[2] besieged Dublin for three days and three nights,

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Gilli, another high king of the foreigners." From the various spellings of this name in the Annals, there is reason to think that the true reading is preserved in the Ann. Ult. "Conamhal mac Airrigall," which may mean either "son of Airegal," or "son of an Oirri [or sub-king] of foreigners." See note 15, p. 46, *infra*. He was in all probability a chieftain of the Gall-gaedhil of the isles, paying tribute to the Danish king of Dublin; for the Ann. Ult. and Four M. tell us that this battle was gained by King Malachy "against the foreigners of Dublin and of the isles," i.e. of the Sudreya, Isle of Man, &c. He may have been son of a Gille, for that name occurs among the chieftains of the Sudreys. (See Burnt Nial, ii. p. 322, and *Index*). Tighernach calls him Conmael Mac Gille airre, "son of Gille the sub-king."

[1] *Died.* The Four M. record his "going across the sea" here, and his death in Hi, "after penance and a good life," the year following. See *Tighernach*, 980. This Olaf is called *Cuaran*, or Olaf of the *sandal*, by the Irish Annalists; Kuaran, Kuoran, or Quaran, by the Sagas. See *Landnama*, p. 42; *Fornmanna Sögur*. I., p. 149; *Nial's Saga*, p. 268 (cap. clv.) Lat. transl., p. 590; Laing's *Kings of Norway*, I., p. 399. Dr. Dasent translates the name "Olaf *rattle*," *Burnt Niall*, ii., 323; but *Cuaran* is an Irish word, signifying a sock, a sandal, a shoe fastened with thongs. Gyda, sister of Olaf Cuaran, was married to Olaf Tryggvasson, who met her in England, and afterwards took her to Ireland, living "sometimes in England, sometimes in Ireland."—Laing, *ubi supra*, p. 400, 417.

[2] *Uladh.* See Reeves, *Eccl. Antiq.*, p. 352–6. Dr. O'Conor, in his translation of the Annals of Tigernach in this place, renders "*Mor sluaiged*" as if it had been written *Mors Luaiged*, and translates "Mors Lugadii occisi a Maelsechlanno." The true version of the passage is this—"A great host led by Maelsechlainn the Great, son of Domhnall, king of Temhair, and

and having reduced the garrison to submission, recovered the hostages, including Domhnall Claon.[1] They compelled the enemy also to pay a fine of 2,000 oxen, and to release the Ui Neill from a tribute, which it seems had been imposed upon all their territory between the Shannon and the sea.[2]

Arrival of the sons of Ivar in Limerick.

The next chapter (xl.) records the arrival of the sons of Ivar in Limerick. They are described as coming in command of "an immensely great fleet, more wonderful than all the other fleets, for its equal or its likeness never before came to Ireland."

This event out of its place.

Chronologically, however, this event is certainly out of its place in the narrative. The phrase "there came after that," with which this chapter begins, would naturally mean after the events recorded in the preceding chapter; that is to say, after the battle of Tara, A.D. 980. But Ivar and his sons were settled at Limerick long before that year, and it is remarkable that no mention either of the exact date of their arrival, or of the immense and wonderful fleet which they are said to have brought with them, is found in the Irish Annals.

Leaders of this fleet.

The leaders of this fleet, we are told, were "Ivar,[3] grandson of Ivar, chief king of the Gaill, and his three sons, Dubhcenn (or Black-head), Cu-allaidh (or Wild Dog),

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by Eochaidh, son of Ardgall, king of Uladh, against the Gaill of Ath Cliath, and they besieged them three days and three nights, and took the hostages of Erinn from them, together with Domhnall Claon, king of Laighen, and with the hostages of the Ui Neill likewise. And they exacted submission from the foreigners, i.e. an hundred score oxen, with jewels and goods, and the freedom of the Ui Neill from tribute also, from the Sionainn [Shannon] to the sea." *Tighernach*, A.D. 980.

[1] *Domhnall Claon.* Our author speaks of the "treacherous conduct" of Amlaibh towards this chieftain; what that was the editor is unable to explain.

[2] *And the Sea:* i.e., from the Shannon, across the present counties of Westmeath and Meath, to the eastern sea.

[3] *Ivar.* The O'Clery or Brussells MS. (B), reads "Amlaibh mor ua Imhair," Amlaff or Olaf the Great, grandson of Ivar; but this is evidently a clerical mistake, and the same MS., in another place, speaking of the death of this chieftain calls him Ivar, not Amlaff. Ch. lxiv., p. 103. See also p. 71. There are other instances of these names being interchanged.

and Aralt (or Harold.)"[1] They entrenched themselves on Inis Sibhtond, now King's Island, in the Shannon, upon which a part of the present city of Limerick is built. From this position they plundered all Munster, "both churches and chieftainries, exacting hostages, and levying black mail, under a well-organized system of tax-gatherers, who were distributed over the country and billeted in the houses of the inhabitants, "kings and chiefs, stewards and bailiffs, in every territory and in every chieftainry."[2] Of the excess of this oppression our author gives a pathetic and somewhat bombastic account, in which the most important particular noticed is the imposition of a nose tax,[3] in addition to the royal tribute, consisting of an ounce of silver or white bronze[4] "for every nose;" and whoever was unable to pay was sold as a slave.

Their oppression.

It may be doubted whether this glowing description

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[1] *Aralt (or Harold.)* The Celtic names Dubhcenn and Cu-allaidh, were doubtless given by the Irish in accordance with their usual practice, as descriptive of the supposed peculiarities of these chieftains. The annals mention Dubhcenn and Aralt, but substitute Amlaibh for Cu-allaidh (Four M. 975, Tigern, 977); which seems to indicate that Amlaff or Olaf was the Scandinavian name of this latter warrior. Perhaps he was the same as Olaf Cenncairech (scabby head), of Limerick, who gained the battle of Dubhthir, near Athlone, in 931 (933), over the Hy Many. He afterwards settled in Loch Ribh, from whence he was carried off prisoner by Olaf son of Godfrey, of Dublin, in 935 (937). *Four M.*

[2] *Chieftainry.* See p. 49, *sq.*

[3] *Nose tax.* An ounce of silver "for every nose" is probably only another way of saying "for every man." So in the poetical account of the Gaill of Dublin, attributed to St. Benen or Benignus, of Armagh, we read that the Gaill gave tribute to St. Patrick "a screapall for each man, an ounce of gold—an ounce for each nose there—and a screapall of gold for each man." *B. of Rights*, p. 229. So also *Ynglinga Saga*, c. 8 (*Heimskr.*, p. 13, *Havn.*, 1777). "Um alla Svethíod gulldu menn odni skattpenning fyrir nef hvert," which Mr. Laing translates "so much on each head," although it is literally every nose. The MS. B. adds that he who could not pay had the alternative of being sold as a slave, or losing his nose (see p. 50, *n.* 13). Keating improves upon this by telling us that the nose was immediately cut off, without any alternative; but there is no authority for this. See *Lexicon Poet. Ling. Septent. Sveinbjörn Egilsson. Hafn.*, 1860, voc. *Nefgiöld.*

[4] *Silver or white bronze.* This is the reading of B. The text reads "silver Findruni" (p. 51), in which phrase (which occurs again, p. 95), the word *Findruine* seems to be used as an adjective for well polished, ornamented (*druine* signifies embroidered);

was originally intended to apply solely to the policy pursued by the sons of Ivar of Limerick. If their arrival, as we have good reason to suspect, is an interpolation in this place, there will be nothing to limit the oppression spoken of to the Danes of Limerick;[1] and indeed, although the plunder of Munster is particularly mentioned, yet it is distinctly stated that the organization of a steward or bailiff, billeted on the principal chieftains and farmers of the country, extended to all Ireland.[2]

The foreigners of Limerick, by whom the Primate Forannan was carried off to their ships from Cluain Comardha,[3] were Norwegians, or White Gentiles, not Danes.

but usually *Findrune* is a substantive, and denotes a metal of some kind. In p. 115, it is mentioned among gold, silver, precious stones, taken as spoil from the Danes. It is the metal of which "leg armour" was made (*Battle of Magh Lena*, p. 113), and the rim (combul) of a shield, *Sickbed of Cuchulainn* (Atlantis, No. 3, p. 113). "A bed of Findruine," tolg findruine, i.e. a bedstead, or box made of this metal upon which a bed might be laid, is mentioned in the Legend of Corcalaidhe, *Miscell. Celtic Soc.*, p. 77, 79. The word is also written finnruim (*Petrie on Tara*, p. 198), finnbruine, and finnbruine, in which latter form it occurs in the Irish Version of the Bible to denote copper or brass, Ezra viii., 27; Rev. ii., 18. The Crozier of St. Aodh mac Bric was made of Finnbruine, which is glossed .i. prass "i.e. brass." *Martyr. Doneg.*, Introd., p. xli.

[1] *Limerick.* See above, ch. xxxvi. Keating who quotes this passage (with some abridgement), understands it to refer to all Ireland, and places it in the times of Turgesius, to whom he attributes this organization of a soldier in every house, &c. *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 507. In this he is followed by Lynch, MacGeoghegan, O'Halloran, Warner, Moore, and all our modern historians.

[2] *Ireland.* The words "moreover he ordained," p. 49, line 13, are abrupt, and strongly indicate the loss of something in the text; for the sentences preceding are in the plural "*they* plundered," "*they* took hostages," "*they* brought under indescribable oppression;" then comes a sudden change to the singular, without its being said who *he* was who ordained kings and chiefs, stewards and bailiffs, in every territory. The same thing is told of Turgesius. But it is remarkable that the prophecies applied by our author to that chieftain (see p. 8–12), speak of "Black Gentiles of Dublin," and parties of "Danars of black ships." Therefore we may reasonably conclude that the oppressions intended by those supposed predictions belong to a later period than the times of Turgesius, when the Danars or Danes had established their power in Dublin and Limerick.

[3] *Cluain Comardha.* "Lawn of the Sign or Token." Dr. Reeves has recently identified this place with Colman's well, a village in the barony of Upper Connello, in the southern border of the county of Limerick.

They were in possession in the times of Turgesius, that is to say, prior to the year 845. But Ivar, grandson of Ivar, seems to have been of the Black Gentiles, or Danes; and although the exact date of his arrival is not recorded in our annals, he is spoken of as being chieftain of the Gaill of Limerick, in 930, so that he must have landed with his sons before that year.[1] Therefore the paragraph at the beginning of chap. xl., which records his arrival at Limerick, has been misplaced. It ought perhaps to have been inserted in connexion with the arrival of the "immense fleet" which came with Tamar Mac Elgi, as we have seen,[2] about the year 922. Indeed it is probable that Tamar's fleet acted in conjunction with the fleet of Ivar and his sons, for both occupied Inis Sibhtonn, and we read of no conflict or jealousy between them on the arrival of the latter party. Tamar or Tomar mac Elgi, however, seems to have been chieftain of the Limerick Danes for two or three years[3] only, and was succeeded apparently by the dynasty of Ivar and his sons, in or about the year 930.

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[1] *That Year.* The Four M., at 928, 929 (=A.D. 930, 931), tell us that the grandson of Ivar was encamped in command of the foreigners of Limerick, at Magh Roighne, a plain in Ossory, whither Godfrey of Dublin went in the last mentioned year to displace him. In 963 (967) Mathgamhain, or Mahoun, brother of the celebrated Brian Borumha, gains a victory over the Gaill of Limerick, and plunders their stronghold, Inis Sibhtonn; in 969 (971) he drives them from Inis Sibhtonn, altogether. They then took refuge in the other islands of the Shannon, making their stronghold in Inis Cathaigh (now Scattery Island, at the mouth of the Shannon), where, notwithstanding the sanctity of the place, Ivar and his sons, Olaf and Dubhcenn, were attacked by Brian in 977 (4 *Mast. and Tigern.*), or by his allies the O'Donnells of Corcabhaiscinn (p. 103). The death of Ivar and his sons is recorded by our author (chap. lxiv.), at a date which corresponds to A.D. 977, 978. So that Ivar's career was quite run out before the battle of Tara.

[2] *We have seen.* See chap. xxxiii. p. 39, and p. xciii., *supra*.

[3] *Two or three years.* In 922 the fleet of Limerick, commanded by Mac Ailgi, was on Loch Ri, and plundered Clonmacnois and the islands of the Lake. In 923 or 924 Godfrey, grandson of Ivar, came from Dublin to attack the Limerick foreigners, and a great number of his people were slain by Mac Ailgi. In 927 or 928 Mac Ailgi had his fleet on Loch Neagh when he plundered the islands and the surrounding country. These notices occur in the Ann. of Ulster. Dr. O'Donovan (Book of Rights, *Intr.*, p. xli.) quotes from the Annals of Clonmacnois, under

The great superiority of the Danes.

It is remarkable that our author, notwithstanding the bitterness of his lamentation over the success of the victors, and the iron rigour of their rule, gives them, without reserve, the praise of valour; he admits that the Irish kings and chieftains, with all their heroism, were unable to cope with the strangers, the superiority of whose arms, defensive and offensive, together with "the greatness of their achievements and deeds, their bravery, their valour, their strength, their venom, and their ferocity,"[1] rendered them invincible to the feebler powers and inferior numbers of the Irish; especially, he adds, as they were animated by an "excess of thirst and hunger" for the bays, rivers, cataracts, the fruitful smooth plains, and sweet grassy land of Ireland.

The Clanna Luigdech or Dal Cais.

But this distinct admission of the invincible prowess of the enemy, and the superiority of their armour and discipline, seems only intended to enhance the author's panegyric upon his own tribe and its chieftains, by whose valour and perseverance the power of the enemy was ultimately undermined. These were the Clanna Luighdech, or descendants of Lughaidh Menn,[2] son of Aongus Tirech, of the race of Oilioll Olum, the celebrated king of Munster in the third century. They were otherwise called Dal Cais Borumha, or race of Cas mac Tail, grandson of Lughaidh, called Borumha,[3] some say from the name of a village near Killaloe. They were one of the two pillars of nobility, one of two houses—(the

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the year 922, the following notice of his death: "Tomrair mac Ailchi, king of Denmark, is reported to have gone to hell with his pains, as he deserved." The date, however, is probably wrong, being the date of his arrival in Ireland, not that of his death. He is not mentioned in the annals after 928, and it is remarkable that in 930, Ivar, grandson of Ivar, is first named as leader of the Gaill of Limerick; so that Ivar appears to have arrived immediately after, or just before the death of Mac Ailgi, and to have succeeded to the command of the Limerick garrison.

[1] *Ferocity.* See p. 53.

[2] *Lughaidh Menn.* See p. 53, and note 14; also Geneal. Table III., No. 5, p. 247.

[3] *Borumha.* Beal Borumha "Pass of Borumh," or Ath na Borumha, "Ford of the Borumh." See Dr. O'Brien's Irish Dict., in voc. Others derive the name Borumh from the celebrated Borumean or cow tribute of Leinster, restored by Brian. *Four M.* A.D. 106,

Eoghanachts of Cashel[1] being the other)—by whom were sustained "the rule and sovereignty of Ireland." But the Clanna Luighdech, we are told, excelled all other tribes in Ireland; "as a bright watch tower shining above all other lights of the earth; as a clear fountain, or a sparkling fire, excels the lustre of the most brilliant gems; as the bright sun outshines the noblest stars of the sky and firmament."[2] Their pre-eminence.

The privileges and prerogatives of this illustrious tribe are then described. They were exempt from all taxes, hostages, rents, and fees to the king of Cashel, or any other chieftain, "so long as Erinn[3] was not theirs." They were bound in honour to defend the king of Cashel against aggression, and to support his rights against the claims of Leth Cuinn, the Northern half of Ireland, that is to say, against the chief kings of Ireland, or of Tara, who were of the O'Neill race, and whose sovereignty over Munster was disputed by the descendants of Oilioll Olum. The Dal Cais were privileged to take the place of honour in war, that is to say, to occupy the van in entering an enemy's country, and to guard the rere in a retreat.[4] They had "an alternate right to Cashel," that is, the kings of Cashel were to be chosen in alternate succession from the descendants of Eoghan Mór and Cormac Cas, of which last race the Dal Cais of Thomond were the Their prerogatives. Their alternate right to Cashel.

p. 100, and A.D. 696, note p. 298–9. The name of Dal Cais is commonly derived from their more remote ancestor Cormac Cas, son of Olioll Olum (see Geneal. Table III., No. 2). But if so the name would have belonged to many tribes besides the race of Lughaidh. 'Cas mac Tail (see Geneal. Table III., No. 8, p. 247) is called by O'Flaherty "Dalcassiorum stirps," or ancestor of the Dal Cais of Thomond. *Ogyg.*, p. 386.

[1] *Eoghanachts of Cashel.* See Geneal. Table IV., p. 248. This tribe was descended and had its name from Eoghan Mór, son of Oilioll Olum.

[2] *Firmament.* See p. 55.

[3] *Erinn.* Perhaps we should read "so long as *Cashel* was not theirs," i.e. when the king of Cashel was of the Eugenian and not of the Dal Cassian race. But our author probably intended to insinuate that the king of Cashel was *de jure* king of Ireland, and that to be king of Cashel was virtually to be king of Ireland.

[4] *Retreat.* See these privileges in the Book of Rights, viz.: exemption from tribute to Cashel, pp. 63–67; the place of honor at feasts and in war, pp. 69, 71, 81.

most celebrated. This was in accordance with the will of Oilioll Olum,[1] the father of Eoghan and Cormac Cas, who is said to have imposed this rule upon his posterity, a rule which proved a perpetual source of discord,[2] and was very irregularly observed. Two bardic poems in support of these privileges of the Dal-Cais are then quoted, one attributed to the famous Cormac, son of Cuilennan,[3] king and bishop of Cashel, who was slain at the beginning of the tenth century; and the other to Cuan O'Lochain,[4]

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[1] *Oilioll Olum.* See *Book of Rights*, p. 72, *n. O'Flaherty Ogyg.*, p. 326. In Vallancey's *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, vol. I., Nos. 3 and 4, the reader will find an able dissertation on the law of Tanistry, or alternate succession, which in part 4 is illustrated by the case of the alternate succession to the throne of Munster, in the Eoghanacht and Dal Cassian descendants of Oilioll Olum. See p. 236, *n.*

[2] *Discord.* The discord is continued in the pens of the historians; the authors of the Eoghanacht race ignore all the kings of the Dal-Cais; and the Dal-Cassian chieftains, from the superior power of their rivals, seem to have, in fact, enjoyed very little more than their own hereditary territory, with the empty claim to the sovereignty of Munster, under the will of Oilioll Olum. See Dr. O'Brien's remarks on this subject. Vallancey's *Collect, ibid.*, p. 441, *sq.* 469–476. Very few kings of Munster, of the Dal-Cassian race are on record, and even of these, it is probable that some were in fact only lords of Thomond, and are styled kings of Munster by writers of their own clann only. See O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 213. *Keating* (*reign of Flann Sionna*), *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 520.

[3] *Cormac son of Cuilennan.* He was of the Eoghanacht or Eugenian race, descended from Aongus, son of Natfraich (see Table IV., No. 7, p: 248.) His descent, as given by the books of Leinster and Lecan, is as follows: s. of Cuilennan, s. of Selbach, s. of Algenan, s. of Eochadh, s. of Colman, s. of Donnchadh, s. of Dubhinrecht, s. of Furudhran, s. of Eochadh, s. of Bresail, s. of Aongus. He was slain in 908 (Four M.), 920 (Ann. Ult.), at the battle of Belach Mughna, in Magh Ailbhe (now Ballaghmoon-bridge, in the S. of the co. Kildare, about halfway between Castledermot and Carlow). Keating relates a curious anecdote to the effect that when his own tribe, the Eoghanacht of Cashel, refused him food and treasure for the celebration of Easter, Cormac was liberally supplied by the Dal-Cais, both being equally free from any legal obligation to pay him tribute. *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 520. This may account for his favourable recognition of the rights of the Dal-Cais, in the verses quoted by our author, if indeed they are really his, which may be doubted.

[4] *O'Lochain.* See above, p. xxv., *n.* 2. He was murdered, A.D. 1024, in Tebhtha, or Teffia, an extensive district in the N.W. of the ancient province of Meath. See *B. of Rights*, p. 11, *n.*, 180, *n.* The family of O'Lochain were chieftains of Gailenga, a part of Teffia, now represented by the baronies of Morgallion, co. of Meath, and Clankee, in the co. of

"chief poet of Erinn and Alba" (Ireland and Scotland), in the times of Brian Borumha.

We have next (ch. xlv.) the genealogy[1] of Brian and his elder brother Mathgamhain, who are described in bombastic language as the two fierce, magnificent heroes, the two stout, able, valiant pillars, who then governed the Dalcassian tribe; Mathgamhain, in virtue of his seniority, being the actual chieftain, and Brian his destined successor or heir apparent. These great heroes resolved to submit no longer to the oppression and tyranny of the foreign invaders; they transported their people and chattels across the Shannon, westwards, where they dispersed themselves in the forests and woods of the country.[2] Genealogy of Brian.

A harassing war of skirmishing in the woods of Thomond[3] was then carried on for some time with the foreigners, in which no quarter was given on either side, for "there was no termonn or protection from the foreigners, and it was woe to either party to meet the other."[4] Mathgamhain, after harassing warfare, makes a truce.

Cavan. He was therefore murdered by his own kinsmen, which made the deed more heinous. See 4 *M.* The Ui Lochain were descended from Cormac Gaileng, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum, and therefore were of the same great Munster family as the Dal-Cais. See Curry's *Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 175.

[1] *Genealogy.* See Table III., p. 247. Mathgamhain, as has been already remarked, is pronounced *Mahoon.*

[2] *Of the country.* Our author says, p. 59 "in the woods of the three tribes (maicni), that were there," or perhaps we should translate "the three Maicnes that were there." These were the descendants of Conmac, son of Fergus Rogius and Maud, queen of Connacht. Three tribes of the Conmaicne were settled west of the Shannon, viz.: Conmaicne-Cuile-tola, now the barony of Kilmaine, co. of Mayo; Conmaicne Dunmor, N. of the co. of Galway, and Conmaicne mara (the Conmaicne of the sea), now Conemara. A fourth tribe of the same race was settled in the cos. of Longford and Leitrim. *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, p. 275. The Brussels MS. B. reads "the three *Uaithne*," instead of *Macni.* But the districts called Uaithne, were S. of the Shannon. They are now the baronies of Uaithne or Owney-beg, in Limerick, and Owney and Arra in Tipperary. *B. of Rights*, p. 46, *n.* There are only two districts called *Uaithne*, and "the three *Maicni's*" is certainly the true reading.

[3] *Thomond.* The district of Thomond (which is the anglicized pronunciation of *Tuath-mumhain* "North Munster,") is represented nearly by the present county of Clare. See O'Donovan's note, *Book of Rights*, p. 260.

[4] *The other.* See p. 59.

At length tired out with this kind of warfare, Mathgamhain made a temporary truce with the enemy.

Brian continues the war.

Brian, however, refused to join in this truce. He returned to the forests of Thomond, and continued to carry on the same sort of guerilla warfare from the deserts and caves of Ui-mBloit.[1] He laid waste the country from Loch Derg Dheirc to the river Fergus, and from Sliabh-mEchti[2] to Tratraighe or Tradry.[3] This latter place was fixed upon by the foreigners of Thomond, or North Munster, as the head quarters of their troops; they fortified Tratraighe with earthworks, and filled it with a strong garrison, in order to conquer from thence Thomond, or the present county of Clare, and Ui Conaill,[4] or Connello, south of the Shannon, in the county of Limerick. Between this garrison and Brian's followers perpetual skirmishes and mutual annoyances were kept up, until Brian was driven to the greatest extremities, and at length he found his army reduced to fifteen men.[5]

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[1] *Ui-mBloit.* The region inhabited by the Ui-mBloit, the decendants of Bloit, Blait, or Blod, son of Cas mac Tail, ancestor of the Dal-Cais of Thomond (see Table III., No. 9, p. 247). This district is in the co. of Clare, N.E. of the diocese of Killaloe, and the name is preserved in that of the rural deanery of Omelode or Omulled. *Liber. Reg. Visitat*, 1619. *Four M.*, A.D. 1598, p. 2088, note b.

[2] *Sliabh-mEchti.* Now Slieve Baughta, or the Boughta mountains in the co. of Galway, on the borders of Clare. Fergus, now Fergus, is a river which rises in the N. of the barony of Inchiquin, co. of Clare, flowing by the town of Ennis, and falls into the Shannon below the village of Clare.

[3] *Tradry.* See p. xli., *n.* [4]. Tratraighe was originally the district round the town and Castle of Bunratty. It is curious that the English adventurer, Thomas de Clare, in 1277, selected this place as his military head quarters, and built the Castle of Bunratty, with the same object in view which the Danes had when they fortified themselves in the same spot, namely, the conquest of Thomond.

[4] *Ui Conaill.* The country inhabited by the Ui Conaill Gabhra, or descendants of Conall Gabhra. (Tab. V., No. 10, p. 249.) It is now represented by the baronies of Upper and Lower Connello, together with the present baronies of Shanid and Glenquin. See *B. of Rights*, p. 76, *n.* Comp. p. lxxxv. and note, p. 31. See also p. xli. *supra.*

[5] *Fifteen men.* Our author qualifies this statement by "historians say," or, according to the reading of B., "there are historians who say." This does not imply that *historians*, in the more dignified sense of the word, had already begun to preserve a formal record of these events. The Irish

Hearing of his brother's disasters, Mathgamhain sent to him to request an interview. When they met, Brian reproached Mathgamhain for having made a truce with the enemy. An interpolation in the O'Clery or Brussels MS. gives a poetical dialogue between the two brothers, in which Mathgamhain[1] asks the cause of Brian's coming almost alone, and where he had left his followers. Brian answers that he had left them on the field of battle, cut down by the foreigners; that they had followed him in hardship over every plain,—"not," he adds, "like thy people," who had remained inactive at home. He then gives a short account of his exploits, and concludes by the reproach that neither Cennedigh, their father, nor Lorcan, their grandfather, *for the sake of wealth*, would have been so quiescent towards the foreigners. This seems to intimate that Mathgamhain's "quiescence" had arisen from some interested motive, an interpretation which is confirmed by Mathgamhain's answer—

Poetical account of Mathgamhain's interview with Brian.

> "This is pride, O brave Brian,
> Thy mind does not consider consequences;
> Thy care and thoughts are *not on wealth*,
> And yet methinks thou art alone."

In other words, "pride has made thee despise all prudent considerations, and what hast thou gained by it, since here thou art now without followers, and alone?"[2]

Sencaidh, or Shanachy, which, for want of a better word, we translate historian, was an officer attached to great families. He itinerated among the clan, relating the deeds of his chieftain, and sometimes, but not always, committing them to writing. We are not, therefore, to infer that any great length of time was necessary between the events themselves and their being recorded by such "historians."

[1] *Mathgamhain.* This poetical account of the conversation is attributed to Mathgamhain himself.

[2] *Alone.* See ch. xlvi., pp. 62–65. One or two remarks are necessary upon this poem. In ver. 1. Brian is called "Brian *of Banba*," i.e. of Ireland, Banba being one of the poetical names of Ireland; see Keating, *O'Mahony's Transl.*, Book I., ch. i., p. 79, *sq.* *Craig Liath* (Grey-stone), now Craig-lea, or Carrick-lee, is a remarkable rock near Killaloe, celebrated in Irish fairy lore as the dwelling place of *Aoibhinn* (incorrectly Aoibhill), the Banshee or family sprite of the Dal-Cais, especially of the O'Briens; see *Feis Tighe Chonain*, edited by Mr. Nicholas O'Kearney (*Ossianic Soc.*),

Prose account of the same.

Then follows (ch. xlvii.) a prose account of the same interview between the brothers, which, although in some places probably interpolated, is doubtless the narrative of the original author, and the source from which the poetical dialogue was taken. Brian reproaches Mathgamhain for having made peace with the foreigners. He asserts that their common grandfather, Lorcan, son of Lachtna, would never have made such a truce, seeing that he had denied it[1] to his own countrymen, Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, king of Ireland, and to the five provinces[2] of

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1855, p. 188, *n*, and comp. the editor's Introd., p. 98, *sq*. Perhaps Brian's answer, "I have left them on Craig Liath," may signify "I have left them in the other world—the world of fairies and spirits." The names of several Danish chieftains slain by Brian are mentioned: *Birnn* (Biörn); *Edoun*, or *Eodunn* (Audunn); *Elius* (possibly Eylifr); and *Elgim* (perhaps Helgi); we do not, however, meet these names elsewhere in the present work. Bréintir is a district in the co. of Clare, near Slieve Callan, or Cullane, about five miles E. of Milltown Malbay. It is called Breintir *mbuain*, durable, or everlasting, from its mountainous and rocky character.

[1] *Denied it*. The words ꝺaꝺıꞇın and ꝺaċıll, translated "submission and tribute," p. 66, ought, perhaps, to have been rendered "protection and delay," meaning a delay of hostilities, and protection during the truce. Ꝺíꝺın, or ꝺıꝺean, signifies protection, shelter; and ꝺaċıll, also written ꝺáıl, is delay, respite. The general meaning of the passage certainly is, that he who refused all truce or compromise with his own countrymen, when they invaded his territory, would never have made peace with a foreign enemy, who had taken forcible possession of the country.

[2] *Five provinces*. It will be recollected that the ancient Meath wa originally one of the provinces of Ire land; O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, pp. 24, 25, 304. Our author's chronology is here greatly at fault, if, indeed, as is most probable, the mistakes are not rather to be attributed to his transcribers and interpolators. Lorcan, son of Lachtna, grandfather of Brian, could not possibly have been a contemporary of Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, or Malachy I., who died in 863. Brian was born, according to the Four M., in 925, or, according to the more probable date of the Annals of Ulster, in 941. Allowing 30 years to a generation, this would give 865 as the year of Lorcan's birth, or, if we adopt the later date of Brian's birth, 881. In neither case could Lorcan have had any warfare with Malachy I.; and it is equally impossible that Malachy II. can be intended, for he began his reign in 980, at which time, Lorcan, if living, would have been at least 100 years old. Perhaps we should read (p. 67), "He who gave not submission or tribute to [the son of] Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh," meaning Flann Sionna, who reigned from 879 to 916. Keating represents Lorcan as contemporary with Cormac mac Cuilennain, who was slain in 908, or, according to the Annals of Ulster, in 920. Ac-

Ireland, and would not grant them a truce, not even for as much time "as would have sufficed to play a game of chess on the green of Magh Adhair;"[1] neither would he allow the seven great battalions four days and four nights to burn Ath U Doghair. He appeals also to his

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cording to Keating, Cormac, foreseeing his death, designated Lorcan mac Lachtna his successor, on the ground that the Dal-Cais had never had their lawful turns of sovereignty, according to the will of Oilioll Olum. *O'Mahony's Trans.*, p. 323. Lorcan, it is needless to say, was "king" of Thomond only, and never succeeded to the throne of Munster; but another Lorcan, son of Conligan, of an allied tribe (the Hi Failbhe) of the Eoghanacht branch, became king of Munster in 920 (=922), according to the Four M. (See above, p. xciii., and note [2].) He is not included, however, in O'Dubhagain's poetical list of the kings of Munster, although that is an Eoghanacht account. The chronology and order of succession of the Munster chieftains at this period is very confused and imperfect. See App. B., p. 241.

[1] *Magh Adhair.* This was the celebrated plain in which is still to be seen the mound where the chieftains of the Dal Cais were inaugurated under an ancient tree (bile). This tree was uprooted by King Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II., in 982 (*Tigh*), in contempt of the Dal Cais. Magh Adhair was first identified by Dr. O'Donovan; it is situated about four miles W. f Tulla, in the co. of Clare. See *Circuit of Muircheartach*, p. 47, *Four M.*, 981, n. [d], p. 714. Dr. O'Conor, in *Tighernach* (loc. cit.), spells this name *Maghhadrad*, and translates it *Campus Adorationis*. In his Four M. (loc. cit.) he spells it correctly, *Magh Adhair*, but retains his former translation. The Irish traditions derive the name from Adhar, son of Umor, a chieftain of the Fir Bolgs, who had settled in the present counties of Clare and Galway before the arrival of the Milesians in Ireland. See O'Donovan's note [y], *Four M.*, 1599, p. 2104.

The singular mode of describing a short time as "the time necessary for playing one game of chess on the green of Magh Adhair," is probably an allusion to an invasion of the Dal Cassian territory by Flann Sionna, monarch of Ireland, during the reign of Lorcan, son of Lachtna, king of Thomond. Flann having encamped on the plain of Magh Adhair, ostentatiously commenced a game of chess with his courtiers to show his security, and as a mark of contempt for the chieftains of the country. But he was soon surprised and ignominiously defeated in an action which lasted for three days. This story is told by Dr. O'Brien, from what he calls the Book of Munster, *Vallancey's Collect.*, vol. i., p. 450. It is probable that the allusion to Ath U Doghair relates to the same transaction. Flann Sionna was kept too hotly engaged for the three or four days of the battle—(the MS. B. has three days and four nights)—to have time to burn Ath U Doghair—the name signifies Ford of U, or Ui, Doghair; some now obscure and forgotten family of the district. The place has not been identified. The seven great families of Connaught, here called "the seven great battalions," are enumerated by O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 175; and see *West Connaught*, by Hardiman, p. 125, *sq.*

more remote ancestors, Lugaidh Menn and Corc. The former of these had never yielded "even the leveret of a hare" to the tribe of Tlaman Tuathbil,[1] and treated with contempt the three battalions[2] of Connaught, until he had gained seven battles over them, killed seven of their kings,[3] and driven them from Carn Feradaich to Ath Lucait, that is to say, from the present counties of Limerick and Clare.[4] Corc is described as the first man,[5] that is the first

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[1] *Tlaman Tuathbil.* O'Dubhagain, in his Topographical Poem, mentions the *Muintir Tlamain*, or *Cinel Tlamain*, as a tribe seated somewhere in Westmeath; but the exact seat of their territory is unknown. In one place Mag-Aedha (or Magee) is mentioned as their chieftain, and his branch of the territory seems to have been a part of Teffia; (*Topogr. Poems*, pp. 3, 11.) In another place (*ibid.*, p. 13), O'Muireadhaigh, or Murray, is spoken of as their chieftain, and his territory as part of Corca-Adhamh, now included in the barony Magheradernon, co. of Westmeath. This tribe was descended from Tlaman, whose pedigree is given in fifteen generations from Niall of the Nine Hostages; *Book of Lecan*, fol. 69, b. b.; *M'Firbis Genealogies*, p. 176. The Muintir Tlamain were allied to the tribes of Connaught; but it is not easy to explain why they are called Tuathbil. The word is probably inaccurately written, and may have been meant to signify *northerly* or *northwards;* if so, the Muintir Tlaman may have been divided into north and south. Mr. W. M. Hennessy suggests that the meaning of the passage may be this: "Lugaidh Menn guarded his territory so well that he never allowed so much as the leveret of a hare to go northwards (ꝺuaċbıl) to the Sil Tlaman." But the text is certainly corrupt. Lugadh Menn lived about A.D. 300.

[2] *Three battalions.* Alluding to the tripartite division of Connaught by its first inhabitants, the Damnonii, a tribe of the Fir Bolg, or Belgians. See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 175, 269; Keating (*O'Mahony's Transl.*), p. 89, 265.

[3] *Kings.* This story of seven battles and seven kings looks very unlike authentic history; but it is given by Dr. O'Brien from his "Book of Munster." (*Vallancey, Collect.* i., p. 431.) The MS. B. has "so that he killed their king," which seems more probable. See p. 66, n. [9].

[4] *Clare.* Carn Feradaich, according to Dr. O'Donovan, is a Carn on the mountain of Seefin, S.W. of Kilmallock, on the confines of the counties of Limerick and Cork; but Dr. O'Brien says that Carn Feradaich is Knock-Aine, in Limerick; *Vallancey, Collect.* i., p. 432. Ath Lucait (now Lochid Bridge) is in the north of the barony of Inchiquin, parish of Kilkeedy, co. of Clare. Thomond was originally part of Connaught, although south of the line from Galway to Dublin which separated Leth Mogha from Leth Cuinn. As being in Leth Mogha, it was claimed by the Dal-Cais, and forcibly taken from the Connaught tribes by Lugaidh Menn. See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* (iii., 82), p. 386.

[5] *The first man* This shows that Corc, son of Anluan, great grandfather of Cenneideigh, or Kennedy, the father of Brian, must have been intended, for

of the Dal-Cais, who routed the foreigners; "the man also who fought eight battles in defence of Munster, and of Legh Mogha (the southern half of Ireland) in general." This was not the man to brook an insult, or make an inglorious truce with the enemy, as Mathgamhain had done.

Mathgamhain's answer was remarkable for its moderation. He admitted the truth of what Brian had said; but added, not without some spice of satire, that seeing the superiority of the enemy, in numbers and in arms, he saw no advantage in leading his followers to certain destruction, as Brian had done. Mathgamhain's answer.

Brian replied that he had followed the example of his ancestors in sacrificing everything; risking his life and the extermination of his clan, rather than submit to insult or contempt from an enemy. But his ancestors had never set him the example, which Mathgamhain's conduct had sanctioned, of abandoning their inheritance, without a contest, to "dark foreigners and black grim Gentiles." Brian's reply.

The immediate result of this conference was that Mathgamhain assembled the tribe, and having stated the case, put it to them whether they would have peace or war. The unanimous voice was for war; and they marched at once (ch. xlix.) into the country of the Eoghanacht, the present county of Kerry, then occupied by the enemy. The Eoghanacht, or native tribes of the country, as well as the Muscraighe,[1] joined the Dalcassian standard, from Dun- The tribe resolve on war.

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he lived at the time when the Scandinavian fleets first made their appearance on the coasts of Ireland. See note, p. 66, and p. xxxiii., n. [2]. The words "Corc, son of Cas, son of Ailioll Oluim," in the text are therefore corrupt. They do not occur in the MS. B., and are probably the marginal note of some ill-informed reader or transcriber, afterwards copied into the text. The Annals preserve no record of the *eight* battles here spoken of. The number may or may not be correct.

[1] *Muscraighe.* This tribe were the descendants of Cairbre Musc, king of Ireland in the third century. Their territory is represented by the present baronies of East and West Muskerry, co. of Cork; and by those of Clanwilliam and Upper and Lower Ormond, co. of Tipperary. See p. lxxi., n. [1]. And there were also other districts called Muscraighe.

na-Sciath[1] to Belach Accailli. Mathgamhain [*pron.* Mahoun] succeeded in obtaining possession of Cashel, and encamped at Dun Cuirc[2] the year after the death of Donnchadh, son of Cellachan, king of Cashel.

In this expedition the settlements of the enemy in every part of Munster were plundered with great slaughter.

The Danes invade the Dal-Cais.

This aroused the Limerick Danes. Ivar resolved to carry the war into the Dalcassian country, and to exterminate that tribe, as the only means of recovering his power. There were still native chieftains and clans who adhered to the Danish dynasty, and were ready to follow the standard of Ivar rather than submit to the rule of the Dal-Cais. "The great muster and hosting of the men of Munster, both Gaill and Gaedhil," followed the summons given them by the Limerick Viking, and they came together to the appointed place anxious to depopulate Dal-Cais "so that there should not be of them a man to guide a horse's head over a channel, or an abbat or venerable ecclesiastic in all Munster, who was not made subject to the foreigners within the four points of Munster."

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[1] *Dun-na-Sciath.* "Fort of the Shields," a fort which gave its name to the present townland of Donaskeagh, in the parish of Rathlynin, barony of Clanwilliam, co. of Tipperary. Belach Accailli (road of Accaill) is probably a corrupt spelling. Dr. O'Donovan conjectured that it ought to be Belach Eochaille, the ancient name of the road from Lismore to Eochaill, now Youghal. *Four M.*, 287.

[2] *Dun Cuirc.* "The fortress of Corc," a fort at Cashel (and indeed a name of Cashel itself), from Conaill Corc, king of Munster, son of Olioll Flanbeg, who first selected Cashel as the royal fortress of Munster. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 382. This seems to imply that Mathgamhain on this occasion became king of Cashel; the author of the List of Kings (ch. ii.) having already set down Donnchadh, son of Cellachan, as his immediate predecessor. This would give 964 as the date of Mathgamhain's accession; for Donnchadh died in 963 (961, *Four M.*) If it be a mistake that Donnchadh was king of Munster, as we have endeavoured to show (App. B., pp. 239, 240), there must have been a short interregnum after the murder of Fergraidh (who was slain by his own people), 961 to 963. Probably during that time Donnchad and Mathgamhain had both claimed the throne, each being considered king by his own followers.

Some of the chieftains who resisted this movement, and declared themselves in favour of the Dal-Cais, were put to death[1] by Ivar and his followers (chap. l.); but Maolmuadh [*pron.* Molloy], son of Bran, king of Desmond, and Donnabhan [*pron.* Donovan], son of Cathal, king of Ui Cairbhri,[2] were amongst the most zealous enemies of Mathgamhain, and united their forces to those of Ivar. They were actuated, our author adds, not so much by any favour to the cause of the foreigners as by hatred and jealousy towards the Dal-Cais.

Chieftains who supported the Dal-Cais put to death.

Mathgamhain and Brian, hearing of this confederacy, summoned their followers to a council of war at Cashel. It was resolved to march to Cnamhchoill,[3] a place near the present town of Tipperary, where it seems the enemy were encamped. At this critical moment an important auxiliary arrived, Cathal, son of Feradach, chieftain of the Delbhna-mór,[4] "the king-soldier and champion of Erinn," with an hundred well armed men. The Delbhnas,

The Dal-Cais begin the war.

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[1] *Put to Death.* The chieftains named are—1. Faelan, king of the Deisi-Mumhan, or Decies of Munster. The Four M. give 964 (=965) as the year of his death, which agrees with our author's chronology. 2. Flathri, son of Allmoran, king of Ressad. 3. Sidechad, or Sidichan, son of Segni, king of Titill [Ticcill, B.] The two latter chieftains are not mentioned in the Annals; nor have the districts called Ressad and Titill been identified.

[2] *Ui Cairbhri.* For the descent of Maolmuadh and Donnabhan, see App. B., Geneal. Tables IV. and V. The territory of the Ui Cairbri, descendants of Cairbre Aebhda (Tab. V., No. 8), comprised the barony of Coshma, and along the west side of the river Maigue, from Bruree to the Shannon, co. of Limerick.

[3] *Cnamhchoill,* i.e. "Hazle, or Nut-wood," now Clechoill, or Cleighile, in the barony of Clanwilliam, parish of Kilshane, co. of Tipperary, about a mile and a-half east of the town of Tipperary; *O'Donovan, Supplem. to O'Reilly,* in voc. *Ord. Survey Map, Sheet* 67. Cnamhchoill is mentioned by Keating, *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 92. Haliday, in his *Transl.*, p. 139, anglicises the word *Knawhill.* But he intended this merely to give the pronunciation, not as the modern name of the place.

[4] *Delbhna-mór.* The name of Delbhna, or *Delvin,* is given to several districts inhabited by tribes descended from Lugaidh Delbh-n-Aodh (*pron.* Delv-nae), son of Cas mac Tail. The Delvins were, therefore, closely allied to the Dal Cais. See Genealogical Table III., p. 247. Some enumerate five (see p. 75), and others seven Delvins, or Delbhnas. *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, p. 387; *Hy Many*, p. 83; *B. of Rights*, p. 107, n. p.

or Delvins, were near relatives of the Dal Cais, and came to support their kinsmen. The occasion was of such importance that the absent individuals of the clan, even though they may have been in the service of Maelseachlainn of the Southern O'Neill, and Aedh of the Northern O'Neill, all flocked in to answer the summons of their chieftain, and to support their clan in this emergency (p. 75). When they had all arrived a second council of war was held, and it was determined unanimously to risk a general engagement at Sulcoit,[1] near the town of Tipperary. This place, as its name applies, was at that time probably a large wood of sallow trees. It was about five miles westward of Cnamhchoill where the enemy had encamped, and its trees afforded the shelter so necessary for the aggressive warfare of the period.

Constitution of the Irish clans.

It appears incidentally from this narrative that the whole body of the clan were summoned to decide upon the question of war or peace. Every petty chieftain of every minor tribe, if not every individual clansman, had a voice, not only in this primary question, but also when war was declared, in the questions arising upon subsequent military operations. This constitution of the clans was one of the evils of ancient Ireland. It weakened the power of the kings or supreme chieftains. The kings or chieftains were themselves chosen by the clan, although the choice of the clan was limited to those who possessed a sort of hereditary right, often vague and open to dispute, and complicated by a comparison of the personal merits of rival claimants. It is not wonderful that such elections should have led frequently to abiding animosities and faction fights, ending in savage bloodshed.[2] To this

[1] *Sulcoit*, or Salcoit, p. 76. This word signifies a Sallow-wood, *Salicetum*. Coit (Welsh, *Coed*) is a wood. The site of this wood is still marked by the two parishes of Solloghod-beg and Solloghod-more, in the barony of Clanwilliam, co. of Tipperary, about 2½ miles N. and N.W. of the town of Tipperary. See O'Donovan, *Supplem. to O'Reilly, in voc.*; and *Cormac Glossary* (ed. Stokes), p. 41, in voce *Salchuait*.

[2] *Bloodshed*. See O'Flaherty's account of the political constitution of the ancient Irish clans; *Ogyg.*, p. 57, *sq.*

essential weakness of the government, even in times of peace, must be added the relation of the supreme chieftain to his army in the case of war. The army was, in fact, a rope of sand. It consisted of a number of minor clans, each commanded by its own petty chieftain, receiving no pay, and bound by no oath, or any other obligation of allegiance to the "king," or chief commander. Each clan, no doubt, adhered with unshaken loyalty to its immediate chieftain; but the chieftain, on the smallest offence, could dismiss his followers to their homes, even at the very eve of a decisive battle. He was ready at every personal insult, or supposed insult, to abandon the national cause, and for the sake of a selfish revenge, disguised under the name of honor, to expose the whole national army to inevitable defeat. Nor did his defection, however capricious or unreasonable, expose him to any loss of caste or of reputation, for all were conscious that under similar circumstances they would have done the same.[1]

These facts must be borne in mind if we would rightly

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[1] *The same.* This state of things is well described by Dr. Charles O'Conor, in his *Memoirs of Charles O'Conor, Esq., of Belanagare*:—"The subordinate chiefs were so numerous, that their operations resembled nearly the tumultuous operations of the people: roused to resistance only by what immediately affected their respective districts, what they felt only was what they were concerned for; remote consequences, apprehensions, and possibilities operated too feebly . . . they submitted to many oppressive acts, not only as individuals, but as a nation, before even a partial confederacy could be procured. Every clan preserved, with peculiar attention, the genealogy of its leader, which was the historical knowledge of those times; and thus, very much to the prejudice of the nation at large, so many family codes were formed as made the distinction and separation of each clan a barrier against national union, which was insurmountable to all. The small principalities into which the nation was thus unfortunately divided, exercised perpetual rapine and violence against each other. Being divided by fierce family contentions, they were more intent on the means of mutual injury than on the expedients for common, or even for private defence; and, while they fought against the English invader, they fought with equal animosity against themselves. *Dum singuli pugnant, univer si vincuntur.*" *Memoirs*, &c., by the Rev. Charles O'Conor, D.D., *Dedicat.*, p. xxii. The above words were written in reference to the English invasion under Henry II.; but they are equally applicable to the wars of the Danes, and, indeed, to all the internal wars of Ireland.

Inherent weakness of the Irish in warfare.

understand the inherent weakness of warfare in ancient Ireland, and the ease with which the Irish were always subjugated by a handful of disciplined men. In the case before us, Ivar, of Limerick, well knowing the source of this weakness, resolved to concentrate his whole force upon the destruction of the Dal-Cais. He knew that the petty jealousies of the surrounding tribes would secure to him their public or secret aid in an enterprise, which, if successful, would rid them of powerful and dangerous neighbours, and probably give them possession of the conquered territory. It would never occur to them to consider that the feuds, certain to arise on the attempt to divide that territory among themselves, would expose them to a similar extermination; whereas by an union of their forces they might have recovered Limerick, and delivered themselves and the whole province from an intolerable oppression.

Battle of Sulchoit.

The battle that followed at Sulchoit appears to have commenced by the advance of the Danes. It continued from sunrise to mid-day (see chap. lii, p. 77), and ended in a complete rout of the foreigners, who fled "to the ditches and to the vallies, and to the solitudes of the great sweet flowery-plain;" but they were followed by the conquerors, and massacred without mercy or quarter. A poem, attributed to Mathgamhain, is here interpolated in O'Clery's MS. It is in the form of a dialogue, in which Mathgamhain requires from Brian an account of the battle. It contains, however, no information of any great consequence. The victory at Sulchoit put the important station of Limerick into the hands of the Dal-Cassian leaders.[1] The survivors

[1] *Leaders.* It is something in favour of the antiquity of this poem that it sets down the number of slain in the battle of Sulchoit, as "little less than one hundred heads," instead of the 7,000 of Keating (*O'Mahony's Transls.*, p. 543), and the 3,000 of the "Book of Munster" (*Vallancey*, Collect i, 479). The poem gives the whole honour of the victory to Brian, and represents Mathgamhain asking from Brian an account of the battle as if he had not himself been present. But the prose narrative gives no ground for this, and makes no mention of the leader of the Dal-Cais on this occasion. In the poem the Danish force is described as "a battalion of horsemen in corslets," p. 77.

fled to the fort they had erected there, but were pursued and slaughtered in the streets and in the houses. The names of several Danish chieftains slain on this occasion are given,[1] and we have also a particular account of the rich spoils of the city which fell into the hands of the victors.[2] In a word, the fort and the good town were sacked and burnt. The prisoners were collected on the hillocks of Saingel,[3] where "every one that was fit for war was put to death, and every one that was fit for a slave was enslaved." This decisive battle is dated[4] A.D. 968.

Another poetical account of the battle, also in a dialogue between Brian and his brother, is here interpolated[5] in the O'Clery MS. (B). In this poem, the author of which is not named, but simply called "the poet," the praises of Brian are celebrated in the dialogue by Mahoun, and those of Mahoun by Brian. The bard concludes by putting into Brian's mouth a call upon Mahoun to give gold to those who had so well merited reward, by estab-

Poetical Account of the battle.

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[1] *Given.* These names are also repeated in the poem (ch. liv.), with some variations, which are pointed out —p. 78, n. [3].

[2] *Victors.* Amongst the spoils "beautiful and foreign saddles" are particularly mentioned; besides jewels, gold, and silver; "beautifully woven cloth of all colours;" satins and silks, scarlet and green; "soft, youthful, bright, girls;" "blooming silk-clad women;" "active, well-formed boys"—p. 79.

[3] *Saingel.* Now Singland, or St. Patrick's, a parish on the south bank of the Shannon, forming part of the city of Limerick. The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (iii., c. 44) tells us that here Carthenn Finn, son of Blodh, son of Cas Mac Tail, the first Christian chieftain of the Dalcais, was baptized by St. Patrick, and that the name Saingel was corrupted from *Sain Aingeal* ["a different angel"], because an angel had appeared to St. Patrick there, who was not *Victor*, the angel who generally attended him, but a different angel. *Trias Thaum.*, p. 158. See Geneal. Table III., Nos. 9, 10, p. 247.

[4] *Dated.* So Dubl. Annals of Inisfal. The Four M. at 965 (=967) have the following record of this battle, without mentioning Sulchoit:—"Mathgamhain, son of Cenneidigh, king of Cashel, plundered Limerick, and burned it." If this date be correct, we have another proof that the mention of the arrival of Ivar of Limerick and his sons after the battle of Tara (980) is misplaced. See above, p. cii.

[5] *Interpolated.* See ch. liv., p. 81.

lishing in this victory his undoubted right to the throne of Munster:—

> "King of Munster thou art, I deem,
> High king of lofty Cashel;[1]
> Give gold to those who merit,
> They are many, O Mathgamhain."

The prose account (ch. lv.) tells us that Mahoun did not neglect this great duty of a chieftain after such a victory. He ordered to every one his proper and befitting share, as he deserved, "according to his bravery and valour."

Races, or Games of the son of Feradach.

After this (p. 83) follows a singular record, which the editor confesses himself unable to explain satisfactorily.[2] "Then," says our author, "they celebrated the races [or

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[1] *Lofty Cashel.* Caiṡil na cceimend, *lit.*, "Cashel of the steps," which has been taken figuratively in the translation (p. 81) to signify celebrated, renowned. See also p. 89, n. [2]. But perhaps the meaning may be more literal, "high," "lofty," in allusion to the great Rock of Cashel.

[2] *Satisfactorily.* It is not clear that the curious ceremony here described had anything to do with racing or horse racing, although the translation, p. 83, gives that idea. The women knelt around in the posture described, but it is not expressly said that they were in motion, much less running a race, unless motion be implied in the word translated *marshalled.* The foreign women alone were engaged in the ceremony, and the *gillies* (not necessarily *horse* boys) of the army, whether of the Irish or Danish army is not said, *marshalled* them (whatever that may mean) from behind. The mention of the son of Feradach is probably an interpolation, for it does not occur in the MS. B. The whole was, no doubt, a heathen performance, intended, in some way, to benefit the souls of those who had fallen in the battle. Mr. W. M. Hennessy has pointed out a curious passage in the Book of Fenagh, in which the Druids of Fergna, son of Fergus, king of Brefné, performed a similar ceremony in resistance to St. Caillin and his clergy. The position of the Druids, with their hands on the ground, is described in somewhat coarse language (*Book of Fenagh*, Brit. Mus. Cott. Vesp. E. 2), but is exactly the same as the position of the women spoken of in the text. See also Dr. O'Donovan's copy of the Book of Fenagh (*R. Irish Acad.*), fol. 13, b. b., where the poetical account of this transaction describes the act of the Druids thus, Eṙġiṫ na dṙaoṫhe co luaṡ, Iṡ cuiṙid a ṫona ṡuaṡ. These Druids were afterwards turned into stone by the prayers of the saint, as a punishment for their profanity. See *Mart. of Donegal*, (Nov. 13), p. 307.

games] of the son of Feradach, viz., a great line of the women of the foreigners, on the hills [or hillocks[1]] of Saingel, in a circle, and they were stooped, and their hands on the ground, and the gillies of the army marshalled them [or drove them on] from behind, for the good of the souls of the foreigners who were slain in the battle."[2]

The next chapter (lvi.) gives a short summary of the exploits of Mahoun. He spoiled the Ui Enna[3] of Aine, now Knock-any, in the county of Limerick. Here Cathal, son of Feradach, chieftain of Delbhna-mór, "the king soldier

Exploits of Mahoun.

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[1] *Hillocks.* The original is the diminutive *Cnocán.*

[2] *The battle.* The son of Feradach here mentioned (if indeed the reading be correct, for the words "of the son of Feradach" are omitted in B.) was, doubtless, Cathal, son of Feradach, chieftain of the Delvin, or Delbhna-mór, mentioned, ch. li. (see p. cxvii. n.), whose death is recorded, ch. lvi. But why the ceremony described should be called "the races (ꝁꞃaꞃaıꞅ) of the son of Feradach" does not appear. The word ꝁꞃaꞃaıꞅ is translated *races* on Dr. O'Donovan's authority, who has inserted it in his *Supplem. to O'Reilly*, but quotes as his only authority the passage before us. Two apparently cognate words, ꝁꞃaıꞃne and ꝁꞃaıꞃneaꝁaȯ, occur in the dictionaries of O'Brien and O'Reilly, interpreted, "a riding, also horsemanship, also an alarm." O'Reilly has also the word ꝁꞃaꞃuıꞅ, which he explains "grunting (as swine)." Mr. O'Curry translates ꝁꞃaṙaıꞅ "games," as it occurs in a poem by Cinaed O'Hartigan on Aicill, or Acaill (daughter of Cairbre Niafer, son of Ros Ruadh, king of Leinster in the second century), who died of grief on hearing that her brother Erc had been slain by Conall Cearnach. The words of the poem are—"They performed bright, pure games (ꝁꞃaṙaıꞅ ꝁıꝉ ꝁꝉaın) for Acaill hard by Teamair (or Tara)." *O'Curry's Lectures*, p. 514. Here it will be observed that these games were performed *for* Acaill after her death, as the "races" mentioned in the text were performed *for* the slain Norsemen. In the poem cited by Mr. O'Curry, however, there is no mention of *horses.* But the same word, in a plural form, ꝁꞃaıꞃꞃne, occurs in another poem, preserved in the Book of Leinster, (fol. 160, b. b.), pointed out to the editor by Mr. Hennessy, where it evidently signifies *horse* games or *horse* races. The words are

"The steeds of the Fiana ('tis known),
And the steeds of Munster, in the great conflict,
Performed three bright *graiffne* [games or races]
On the Green of the son of Maired."

[3] *Ui Enna.* The name is now Heney or O'Heney. They were of the Eoghanacht Aine, or Eoghanacht of Any, settled in the territory round Knock-any, barony of Small County, in the county of Limerick. See *O'Huidhrin, Topogr. Poem*, p. 119. Delbhna-mór is now Delvin, a barony in the north of the county of Westmeath See note [4], p. cxvii.

of Erinn," was slain. This was immediately after the taking of Limerick; but the other victories recorded in this chapter seem to have occurred at some time subsequent. To secure himself on his throne Mahoun took hostages from all the chieftains of Munster, especially from Maelmuadh[1] (or Molloy), lord of Desmond, son of Bran, whom he had moreover taken prisoner; he took hostages also from Donnabhann[2] (or Donovan), chief of the Hy Fidhgente. He killed or enslaved the billeted soldiers of the enemy in every territory. He gained seven victories over the foreigners. Only four are mentioned by name,[3] but the author may have intended to include the battle of Sulchoit, which he probably counted as two, and this, with a second burning of Limerick, incidentally mentioned, will make up the seven. It would seem that after the first burning of Limerick, Ivar, of Limerick, and Amlaff, son of Amlaff,[4] escaped to "the East," meaning Britain, i.e. Wales, where, in a fruitless attempt to get footing in the country, Amlaff was slain,[5] and Ivar, after an absence of a year, returned with a great fleet and entered the western harbour of Limerick, where he slew Beolan Littill[6] with his

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[1] *Maelmuaidh.* The MS. D. says that this chieftain was himself captured first, which, if true, must have increased his enmity to Mathgamhain. See his Genealogy, App. B., Tab. IV., p. 248.

[2] *Donnabhann.* See Geneal. Table V., No. 23, p. 249.

[3] *By name.* These are—1. The battle of Sengualainn ["the old shoulder," from the shape of the hill], now Shanagolden, in the barony of Lower Connello, co. of Limerick. 2. The battle of Laegh; this place is unknown to the editor. It is said by our author to be in Tratraighe, now Tradry. 3. The battle of Machaire mór, or the Great Plain, fought when the united forces of the Gaill of Limerick and Waterford attacked the king of Munster, and encamped at Imlech (now Emly) for two days. See note [15], p. 83. The Machaire mór here mentioned is probably the Machaire-na-Mumhan, or plain of Munster, which seems to have extended to Emly. See *Four M.*, 1088, p. 934.

[4] *Amlaff, son of Amlaff.* See p. 85. There is perhaps an error here, for amongst the Scandinavian nations the son seldom had the father's name; instances however occur. Perhaps we should read grandson, or more probably "Amlaff, son of Ivar."

[5] *Slain.* There seems no notice of this event elsewhere.

[6] *Beolan Littill.* The Scandinavian name may be *Biolan.* He was perhaps the ancestor of the O'Beolain, erenachs of Drumcliffe, county of

son, who seems from the epithet *Littill* to have been a Scandinavian. After this Ivar intrenched himself in the western harbour, taking possession of the larger islands of the Shannon, and fixing his head-quarters on Inis-Cathaigh, now Scattery Island.

His establishment on the throne of Munster.

Mahoun had now firmly established himself on his throne. He had broken the power of the Danes of Limerick, and relieved his territory from their vexatious oppression. He had taken hostages from the rival chieftains of his own race, and his sovereignty in Munster had been acknowledged without dispute for about six years. Then, however, at the instigation of Ivar, of Limerick, and Ivar's son, Dubhcenn,[1] a conspiracy was formed against him. The two great Eoghanacht clans of Munster, who had so recently submitted, now withdrew their allegiance. They not only allied themselves with the Danish usurpers, but they consented to become principals in the base assassination of their own acknowledged sovereign and kinsman.[2] The motives which led these high chieftains thus to sully their fair fame and hand down their names with infamy to posterity, are clearly enough explained by our author (ch. lvii). Donovan and Molloy were both descended from Eoghan-mór, son of Oilioll Olum. Mahoun was descended from Cormac Cas, another son of Oilioll Olum. The Eoghanacht, or descendants of Eoghan-mór,

A conspiracy formed against him.

Motives of the conspirators.

Sligo, settled also at Applecross in Scotland. The second burning of Limerick by Mathgamhain is probably the same which the *Four M.* speak of as the expulsion of the foreigners from Inis Sibhtonn, A.D. 969 (=971). They had recorded the first burning under 965 (=968).

[1] *Dubhcenn.* See ch. lviii. p. 87.

[2] *Kinsman.* The relationship between the rival tribes will be understood from Tables III., IV., and V., Append. B. To modern ideas this relationship appears somewhat distant, being no more than a descent from a common ancestor (Oilioll Olum) in some twenty-two or twenty-three generations, after a period of upwards of 700 years; and in the case of Molloy and Donovan, from a common ancestor, Oilioll Flanbeg (great grandson of Oilioll Olum) in nineteen or twenty generations; yet to Celtic ideas, and in a country where clanship was everything, this relationship was close enough to influence effectively, for good or for evil, the contending parties.

having in course of time divided into two powerful septs, appear to have succeeded in excluding the tribe of the Dal Cais from their fair share of the alternate succession to the throne of Munster, which both tribes claimed under the will of their common ancestor, Oilioll Olum. The two Eoghanacht families (which were confessedly the senior branch) were at this time represented by Donnabhann, or Donovan, and Molloy. Donovan[1] was the chieftain of the Hy Figheinte and Hy Cairbre, in the south of the county of Limerick. Maelmuaidh, or Molloy, was chieftain of the Clann Cuirc,[2] or descendants of Conall Corc, and lord of the Ui Eachach, or of Desmond. Alarmed at the progress of the Clann Lughdach,[3] or Dal Cais, and jealous of their supremacy,[4] these tribes and chieftains re-

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[1] *Donovan.* See Table V., p. 249, No. 23. This chieftain was the ancestor of the great family of O'Donovan. His daughter had married Ivar, king of the Danes of Waterford, whose son, Donnabhann, was the ancestor of another branch of the same tribe. See O'Donovan, *Four M.*, vi., p. 2436.

[2] *Clann Cuirc.* See Geneal. Table IV., Nos. 6 and 24. Clann Cuirc signifies the Children of Corc, *Cuirc* being the genitive case of Corc. The Ui Eathach, or Ui nEachach, were the descendants of Eachaidh, grandson of Conall Corc, Table IV., No. 8. The family of O'Mahony (*Ua Mathgamhna*) is descended from Mathgamhain, grandson of the traitorous Maelmuaidh. Table IV., No. 26.

[3] *Clann Lughdach.* Descendants of Lugaidh Menn; see Table III., No. 6. This sometimes used as another name for the Dal Cais.

[4] *Supremacy.* In this place is inserted a prophecy attributed to St. Colman, son of Lenin, first bishop of Cloyne (ob. 604), in which is foretold the supremacy of the Dalcassian race to the end of the world. This pretended prophecy, it is needless to say, is a wretched forgery, of which St. Colman was as guiltless as the author of the present work; for the passage is a manifest interpolation, interrupting the narrative, and of a date evidently much later than the reign of Brian. "To the Clann of Cormac Cais," it says, that is, to the Dal-Cais, "shall belong the sovereignty, *except three*, until Flann comes." Flann is explained to be Flann Cithach, from Durlus (i.e. Thurles), the fabled personage who is to be the king of Ireland in the times of Antichrist, and consequently, the last king of Ireland before the Day of Judgment. See a full account of this class of spurious prophecies, and especially those relating to Flann Cithach, in O'Curry's Lectures, pp. 398–426, and App., p. 632. The word Cıṫaċh is of uncertain meaning. *Cith* is a shower, and *Cithach*, showery; but this gives no meaning. *Ciotach* is left-handed, awkward, unlucky. Some author-

solved upon the traitorous murder of the Dalcassian chieftain, whom they were unable to meet fairly in open warfare. The Hy Cairbre especially, we are told, were further instigated to this unworthy deed by the consciousness that the territory they then inhabited really belonged to the Dal Cais, of whom Mahoun was the representative. They imagined that by putting him out of the way, their title to the land[1] would be secured; forgetting that they only thereby provided themselves with a still more formidable claimant in the person of his brother Brian.

Molloy's poetical exhortation to the Danes.

A poem attributed to Maelmuaidh or Molloy on this occasion, is inserted in chap. lviii. It is an exhortation to the Danes to take the lead, and to assemble the men of

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ities call Flann ꝺinach or ꝺionach, voracious, which Mr. O'Curry thinks more likely to be the true reading. The words "except three" in the pretended prophecy seem to indicate that it was written at a time when there had already been *three* exceptions to the predicted Dalcassian sovereignty over Munster. The Book of Munster gives the following list of the kings of Munster who succeeded Mahoun:—1. *Maelmuaidh*, or Molloy, murderer of Mahoun. 2. Brian Borumha. 3. Donnchadh, or Donogh, son of Brian Borumha. 4. Torrdelbhach, or Turlogh, son of Tadhg, son of Brian. 5. Muirchertach, or Murtagh mór, son of Turlogh. 6. Diarmaid, son of Turlogh. 7. *Tadg*, son of Muiredh MacCarthy. 8. Conchobhar, or Connor, son of Diarmaid (No. 6.) 9. *Cormac*, son of Muiredh MacCarthy. 10. Turlogh, son of Diarmaid. (No. 6.) 11. Murtagh, son of Connor (No. 8.) 12. Domhnall mór (son of Diarmaid, son of Turlogh, son of Tadhg, son of Brian), last king of Munster, 1168. Here it will be seen that all these princes are the direct descendants of Brian, and therefore Dal Cassian, *except three*, whose names are printed in italics, and who were of the Eugenian race. So that this prophecy was forged most probably about 1150, or, at least, not later than the times of Turlogh, son of Diarmaid, who began his reign 1142. The editor is indebted to the research of his friend, Mr. W. M. Hennessy, for this reference to the Book of Munster.

[1] *Land.* This territory is described as Caille Cormaic, or Cormac's Wood, extending from Oclan, or Hoclan (in the S. of the co. of Limerick, now unknown), to the Luimneach or Lower Shannon, and from Cnam-coill, near the town of Tipperary, to the mountainous district of Luachair Deaghaidh, in the county of Kerry. *Caille Cormaic* is unknown to the editor, unless it be the *Ath-Caille* (Wood-ford) mentioned in the "Circuit of Muirchertach macNeill," line 131. For Cnamhcoill, see p. cxvii., n. [3]; Luachair is Luachair Deaghaidh, a mountainous district near Castleisland, county of Kerry. *Four M.*, A.M. 3727, A.D. 1579 (p. 1721). *B. of Rights*, p. 77, *n.*

Munster, together with their own people, both Gaill and Gaedhil, on the "very high hill" of Eoghabhail,[1] which was to be the place of muster. This poem is of no interest, and is doubtless an interpolation[2] in the MS. It has not the smallest pretence to authenticity.

Particulars of Mahoun's murder.

The particulars of Mahoun's murder are then given in detail. But it is quite evident that the narrative is not in the state in which its author left it. It bears internal evidence both of interpolation and mutilation. Sundry "poems" have been inserted which are clearly of a more recent date. To make way for these the context both before and after has been tampered with. Hence the story is somewhat confusedly, and irregularly told. Two different accounts, not altogether consistent with each other, are given. According to the first of these, Mahoun was in the house of Donovan. How he came there we are not informed;[3] but that he did not thus place himself in the hands of his enemy without some precaution, is evident from the fact that he had secured

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[1] *Eoghabhail.* This place was probably in the neighbourhood of Knockany, in the county of Limerick. It may have been the "high hill" now called Knockadoon, "Hill of the Fortress," near Lough Gur. It is curious that the Dal Cais are called in the poem Dal Cais of *the Churches*, showing that it was composed after Brian was regarded as champion of the Church, in opposition to the Paganism of the invaders.

[2] *Interpolation.* Chaps. lvii. and lviii., owing to the loss of a leaf, are absent from the MS. D.

[3] *Not informed.* Dr. O'Donovan, in his abstract of this story from the present work, says that Donovan "invited Mahoun to a banquet in his own house;" this, however, is without authority from the text; but Brian's poetical lament (p. 89) says that Mahoun "had trusted, *in friendship*, to the treacherous word of Donovan." The Dublin Ann. of Innisfallen say, at 976, that the object of the bishop in the part he took in these transactions, was to make peace between the contending parties, and this is, no doubt, a natural conjecture (see how Bishop O'Brien expands this hint, *Vallancey's Collect.* I., p. 483-484); but it is not so stated in the original authority, and does not explain Mahoun's motives in trusting those who he must have known were his deadly enemies. The "House of Donovan" was at Brugh-righ [*Burgum regis*; see O'Donovan, *Supplem. to O'Reilly*, in voc.], now Bruree, on the banks of the river Maigue, where are still to be seen several forts, earthworks, and other traces of the ancient "regal" residence.

the safe conduct or protection of the bishop and clergy,[1] to the effect "that he was not to be killed or blinded." However, in violation of all the rights of hospitality, and in contempt of the clergy, Donovan delivered up his victim to Molloy and his Danish associates.[2]

Treachery of Molloy.

Molloy, we are told, had sent forward his men to meet Mahoun at Cnoc-an-Rebhraidh, on Sliabh Caein,[3] and to lull suspicion induced the bishop to send also some of his own people in company with them, whilst Molloy himself, with the bishop, remained at Raithin-mór, in Fermoy. Molloy had given his followers private instructions to put Mahoun to death as soon as they had got him into their power. The ecclesiastics who accompanied them as representatives of the bishop, of course knew nothing of these instructions, and were powerless to prevent the murder.

A second account.

This account of the transaction is at least intelligible. It contains nothing of the marvellous, nothing that may not have really occurred in those ferocious times. But the second account of the same murder, given in a subsequent chapter (lx., p. 91), bears evident marks of having been tampered with. From the abruptness with which it

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[1] *The clergy.* See p. 89. Columb, son of Ciaragán, is mentioned as the Comharb, *i.e.*, successor, of St. Barri (Bairre), or Finnbar, founder of the see of Cork. The Ann. Ult. and Four M. call him *Airchinnech*, or erenach of Cork, and date his death 987 (=990).

[2] *Associates.* This fact is twice stated in the beginning of chap. lix., as if two different narratives of the event had been mixed together; perhaps the first sentence of this chapter and the whole of chap. lviii. should be omitted; the story would then run on after ch. lvii. :—"This was the counsel that was acted upon, &c.," p. 89, line 2.

[3] *Sliabh Caein.* This is a mountain, now called Sliabh Riach, on the borders of the counties of Limerick and Cork. The editor has not been able to discover the exact position or modern name of Cnoc-an-Rebhraidh. According to this story Mahoun was sent from Bruree (the residence of Donovan) to Sliabh Caein, a considerable distance, whilst Molloy and the bishop remained at Raithin mór, which is expressly said to have been in Fermoy. There is a parish, now Rahan, 2½ miles east of Mallow, on the road to Fermoy. Molloy and Donovan seem to have been both at considerable distances from the scene of the murder, which, according to this account, was committed at Cnoc-an-Rebhraidh, on Sliabh Caein.

begins, it seems to want some introductory sentences. "The naked sword," and "the Gospel of Barri," the cleric, who was with Molloy, the hills too on which the crime was committed, are spoken of in a manner which leads a reader to think that they had been, or ought to have been, mentioned before. The executioners of Mahoun, and the ecclesiastics sent by the bishop of Cork, are assumed to have been sitting on opposite hills,[1] "the full flight of an arrow asunder," a fact which is given on the authority of those "who were acquainted with the place" (which, however, is not named), implying that the writer did not profess to be acquainted with the place himself.

Discrepancy of the two accounts.

In the former narrative it was only said that Mahoun had the protection of Columb, son of Ciaragàn, comharb of Barri, or Bairre, that is bishop of Cork. In the second account we are told that he wore on his breast the Gospel of Barri[2] "to protect him." When he perceived, however, that veneration for this sacred copy of the Gospels was not likely to have weight with his murderers, he threw it from him, lest it should be stained with his blood, and

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[1] *Opposite hills.* This seems to describe the pass of Bearna Dhearg ["red or bloody gap"], in the mountain of Sliabh Caein, which is traditionally believed to be the place where Mahoun was murdered. It is a gap, through which the road from Kilmallock to Cork passes, one mile south of the parish church of Kilflin. Dr. O'Donovan states that this gap lies between the hills of Kilcruaig and Redchair, the former on its east, the latter on its west. (*Suppl. to O'Reilly*, in voc. *Bearna dhearg*). The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen (at 976) mention also another tradition, viz., that Mahoun was murdered at Muisire-na-monadh-móire, supposed to have been the Mushera Mountain, near Mallow, co. of Cork, where it is stated that there is a heap of stones called *Leacht Mathgamhna*, "tomb of Mahoun." See *Four M.* (A.D. 974), p. 701, note, and *Vallancey, Collect.* I., p. 485.

[2] *Gospel of Barri.* Almost every ancient Irish see preserved the Gospel or Psalter of its founder or some early ecclesiastic, generally kept in a silver or highly ornamented box or shrine. Some of these MSS. are still extant, as the Book of Armagh; the Book of Durrow (formerly belonging to the see of Meath); the Book of St. Moling, of Ferns; the Book of Dimma, the gospels of Roscrea or Killaloe; the Domhnach Airgid, of Clogher; the Cathach (a Psalter), of Tirconnell. All these are in the Library of Trin. College, Dublin, except the last two, which are in the Royal Irish Academy. The Gospel of Barri mentioned in the text is not now known to exist.

it fell into the breast of a priest of the bishop's people, who was distant, we are told, "the full flight of an arrow."[1]

Molloy was at a still greater distance from the scene of the murder; he was distant "as far as the eye could see;" nevertheless he saw the flashing of the sword,[2] and knew that the fatal blow had been given. He immediately mounted the horse that had been kept ready for him, and fled. "The cleric" asked what he was to do; and Molloy answered in irony, "Cure yonder man" (meaning, of course, Mahoun) "if he should come to thee." Here it is evident that there has been some omission; for there is nothing to tell us who this cleric was. The only cleric mentioned before was the cleric into whose breast the Gospel of St. Barri had been thrown. But he was distant with Mahoun "as far as the eye could see," and could not therefore have been the same clerk who was within speech of Molloy, and witnessed his flight.

The scribes have interpolated[3] between these two accounts of the bloody deed, an elegy on the death of

Elegy by Brian on Mahoun's death.

[1] *An arrow.* Making all due allowance for additional strength, generated by the excitement of such a moment, it was wholly impossible that a book, presenting considerable resistance to the air, although probably in a silver or ornamented case, could have been cast, without a miracle, "the full flight of an arrow."

[2] *Sword.* The Irish swords of this period were short, and of bronze. The Danish swords were long, and of steel. We may therefore infer (if, indeed, we can infer anything from such a narrative) that the actual executioners of the unfortunate chieftain were Molloy's foreign accomplices, who were bound by no obligations, and had no reverence for the sacred Gospels of St. Finnbar, or for the pledge given to their victim by the clergy.

[3] *Interpolated.* Immediately following the poem is a paragraph (ch. lx., p. 91) in which the date of the murder is fixed by several chronological criteria. It was nine years after the battle of Sulchoit; the thirteenth year after the death of Dunchadh, king of Cashel; sixty-eight years after the death of Cormac, son of Cuillenan; twenty after the death of Congalach, king of Ireland; and four before the battle of Tara. All these dates coincide sufficiently with the year A.D. 976. The battle of Sulchoit is dated 968; the death of Dunchadh, 962; Cormac's death, 908; the death of Congalach, 956; and the battle of Tara, 980. If the poem be an interpolation, as seems pretty clear, this chronological paragraph must have followed immediately the former narrative of Mahoun's murder.

Mahoun, attributed to his brother Brian. It is not without some spirit, although to the English reader it has, doubtless, lost much of its poetical merit by the baldness of a literal translation. It begins with a lament that Mahoun had been slain by the hand of an ignoble assassin, and not by the sword of some high king. It would have been some alleviation of the misfortune, if he had fallen on the battle-field under cover of his shield, and not by a base act of treachery. His exploits[1] are then briefly enumerated, and the poem concludes by Brian's strong expression of his determination to take ample vengeance upon his brother's murderer :—

"My heart will burst, I feel,
If I avenge not the high king."

Inconsistency of the second narrative.

It is obvious to remark upon the second narrative, that its description of the position of the parties concerned is quite different from that of the former account. There Donovan, having received Mahoun in his own house, sent him on to meet Molloy's people at Slieve Riach, several miles distant ;[2] whilst Molloy and the bishop were still further distant at Rathin-mór, in Fermoy. If this were so, and the murder was committed on Slieve Riach, Molloy could not possibly have seen the flashing of the sword, or distinguished the precise moment when his victim fell. Neither does this second narrative say anything of the presence of the bishop. It mentions two clerics only as witnesses of the transaction ; one, the priest to whom Mahoun threw St. Barri's Gospels at the moment of his being murdered ; the other, the cleric who was with Molloy when he fled, and of whom we have just spoken. This clerk, we are told (p. 93), "*recognized*

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[1] *Exploits.* These are the seven battles mentioned before, chap. lvi. ; see p. cxxiv. and note [3]. Machaire Buidhe (yellow plain) is the name of many places in Ireland. Here it probably denotes Sulchoit. "The army of the two brave men" seems to signify the army of Ivar of Limerick and his son, Dubhcenn.

[2] *Distant.* See p. cxxix., n. [3], *supra.*

Molloy at the moment of his departure." The word must mean[1] that the clerk perceived from Molloy's ironical speech and sudden flight the real nature of the bloody deed, and Molloy's participation in the crime. Fired with indignation, in the spirit of prophecy, he cursed the treacherous chieftain. The anathema was uttered in verse, in which form it was believed to be more efficacious. It predicted by name the man who was to avenge the murder. Molloy was to be slain by Aedh, or Aedhan, "a man from the border of Aifi."[2] He was to be slain "on the north of the sun, with the harshness of the wind." That is, as our author explains it, his grave was to lie on the north side of the hill, where the sun could never shine on his tomb. He should derive no advantage from his crime, for his posterity[3] should pass away, his history be forgotten, his tribe be in bondage.

The priests report the murder to their bishop.

After the departure of Molloy the two priests, having joined each other, went at once to the bishop, told him the sad story, and placed the Gospel, which was sprinkled with the blood of the murdered man, in the holy prelate's breast. Then the priest who had brought the Gospel back, wept bitterly, and "uttered a poem,"[4] the object of

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[1] *Must mean.* The words are literally, "the clerk took knowledge on him." The clerk can scarcely be supposed not to have known Molloy's person.

[2] *Aifi.* The "border of Aifi" was probably some place near Knockany, co. of Limerick. Aedh, called also Aedhan, or Little Aedh, a term of endearment (introduced, most probably for the sake of the metre) is said (ch. lxi.) to have been son of Gebennach, of the Desi Beg; he is not mentioned in the Annals. The Desi Beg occupied a territory comprised in the present barony of Small County, in the co. of Limerick.

[3] *Posterity.* This part of the prediction was not fulfilled; for the posterity of Maelmuaidh is numerous to this day in the families of O'Mahony, O'Molloy, &c. May we not infer that the poetical anathema was composed before these families had been founded, and therefore probably within two or three generations after the murder of Mahoun? "Thy history shall be forgotten," is also a prediction that has not been accomplished.

[4] *Uttered a poem.* "He composed there a prophetic prediction, and uttered this poem," p. 93. As the poem, the text of which seems very corrupt, does not profess to be a prophecy, we must conclude that the "prophetic prediction" has not been preserved.

which was to lay claim to the legal fines or pecuniary penalties for the murder. Then follows a stanza, attributed to Mac Liag, on the four battles gained by Mahoun over the foreigners of Glenn Datha,[1] in the hills on the north of Thomond. Then a long elegy "by Mathgamhain's blind bard." These poems are, no doubt, interpolations of the scribes. The elegy (ch. lxii. p. 97) occurs only in the O'Clery or Brussels MS.; but it is doubtless ancient; it notices some circumstances[2] of which no other record remains to us; and an allusion to Brian's taking "the sovereignty of the five provinces" (p. 99) proves that it was composed after Brian had been recognized as supreme king of Ireland.

[1] *Glenn Datha.* This name is now obsolete. For Mac Liag, see above, p. xx., *sq.*

[2] *Circumstances.* It may be well to explain some names of persons and places in this elegy. "The land of the Ui Torrdhelbhaigh" or descendants of Turlogh, was nearly co-extensive with the present diocese of Killaloe. The Ui Torrdhelbhaigh were named from Torrdealbhach, or Turlogh, an ancestor of Mahoun, who, although chieftain of his race, renounced the world, and became a monk in the monastery of Lismore. (See Geneal. Table III., No. 15, p. 247). *Magh Fail* (plain of destiny), p. 97, is a poetical name of Ireland. We know nothing of "the black steed," or of its owner, Tadhg, son of Maelchellaigh, except that the Four M., at 955, record the death of Maelchellaigh, son of Aedh, abbot or bishop of Emly, who was probably father of this Tadhg. St. Ailbe, of Imleach (now Emly), is said to have been in Ireland before St. Patrick, and was patron of Emly; *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 203, *sq.* Neasan or Nessan, the deacon, was patron saint of Mungret, county of Limerick, and a disciple of St. Patrick. *Mart. of Donegal* (25 July), p. 203. Dun-Gaifi was probably the name of one of the forts at Donovan's house at Bruree. It appears from these lines that some little jealousy had sprung up between Mahoun and Brian. Mahoun had gone to Donovan's house without consulting Brian, if not contrary to his advice, and some "injustice" had been done "by the senior brother to the junior," p. 99. There is a curious allusion to the bard's friendship (the original uses a stronger word, *dile*, "love") for Dubhcenn, son of Ivar of Limerick, in consideration of which he says, "I will not revile the foreigners" (p. 99). *Magh Morgain* is now unknown, but was certainly near Seangualainn, or Shanagolden (p. 99). Possibly it is the parish called Morgans, on the Shannon, N.E. of Shanagolden. The other places mentioned are either unknown to the editor, or have already been explained. See note, p. 98. The concluding stanza (p. 101) contains an allusion to a curious custom which the editor does not remember to have seen elsewhere noticed, viz., that calves, and probably other cattle, were made to *fast* when the tribe was in grief for the loss of their chieftain. See Jonah, iii., 7.

Brian, king of Munster.

The next chapter (lxiii.) is a short introduction to the history which follows of Brian's reign. The murderers gained nothing by their assassination of Mahoun; for Brian, who succeeded him, was not "a stone in place of an egg, nor a wisp of hay in place of a club," but a hero, whose valour surpassed that of his brother. He amply avenged that brother's cruel murder. The early part of his reign was spent in wars and conflicts of every sort; but before its close he had time to cultivate the arts of civilization and peace.

The O'Donnells of Corca-bhaiscinn plunder the Danes of the Shannon.

There is reason to think that the beginning of the next chapter has been corrupted by errors of transcription.[1] But the means of probable correction are at hand. The true reading, a reading, at least, which gives a good sense, seems to be that of the Brussels MS. "Ivar, and Dubh-cenn, and Cuallaid were killed by Ua Domhnaill,[2] of Corcabhaiscinn, in Inis Cathaigh [Scattery Island], a year after the slaying of Mathgamhain. Find-inis,[3] and Inis-mor, and Inis-da-Dromand, were plundered by them, and the islands of the whole harbour likewise, namely, all those in which were the wives, and children, and seraglios of the foreigners."[4] From this it appears that the Danes

[1] *Transcription.* The errors occur in the Dublin MS. D., which has been followed in the text, p. 103. But the O'Clery MS. B. supplies readings which give a consistent sense. See note, p. 102.

[2] *Ua Domhnaill.* This was the tribe of O'Donnell, of the co. of Clare, seated in the west of Corcabhaiscinn, on the banks of the Shannon, now the barony of Clonderalaw.

[3] *Find-inis.* This name seems to have become obsolete. It is not mentioned in D. Perhaps it may be what is now called Feenish Island. Inis-mór is now Canon Island, the largest of the group of small islands in that expansion of the Shannon which receives the river Fergus, where is also Inis-da-Dromand (island of two backs, or round hills), now Inishdadroum.

[4] *Foreigners.* The Four M. (975) and Tigernach (957) attribute to Brian the "violation" of Inis Cathaigh on this occasion, and the slaying of Ivar and his sons, Amlaff and Dubhcenn, without any mention of the O'Donnell. Here it seems that Cu-alaidh or Cuallaid (as already remarked, see p. ciii., *n.*) is called Amlaff. Inis Cathaigh, or Scattery Island, was the seat of a celebrated religious house founded by St. Senan; and hence the annalist speaks of the holy place being "violated" by the slaughter of the Danes there, however justifiable and necessary that slaughter may have been.

of Limerick, after their great defeat by Mahoun, had intrenched themselves in Scattery Island as their headquarters, concealing their women and children in the smaller and more remote islands,[1] until they could get reinforcements from their countrymen. There the O'Donnells, who were probably acting under Brian, attacked them and slew their leaders. A great spoil of gold, silver, and wealth of various kinds, was found in these islands.

Donovan attacked and slain.

Harold, the only surviving son of Ivar, was now recognized as king of the foreigners of Munster (p. 103); and Donovan, knowing what he had to fear from the vengeance of Brian, sought the alliance of the Danes, and invited Harold to his house. But Brian invaded Donovan's territory of Hy Fidhgente, drove off his cattle, took the fortress of Cathair Cuan, and slew Donovan and his Danish ally, Harold, after prodigious slaughter of the foreigners. This was the second year[2] after the assassination of Mahoun.

Mission to Molloy, Poetical instructions by Brian to his messenger.

The punishment of Molloy was Brian's next object; and here we have a long interpolation (which does not occur in the older MS.), in the shape of a bardic poem, attributed to Brian himself. This poem, a state paper in verse, contains the instructions given to Cogarán, "the confidential officer of Brian," to claim reparation for the murder of Mahoun, and to declare war in form, against Molloy. Cogarán is directed to demand of the sons of Bran (Molloy's father) and of the whole tribe of the Ui Eachach, of which Molloy was chieftain, why they killed Mahoun. He was instructed to denounce woe upon them for killing an unarmed man, and for preferring to be on Ivar's side, rather than on the side of their own countrymen and kinsmen. Brian added that even though he himself were willing to forgive this murder of his brother, the brave Dal Cais would not forgive—the heads of fami-

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[1] *Islands.* See p. cv., *n.*

[2] *Second year.* See Four M., 976=978. Cathair Cuan may have been one of the forts at Bruree. This battle was mentioned before, p. 45. See above, p. xcix., *n.*

lies amongst them (whom he names)[1] would not forgive —therefore the Dal Cais, or Clan Cormaic, would submit to be dispersed abroad in all quarters, even to the country of the O'Neill,[2] the most remote part of Ireland, rather than yield up to Molloy, that which he was contending for, and which was the object of his crime, namely, the sovereignty of Munster, or of the south of Ireland. Accordingly Cogarán was commanded to announce to the tribe of the Ui Eachach, that no *cumhal* or fine would be received, in the shape of hostages, or horses, gold or silver, cattle or land, and that Molloy must himself be given up.

A full fortnight was allowed after the delivery of this message, at which time Molloy was challenged to battle at Belach-Lechta, or else, it was threatened, the Dal Cais, led by their chieftain Brian, would attack him in his own house (p. 107). Together with this general declaration of war, the messenger was charged to deliver to Molloy a particular challenge to single combat from Murchadh[3] (or Murrogh) the great, the son of Brian, who was afterwards slain with his father at Clontarf. Challenge to Molloy.

Then, we are briefly told, Brian fought the battle of Belach-Lechta,[4] or Belach-Leghtha, in which Molloy, Battle of Belach-Lechta.

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[1] *Whom he names.* See p. 105. These were all of Mahoun's immediate family. Conaing, slain at Clontarf, 1014; Ceinneide, ancestor of O'Kennedy; and Longergán (whose grandson is mentioned, Four M., 1045), were nephews of Mahoun, the sons of his brother, Donncuan, lord of Ormond (sl. 948). At the time of Mahoun's murder, therefore, these his nephews were all of age, and able to take vengeance on his murderer. Ogan (ancestor of O'Hogan) was the son of Echtighern, who was the son of Cosgrach, son of Lorcan, and brother of Ceinneide, the father of Mahoun and Brian. There was another Echtighern, lord of Thomond, Mahoun's elder brother. But he was slain in 948 (=949) Four M.

[2] *O'Neill.* This seems to be the meaning of the obscure stanza, "The Clann Cormaic from afar," &c., p. 105. The text is evidently corrupt.

[3] *Murchadh.* See p. 105. In this stanza Murchadh is called "heir of the *chief king* of Erinn," which leads to the suspicion that this poem must not have been written until after the year 1002, when Brian became "chief king of Ireland."

[4] *Belach-Lechta.* This is a chasm in the mountain called Cenn-Abrath or Cenn-Febrath. According to a legend told in the Tripartite Life of St. Pat-

"king of Munster,"[1] fell, with 1,200 of his troops, both foreigners and Irish, and the victor took hostages of South Munster, or Desmond.

Manner of Molloy's death.

In this short account of the battle no mention is made of the person by whom Molloy was slain.[2] The narrative

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rick, this mountain lies between Loch Longa (N.W. of Glenworth, in Fermoy, co. of Cork), and Ardpatrick, in the barony of Coshlea, co. of Limerick. St. Patrick wishing to erect a church in this latter place, the chieftain of the country opposed him, but said that if Patrick could remove the great mountain, Cenn-Febrath, so as to give him from the place where he stood a view of Loch Longa, he would become a Christian. Patrick having prayed in faith of the Lord's promise, (Matt. xvii. 20), the mountain began to bend from its top until a great piece of it lay level with the plain, forming the chasm or pass called *Belach-Leghtha*, "Road of Melting," or dissolving. "Est autem in prædicto monte, in loco ubi montis diminutio visa est incipere, via patens, quæ nomine inde recepto perpetuam facit miraculi memoriam. Vocatur enim vulgo *Belach-Leghtha*, .i. via liquefactionis vel resolutionis, quia ibi mons videbatur prius resolutionem et diminutionem pati." *Vit. Trip.*, iii., c. 48. (Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 158). See O'Donovan, *Suppl. to O'Reilly*, in voc. *Ceann-abhrath*. Belach-Lechta, as the name is written in the present work, and by the Four M., signifies "the road of the Tomb or Monument," and is so translated by Dr. O'Conor. Cenn-Febrath is now Belach-Febrath, vulgo *Ballahowra*.

[1] *King of Munster.* Here Molloy is expressly called "King of Munster," and his right to succeed Mathgamhain admitted, although in the list of Munster kings (chap. ii.) his name is omitted. But we have shown that this list is the interpolation of a transcriber, and did not proceed from the original author. See p. xvii.

[2] *Was slain.* The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen say that Molloy was slain in the battle by Murchadh, son of Brian. For this the only authority seems to be the poetical challenge to a single combat, sent on the part of Murchadh to Molloy by the messenger Cogarán. See p. 105. The account of the battle given in these Annals under A.D. 978 (which is the true year) is as follows: —"The battle of Belach-Leachta [was gained] by Brian, son of Ceinneide, and by Murchadh, Brian's son, and by the Dal Cais, over Maolmuaidh, son of Bran, with the race of Eoghan mór and the Lochlanns of Munster, in which Maolmuaidh was slain by the hand of Murchadh, son of Brian, and twelve hundred of the Gaill, with a great multitude of the Gaedhil. Some historians, and our author" [i.e. the author of the original Annals of Inisfallen] "in particular, say that it was at Berna Derg, on Sliabh Caoin, this battle was fought, or at Sliabh Feramuighe-Feine [Fermoy mountain]. I find in other old writers that it was on Cnoc Ramhra, on the south side of Malla [Mallow], on the road to Corcach [Cork], that this victory was gained [*lit.*, this defeat *was given*] by Brian; and I find in other writers that the battle of Belach-Leachta was fought beside Macromtha [Macroom], close to Muisire-na-mona-mór." Ann. Innisf. (Dubl.), A.D. 978. It seems evident that there is some confusion in this

evidently implies that he was slain in the battle in fair fight, and not under any peculiar circumstances; but the former account of his death (chap. lxi.) tells us that Aedh Gebennach, of the Deisi-beg, "found him in an alder hut," at the *ford* of Belach-Lechta, and slew him there after he had been "deprived of his eyes through the curse of the clerk." This represents him as having been slain, not in the battle itself, but immediately after the battle. It may have been that he lost his eyes in the battle, which misfortune was believed to be the consequence of the clerk's curse (see p. 93); and that having concealed himself in the alder hut near the ford, Aedh Gebennach discovered his retreat, and slew him without mercy. This supposition seems the only mode of reconciling the two accounts, if indeed it does reconcile them.

Brian king of Munster.

Brian having thus subdued his enemies and taken hostages, became, by the death of Molloy, undisputed king of Munster; and the remainder of the present work is devoted to his history and achievements. He commenced by the reduction of the Deisi, or Decies of Waterford, who were in close alliance[1] with the Danes of Waterford and Limerick. After a victory at Fan-Conrach,[2] or, as it is also called, Dún Fain-Conrach, he "ravaged and plundered" the whole country to Port Lairge, the harbour of

account between the place where Mahoun was murdered and the place where Molloy was slain.

[1] *Alliance.* Donovan, the murderer of Mahoun, is said to have married a daughter of the Danish king of Waterford, and his daughter was married to Imhar or Ivar of Waterford. See Geneal. Table V., p. 249.

[2] *Fan-Conrach.* The Dublin Ann. of Inisfallen, and Mulconry's MS. copy of Keating, call this place Fan mic Conrach. *Fan* may mean *church* (*Fan-um*); and there is a Cruimther [or Presbyter] *Connrach* in the Irish Calendar, at Feb. 23. See *Mart. of Donegal.* But *Fan* is also *a declivity, a sloping ground*, which is, doubtless, the meaning here; and we may infer from the name *Dún* Fain-Conrach (fort of Fan-Conrach) that there was an antient fortress at the place. It was probably in the neighbourhood of the town of Waterford. A friend has suggested that *Conrach* may have been corrupted into *Comeragh*, and have given name to the Comeragh mountains, co. of Waterford. He states also that there are considerable remains of earthworks on the side of the mountain facing the city of Waterford, and that traditions exist among the people of a battle fought there by Brian.

Waterford. He banished Domhnall,[1] son of Faelan, king of the Deisi of Waterford, who, we are told, had "forced the war upon him," although no mention is made of this chieftain in the former part of our author's narrative.

Having gained these advantages, Brian took hostages from Mumhain or Munster, the only mode at that time of securing the loyalty of any tribe; in other words, he was recognized as king of Munster; and it is mentioned that he also took hostages of *the churches*, "lest they should receive rebels or thieves to sanctuary."[2]

His conquest of Ossory and Leinster.

Ossory was next subdued. Gillapatrick,[3] son of Donnchadh, its "king" or chieftain, was taken prisoner, and forced to give hostages. Brian then marched to Leinster, to the great plain of Magh Ailbhe,[4] where he received the

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[1] *Domhnall.* The Ann. Inisf. say that Domhnall was slain on this occasion; but this is contrary to our author's testimony, and to the Four M., who tell us that he *died* in 995 = A.D. 997. He was the son of that Faelan, son of Cormac, king of the Deisi, who was murdered by Ivar of Limerick, in consequence of his adherence to the cause of the Dal-Cais. (See ch. I., p. 73, and p. cxvii. *supra*, n. [1]). And yet we now find the son on the opposite side, in alliance with the Danish enemy. A similar instance of the facility with which the clans changed sides in those turbulent times, is found in the fact that Cian, son of Molloy, immediately after the death of his father, made peace with Brian, married Sadhbh, or Sabia, Brian's daughter, fought with him on the occasion mentioned in the text against the Deisi, and afterwards at Clontarf.

[2] *Sanctuary.* See ch. lxvi., p. 107.

[3] *Gillapatrick.* This chieftain was son of Donnchadh, son of Cellach, son of the celebrated Cearbhall, or Carroll, king of Dublin, whose alliance with the Norsemen of Iceland and Dublin is so remarkable a fact in Irish history. Gillapatrick in 997 (Four M., 995) was slain by Donovan, son of Ivar of Waterford (see Geneal. Table IV., No. 25), and by Domhnall, son of Faelan, of whom we have just spoken. Gillapatrick was the ancestor of the family of Mac Gillaphadruig, of Ossory, who have now taken the name of Fitzpatrick.

[4] *Magh Ailbhe.* There is a townland and village now called *Moynalvy*, in the parish of Kilmore, barony of Upper Deece, county of Meath; but this was not in Leinster. Dinn-Riogh (now Ballyknockan Moat), one of the residences or palaces of the kings of Leinster, was in a plain, also called Magh Ailbhe, on the banks of the Barrow, a little to the south of Leighlin bridge, in the townland of Ballyknockan, county of Carlow; (*Book of Rights*, pp. 14, *n.* °, 16, *n.* ᵘ.) In the Magh Ailbhe of Meath was a stone, called Lia Ailbhe [Stone of Ailbhe], which fell A.D. 1000, and was made into four millstones by King Malachy II.; *Four M.* (998=1000). The

homage[1] of the two kings of Leinster, Domhnall Claen, king of the eastern, and Tuathal, king of the western plain of Liphé, or Liffey. This was eight years after the murder of Mahoun, or A.D. 984; and thus Brian in that year became the acknowledged king, not of Munster only, but of all Leth-Mogha, the southern half of Ireland.

His naval preparations.

And now he began to aim at becoming supreme king of all Ireland. He assembled "a great marine fleet" on Loch Deirg-Dheirc. He went himself in command of 300 boats[2] up the Shannon to Loch Ree. From this position he plundered Meath as far as Uisnech,[3] and Brefné (a district comprising the counties of Leitrim and Cavan), "beyond Ath-liag and upwards."[4] He sent also 520, whether boats or men is not said, into Connaught, where "great evils" were perpetrated, and Muirghius (or Morris), son of Conchobhair, the chieftain next in succession as eligible to the throne of Connaught, was slain.[5] It appears

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Ann. Ult. (998–9) call this stone *prim dindgnai maighi Bregh*, "the principal monument of *Magh Bregh*."

[1] *Homage.* "They came into his house" (p. 107); i.e., they submitted to him, and paid him homage. See also p. 118, and p. lxxxix., *supra*, n. [2].

[2] *Boats.* The word used is *lestar* or *leastar*, which signifies a bowl, a drinking cup, any kind of vessel, a small boat. See O'Donovan, *Suppl. to O'Reilly.* The MS. B uses the word *eatar*, which is probably a small river boat. Cormac's glossary derives it from *ethur* (inter) between: .i. *ethaid o ur co or;* "because it goes from shore to shore." *Stokes' ed.*, p. 18, voc. *Ethur.*

[3] *Uisnech.* Now Usghnah hill, or Knock-Ushnagh, midway between Mullingar and Ballymore, co. of Westmeath.

[4] *Upwards.* i.e., north of Ath-liag, a ford of the Shannon, on the borders of Roscommon and Longford, where the town of Lanesborough now stands. This town is called in Irish Bel-Atha-Liag, mouth of Ath-liag, or of the stone-ford. In 934 (4 M.) Olaf Cuaran and his Gaill came from Loch Erne *across Brefne* to Loch Ree, passing through the county of Longford, which was the ancient Tebhtha, or Teffia.

[5] *Slain.* Two others are mentioned as having been slain by Brian, but they are not said to have been slain on this occasion. These are—1. Ruaidhri (or Rory), son of Cosgrach, "King of the Ui Briuin," or descendants of Brian, brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages. (See O'Flaherty, *West Connaught*, p. 126, *sq.*) The Four M. tell us that this chieftain was slain in 992 (=994), not by Brian or his troops, but by Conchobhair, son of Maelseachlainn, and by Giolla-Cheallaigh (or Kilkelly), son of Comhaltan O'Clery, lord of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. (O'Donovan, *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 392). 2. Muirghius,

from the Four Masters (A.D. 987=989), that the foreigners of Waterford were amongst Brian's forces on this occasion.

Malachy alarmed.

These exploits seem to have alarmed Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II., king of Ireland, who had been eighteen years on his throne, and had strengthened himself by many victories over the Danes and native chieftains.[1] He now took steps to come to an understanding with Brian.[2] The two chieftains met at Plein-Pattoigi[3] (p. 109),

A peace concluded.

where Brian had brought his fleet, and "a mutual peace" was concluded. It was agreed that all hostages in the custody of Malachy were to be surrendered to Brian; whether they were of the Munster foreigners, or of the Leinster tribes, of the Hy Fiachrach-Aidhne (in the county of Galway), or of the Hy Many (West Connaught). On

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son of Ruaidhri or Rory, who, our author says, "was slain afterwards." The Four M. record his death at 995 (=997), thus: "a battle was gained over the Munster-men by Cathal and Muirghius, the two sons of Ruaidhri, son of Cosgrach, and by Ui Cellaigh [O'Kelly], wherein many fell, and Muirghius, son of Ruaidhri, fell in the heat of the conflict."

[1] *Chieftains.* In 983, Malachy, then in alliance with his half brother, Gluniarain, son of his mother Donnflaith by Olaf Cuaran, defeated, in a bloody battle, Domhnall Claen, k. of Leinster, and Ivar, of Waterford, after which he plundered Leinster. In 985 he plundered Connaught, and slew its chieftains. In 989 he defeated the Danes, and besieged them in the Dún of Dublin for twenty nights, until they capitulated for want of water, and promised a tribute to be paid every Christmas for ever. In 990 Malachy gained a victory in Thomond, Brian's own country. In 992 he invaded Connaught and repulsed Brian, who had advanced into Meath as far as Loch Annin, now Lough Ennell. In 996, two years before the peace of Blean-Phuttoge, Malachy had plundered Nenagh, in Tipperary, and *defeated Brian;* he then again attacked Dublin, and carried off the Ring of Tomar and the sword of Carlus, relics which were held in honour by the Dublin Danes. *Four M.*, 994 (=996.) But our author does not mention these triumphs of Malachy. They explain, however, how he came to have in his custody the *hostages* alluded to in the treaty; and also why Brian so readily came to terms.

[2] *Brian.* This *treaty* is passed over without notice by all our annalists, except the Dubl. Inisfall., where it is mentioned at 997.

[3] *Plein Pattoigi.* This place is now *Blean-Phuttoge*, a townland in the barony of Kilkenny West, county of Westmeath, on the shore of Lough Ree. *Ord. Map*, Sheet 15. The word *Blein* or *Blean*, signifies a harbour. For this identification the editor is indebted to the research of Mr. W. M. Hennessy.

these conditions Malachy was to be recognized as sole sovereign of Leth Cuinn (the northern half of Ireland), "without war or trespass of Brian." This was A.D. 998, two years before the battle of Glen-mama.

"After the death of Domhnall Claen," the province of Leinster revolted,[1] and made an alliance with the Danes of Dublin (ch. lxvii.), menacing Brian with war. He therefore mustered his forces, and marched towards Dublin, intending to blockade the city. He appears to have halted on his way in a place called Glen-mama, or Glen of the Gap, near Dunlavin, the antient fortress of the kings of Leinster, in the county of Wicklow. Here Malachy seems to have joined him, and here he was opposed by the allied Danish and Leinster armies, who had previously sent away their families and cattle for safety into *an angle*[2] near Glen-mama. Revolt of Leinster.

Alarmed at finding that Brian was moving there, they went forward "beyond their families" to meet him. There ensued a bloody battle, in which, after great Battle of Glen-mama.

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[1] *Revolted.* There is some difficulty here in the chronology. Domhnall Claen's death is dated 985. The treaty with Malachy is dated 998. Therefore, if we understand our author to say that Leinster revolted immediately after the death of Domhnall Claen, that revolt must have taken place 12 or 13 years before the treaty of peace. It is more probable, however, that the words "after the death of Domhnall Claen" were not intended to imply *immediately* after his death; or else that the revolt had continued for some time before Brian felt himself strong enough to march upon Dublin.

[2] *An angle.* Called by our author *Ascaill Gall*, the "angle of the foreigners." *Axilla Gallorum.* See note p. 110. There is still near Dunlavin a curious angular piece of land, which, although surrounded by the counties of Wicklow and Kildare, was formerly a part of the county of Dublin. It is now in the barony of South Naas, co. of Kildare. This was possibly the angle to which the Leinstermen sent their cattle and families. But they are said to have used for the same purpose the districts of Ui Briuin Chualann, Ui Gabhra [*read* Ui Gabhla], and Ui Donnchadha (page 111.) The Ui Briuin Chualainn were the descendants of Brian, brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who settled in the district round Sliabh Cualann, now *Sugar-loaf* mountain, in the territory of Cualann, south of the co. of Dublin, and north of Wicklow. The Ui Gabhla were seated in the S. of the co. of Kildare. See *Four M.*, A.D. 497 (p. 160, *n.* [1].) The territory of the Ui Donnchadha (or O'Donoghue) is described as that through which the river Dodder flows, in the co. of Dublin.

slaughter on both sides, Brian[1] was victorious. Aralt, or Harold, son of Olaf Cuaran, the heir apparent of the foreigners of Ireland, Cuilean, son of Echtighern,[2] and 4,000 of the Danes of Dublin, were slain.[3] The victorious

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[1] *Brian.* Our author makes no mention of Maelseachlainn or Malachy in this engagement, although from the account given of the battle by Tighernach and the Four M. there is good reason to think that Malachy was present. The Annals of Ulster, however, make no mention of him.

[2] *Son of Echtighern.* The Four M., Tighernach, and the Ann. Ult. call this chieftain "Cuilen, son of Eitigen," and speak of him as one of the "chiefs of Athcliath" (Dublin); his name seems Celtic, but from this we can draw no inference. Cuilen was the name of a son of Cearbhall, son of Dungal, lord of Ossory, and king of Dublin. *Four M.*, 884.

[3] *Slain.* The following interesting account of the site of this famous battle has been communicated to the editor by the Rev. John Francis Shearman, formerly R.C. Curate in that neighbourhood, now of Howth. "Glenmama is said by all our historians to have been in the neighbourhood of Dunlavin (Dun-Liamhna); the name is ancient, and is mentioned in the *Circuit of Ireland by Muircheartach MacNeill*, edited by Dr. O'Donovan, line 61. The name, however, is now unknown in the neighbourhood, and utterly forgotten, unless it be supposed to exist still in a corrupted form in the name of the townland of *Mainwar*, popularly *Man of war*, in the parish of Tubber. A wide-spread tradition of a great battle against the Danes exists among the people, and men of the last generation could point out the place where the bodies of the slain lay heaped together in promiscuous sepulture. The road by which Brian pursued the retreating Danes is still well known. An elevated tableland rises about 2 miles below Ballymore Eustace, and runs north and south for nearly 8 miles to Rathsallagh, forming a sub-range to the Wicklow mountains. About midway a valley divides this ridge east and west, on the southern slope of which, facing the west, the modern town of Dunlavin stands. The ancient fortress of Dunlavin lay more to the south, and higher up on the hill side. The moat of Tournant marks the place, where is also an old cemetery, with remains of a still earlier time, pagan tumuli, and fragments of stone circles, known in this part of the country as the 'Piper's stones.' This valley, I believe, is the ancient Glenmama; and although there is now no road or pathway through it, a road is said to have run through this glen from the earliest period, leading to Liamhain, Maistin, and the other primitive fortresses of mid-Leinster, and thence eastwards to the port of Wicklow by Glendalough and Holywood, whence an old road ran across the mountains, which still retains in some places its ancient pavement, not unlike the old Roman roads. It is locally called St. Kevin's road, this saint having made his first retreat at Holywood, where his cave is still to be seen, with many other reminiscences of his retirement. The precise spot in this valley where tradition says the 'fight began,' is situated between the

army seems to have met with no opposition on their way to Dublin, where they immediately made themselves

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townlands of Friar-hill, in the parish of Tubber, and Black-hill and Brewer's-hill, in the parish of Dunlavin (Ord. Map, Sheet 15), at a point somewhat to the west of the place in which the parishes of Dunlavin, Tubber, and Cryhelpe, or Crehelp, meet in the slate quarries. At this spot the valley narrows, with steep banks on the south or Black-hill side. Towards the east it again widens, and on the S. side is an angle called Gauleenlana (i.e., Gabal-an-glenna, the fork of the glen), opposite to which a glen runs northward up to the townland of *Mainwar*. This is now called Tubber glen, but its older name was '*Glenvigeha*' (Glen-figeda, Glen of fighting). From Gauleenlana the glen opens to the south, under Brewer's-hill, and is here called *Plezzica* (perhaps Bleisce, the stony place); a pool here is called *Tubber-villar*, a well on the hill side *Thienveg*, and a small morass in the debris of the slate quarries is called *Poulmona*, while the mearing between this and *Merganstown* is known as the Lorg-ditch. The modern road from Dunlavin to Cryhelpe crosses the valley at the slate quarries. About 60 years ago it was a mere bridle path, while the land on either side was unbroken by drain or fence, and covered with gorse and heather. Glen-mama may be said to terminate at the slate quarries, between which place and Glenvigeha, or Tubber glen, a gentle slope rises to Cryhelpe, from the summit of which the land again slopes to the east. The old pass crossed about here, and this may be the place called Claen Conghair (A, Four M., A.D. 999 and 740, n. [a]), i.e., the slope of the path. A portion of this road may be traced across the lower part of Cryhelpe. It passes near a little disused cemetery called the *Religeen*, which is now nearly obliterated by the annual encroachments of the plough. Nothing remains but a few granite boulders, with round cavities in them, used perhaps for bruising corn. Many such are to be seen in the old cemeteries of this neighbourhood. Near this are also the remains of an old town, said to be the ancient village of Cryhelpe. This road crosses the bog of Cryhelpe, and passes by a very curious and well-preserved stone circle, which is, as here usual, called the 'Piper's stones,' adjoining the Bealach Dunbolg at the ford of Athgreany, under Dunboyke.

"It would appear that the Danes expected to reach Dunlavin, and perhaps to encamp there to meet the forces of Meath and Munster; but Brian seems to have anticipated their movements, and to have met them in the narrow defile of Glen-mama, thus cutting off their retreat. Here there was no room for a regular encounter, and the flight must have been immediate. The main body of the Danish army flew across the sloping land through Kinsellastown, to the ford of Lemmonstown, where a rally seems to have been made by them, and where it is said thousands fell in the conflict. To this day their bones are turned up in the fields about the ford, and some mounds on the banks of the stream are so filled up with bones that the people leave them untilled as being sacred repositories of the dead. The remnant of the defeated army fled to Holywood, about a mile to the east of the ford, and thence to the ford of the Horsepass, on the Liffey, above Poul-a-phouca, where they were utterly routed. Towards the

Dublin taken.

masters of the fortress.[1] Here spoils of great value were found; great quantities of gold, silver, bronze, and precious stones; carbuncle gems, buffalo horns, and beautiful gob-

close of the last century the wild lands of Upper Cryhelpe were reclaimed, and many relics of this retreat were brought to light, chiefly in a line from Tubber glen to Lemmonstown ford, the workmen, coming upon the pits where the bodies of the slain were buried, left them intact, closing them up again. In the defile of Glen-mama, during the first week of May, 1864, one of these pits was accidentally opened; bones were turned up, and also the fragments of a Danish sword (now in the possession of Dean Graves, Pres. R.I.A.); the clay was found black and unctuous, as if thoroughly saturated with human remains. Tradition states that in this retreat 'the son of the King of the Danes' fell among the slain, and that his body was interred in the old cemetery of Cryhelpe, which is now obliterated, and almost unknown. Within its circuit nothing remains but a rude granite shaft, 5 feet 3 inches above the soil, with an oblong aperture cut through it to admit the insertion of a wooden or stone arm to form a cross. It is called '*Cruisloe*,' and now serves as a scratching post for cattle. Under this rude memorial, as the same tradition avers, sleeps in his gory grave Harold, the son of Amlaff, 'the crown prince of the foreigners of Erinn.'

"Another but smaller body of cavalry fled through Glanvigeha to reach (perhaps) the ford of the Liffey at Ballymore Eustace; and, while crossing a quagmire called '*Moinavantri*,' at '*Moinavodh*,' in Tubber, some of them were engulphed in the morass, and there perished. In the year 1849 this morass was drained, and while being filled up with stones and rubbish, a quantity of bones, apparently those of the horse and the cow, together with the antlers of an elk, 'boiled up' to the surface.

"A third party fled from the valley eastward by the '*Religeen*' to the Bealach Dunbolg to gain the shelter of the wild recesses of Hollywood and Slieve Gadoe (Slievegad or Church Mountain), passing near where Aedh Mac Ainmire was slain in 598. Tradition says that Brian Borumha pursued them along the Bealach to Hollywood, where are to this day ancient and majestic yew trees around the church of St. Kevin, in whose spreading branches the king of Leinster may have lurked until his place of concealment was discovered by Murchadh, son of Brian. The flight continued to the Horsepass on the Liffey, where the Danes made another fruitless rally. Their defeat left the road to Dublin free and unimpeded for the victorious legions of Brian and Maelsechlainn."

[1] *The Fortress.* Two bardic poems, one of them imperfect, are here inserted in the MS. B, in celebration of this victory. They contain no information of any consequence; but in the second of them (p. 115), the number of the Danes slain at Glen-mama, is said to have been 1,200, instead of 4,000, as in the prose narrative (p. 111). It is also said that neither the famous battle of Magh Rath (see p. 111.) nor the great battle of Magh Ealta [or Clontarf], was to be compared "in prosperous results" to the battle of Glenmama (p. 115). This poem was evidently written after, but probably not long after the battle of Clontarf; before that battle had come to be represented as decisive. It is doubtless, an interpolation.

lets, as also "vestures of all colours."[1] Brian and his army, we are told, made slaves and captives of "many women, boys, and girls," and this is defended as being a just retaliation upon the foreigners, who were the first aggressors, having come from their home to contest with the Irish the possession of their own country and lawful inheritance[2] (p. 117).

Brian's occupation of Dublin.

Brian is said in one place (p. 113) to have remained in Dublin from great Christmas to little Christmas, *i.e.*, from Christmas to the Circumcision;[3] but in another place (p. 117) he is said to have remained from Christmas to the Feast of St. Brigit (Feb. 1st). Be this as it may, he seems to have made Dublin his head-quarters until he had reduced the greater part of Leinster to subjection, and taken hostages; he also burned and destroyed the wood called Coill Comair,[4] making clearances, and dismantling fortresses, doubtless with a view to his intended military operations.

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[1] *Colours.* Here follows a paragraph, which is most probably an interpolation, in which is explained how the Danes came by their great wealth: namely, by the plunder of fortresses, churches, and subterraneous caves. Their magical powers enabled them to discover everything that had been concealed under ground, or hidden in the solitudes of the Fians and fairies. This is an instance of the lingering belief (among Christians) in the magical powers of the pagan idolatrous rites. The Fians were the ancient Irish Militia, whose leader was the celebrated Finn Mac Cumhaill, slain A.D. 284. Legends of the prowess and exploits of the Fians were favourite subjects with the Irish bards. This class of poetry still exists in the Highlands of Scotland, but elsewhere is principally known by Macpherson's imitation of the Ossianic tales. In Ireland this literature is abundant. See the "Boyish Exploits of Finn Mac Cumhaill," edited by Dr. O'Donovan, 1859, and other publications of the Dublin Ossianic Society. Comp. Keating's curious account of the qualifications necessary for admission to the Order of the Fianna, or Fenians; *O'Mahony's Transl.*, *p.* 343, *sq.*

[2] *Inheritance.* A paragraph is here inserted laudatory of Brian, setting forth his services against the Danes, and the 25 battles gained by him over them; this has also the air of an interpolation, although it occurs in both MSS.

[3] *Circumcision.* The Four M. rightly understood by "Little Christmas" the Octave of Christmas. Tigernach (A.D. 999), says that Brian remained "a full month" at Dublin; *co raibhe an mi nlan:* which Dr. O'Conor erroneously reads *an min lan*, and translates "remanet ad libitum ibi."

[4] *Coill Comair.* "Wood of the confluence" [of two or more rivers], a place now unknown to the editor. It was, however, in Leinster.

Submission of Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran.

Meantime "the king of the foreigners" (called Amlaibh in the text (p. 119); but we should evidently read "son of Amlaibh,") namely, Sitric, son of Amlaibh, or Olaf Cuaran, fled after the battle of Glen-mama to seek protection from the northern chieftains, Aedh,[1] king of Ailech, or North Uladh, and Eochaidh,[2] king of East Uladh. But they both refused to protect him, and appear to have delivered him up to the officers sent by Brian to pursue him. Accordingly three months after his defeat at Glen-mama, "he came into Brian's house," in other words, "submitted to Brian's own terms," and was restored to his former command in the Dún, or Castle of Dublin.

The truth is that Sitric was now necessary for the accomplishment of Brian's ambitious plans. An alliance was accordingly made with him. It was probably on this occasion that Brian gave his daughter to Sitric in marriage, and possibly formed his own connexion with Sitric's mother, Gormflaith,[3] of whom we shall hear more in the sequel.

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[1] *Aedh.* He was son of Domhnall O'Neill, king of Ireland (A.D. 956), grandson of the celebrated Muirchertach of the leather cloaks. He was slain in the battle of Craebh Tulcha, 1003. (*Four M.*) See Table I. p. 245.

[2] *Eochaidh.* He was son of the Ardul, Ardgal, or Ardgair, who was slain at the battle of Cill-mona. (See p. 45, and p. xcviii., *supra.*) Madugan (father of Ardgal) sl. 948, was son of the Aedh, son of Eochagan, who was slain in the battle of Kilmashogue in 919. (See p. xci., *n.*) The royal palace of eastern Uladh at this time was at Dundalethglas, now Downpatrick; as the palace of Northern Uladh was at Ailech. Uladh, with the Danish addition of *stir* (province), has now become *Uladh-stir* = Ulster.

[3] *Gormflaith.* She was the sister of Maelmordha, king of Leinster, daughter of Murchadh, and grand-daughter of Finn, Lord of Offaly, who was slain 928. She was married first to Olaf Cuaran, by whom she had the Sitric mentioned above; then to Malachy II., by whom she was divorced or repudiated (after she had borne to him a son, Conchobhair or Connor); and thirdly to Brian, by whom she was also put away. The Njal Saga calls her *Kormlada*, and describes her as "the fairest of all women, and best gifted in every thing that was not in her own power," i.e., in all physical and natural endowments; but "she did all things ill over which she had any power," i.e., in her moral conduct. (*Burnt Njal*, ii., 323.) It is remarkable, as showing the close alliances by marriage between the Irish chieftains and the Danes at this period, that Donnflaith, daughter, or grand-daughter (see p. cliii., n. [3]) of Muirchertach of the Leather cloaks, and

And of Maelmordha, king of Leinster.

Maelmordha, King of Leinster, brother of this Gormflaith, was also now taken into Brian's favour. This prince had allied himself with the Danes of Dublin in the hope of securing[1] for himself the crown of Leinster, and had fought with them against Brian at Glen-mama. After the victory he concealed himself in the foliage of a yew tree, where he was discovered and taken prisoner by Murchadh, or Murrough, Brian's son. But when Brian made alliance with Sitric of Dublin, the same policy induced him to take Maelmordha also into his friendship; and Donnchadh, son of Domhnall Claen, the actual king of Leinster, was deposed, that Maelmordha might be put into his place.[2]

Brian returns to Kinncora.

Having formed this confederacy with those who were so lately his bitterest enemies, Brian now returned home, that is to say, to Cenn-coradh,[3] or Kinncora, his usual residence, near Killaloe, after having enriched his followers with the spoils of Dublin and of Leinster. Here, in defiance of his recent treaty,[4] and in violation of good

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(after the death of her first husband, Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, King of Ireland), "married" Olaf Cuaran, and had by him Gluniarain, King of Dublin. Malachy II. afterwards married Gormflaith, Olaf Cuaran's widow, and finally married Maelmaire, a sister of Sitric, who was the same Gormflaith's son by Olaf Cuaran. From her name Maelmaire ("servant of Mary") this daughter of King Olaf Cuaran seems to have been a Christian.

[1] *Securing.* In 999, about a year before the battle of Glen-mama, in alliance with Sitric, he had captured Donnchadh, son of Domhnall Claen, king of Leinster, and declared himself king in his place. See *Ann. Ult.* 998 or 9. *Four M.*, 998 (=1000).

[2] *Place.* See chap. lxxi., p. 119.

[3] *Cenn-coradh.* "Head of the weir." This word has greatly puzzled the Scandinavian editors of the Njals Saga, who have written it Kantaraborg, confounding it with *Canterbury*, or supposing a place in Ireland with that name; others write *Kunniattaborg*, and render it quasi *Kunnaktir-borg*, "the capital of Connaught." (See the Latin version of Njal Saga, p. 591, and *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 323). But the change of *t* into *c* or *k* gives *Kankara-borg* a sufficiently close representation of Kinncora. *Burnt Njal, Introd.*, p. cxciii., note.

[4] *Treaty.* Dr. O'Brien, in his *Law of Tanistry* (Vallancy, *Collect.* i., p. 520), endeavours to throw the blame of violating the treaty upon Malachy, who had made "a great plundering" in Leinster, which Dr. O'B. says, was "Brian's kingdom." The Ann Ult. record this plunder in their year 998–9, the year of the battle of Glen-mama, but before they mention that battle. It is true the annalist Tighernach re-

faith and honour, he organized a formidable conspiracy for the purpose of deposing Malachy, and placing himself on the throne. Our author's account of this transaction (chap. lxxii.) is, that Brian having mustered all the forces of Legh Mogha, the southern half of Ireland, both foreigners and Irish, invaded Meath, and marched as far as Tara, from whence he sent ambassadors to Malachy demanding hostages or battle. Malachy requested a truce for a month to enable him to consult his tribe; and this was conceded. Brian pledged[1] himself that no plunder, ravage, trespass, or burning (p. 119) should be attempted

His invasion of Meath.

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cords it *after* the battle (at 999), but does not say that this was any violation of the treaty; and at the very next year speaks of Brian's invasion of Meath as *his first treacherous rebellion* against Malachy, *cet impod tre mebail;* which plainly implies that Brian was the first to break faith. The fact seems to be, that, whilst Brian was at Dublin, Malachy plundered Leinster so as to complete the subjection of that district, whilst Brian was dealing with the Dublin Danes. The statement of Dr. O'Brien, that "In the year 1000 Brian was earnestly solicited by the princes and states of Connaught to dethrone Malachy," &c., is wholly without authority from any ancient source, although it is found in Keating. Even our author, with all his Dalcassian zeal, makes no mention of it.

[1] *Pledged himself.* This story of a truce for a month seems in itself highly improbable, and was probably invented by the Dalcassian authors to give some colour of generosity to Brian's conduct. No mention of it occurs in the Annals. The story, as told in the Annals, is this:—Brian, with an army consisting of his own troops, and his recently conquered vassals of South Connaught, Ossory, and the Munster foreigners, marched to Tara. His Danish cavalry of Dublin, however, had set out before him, and were completely defeated by Malachy in person. Brian then advanced to *Ferta-nimhe* (now unknown) in Magh Bregh, but returned "without battle, without plunder, without burning." (*Four M.* and *Tighernach*, 999=1001). The *Ann. Ult.* say nothing of Brian's march to Tara, and represent Malachy's victory over the Danish and Leinster cavalry as having taken place after Brian's expedition to *Ferta-nimhe;* adding that his cavalry having been completely routed (*pœne omnes occisi*), Brian retired, "cogente Domino," without battle or plunder. *Ann. Ult.* 999 (=1000). Tara, it should be remembered, had been deserted by the kings of Ireland since the middle of the sixth century, although Mr. Moore speaks of "a palace," "a stately structure" there, burnt by Brian on this occasion. *Hist. Irel.*, ii., p. 95. Malachy at this time resided at Dun-na-sgiath [fort of the shields], on the banks of Lough Ennell, co. of Westmeath, probably in the parish of Moylisker, where there are still many ancient raths. There was another Dun-na-sgiath in Tipperary, which has been already noticed. See p. cxvi., n. [1].

during that time, but he himself in person remained at Tara, pending Malachy's answer.

Malachy seeks aid from the northern Hy Neill.

Malachy employed this interval of truce in endeavouring to obtain assistance from his relatives[1] in the north of Ireland, and from Cathal, son of Conchobhair, king of Connaught; resolved, if these chieftains should fail him, to submit to Brian's demands, and give him hostages. Our author adds that this resolution to give up "the freedom of Tara" (*i.e.*, his rights as supreme king of Ireland) was not more disgraceful to Malachy than it was to his northern kinsmen of the Clanna Neill, and the other clans of Leth-Cuinn, the northern half of Ireland (p. 121).

Poetical account of the mission to Aedh O'Neill.

The messenger sent to Aedh O'Neill by Malachy on this occasion was Giolla-Comgaill O'Slebhin, the chief bard of Ulster, whose poetical account of his mission is inserted[2] into our author's narrative. This poem is an earnest exhortation to the three chieftains, Aedh O'Neill, Eochaidh, of East Ulster, and Cathal, of Connaught, to rescue Tara (meaning the monarchy of Ireland) from the grasp of Brian. Aedh is exhorted by the glories of his race, by the dishonour that would attach to him if he allowed the throne of Ireland to pass from the Hy Neill, and by the hint that Maelseachlainn was ready to abdicate[3] in his favour, if by his aid the present danger should

[1] *Relatives.* These were Aedh O'Neill, King of Ailech, and Eochaidh, son of Ardgal, king of Uladh, p. 121. Of these we have already spoken. See p. cxlviii., n. 1, 2. Cathal, son of Conchobhair, king of Connaught, was the father of Tadhg, leader of the forces of Connaught at the battle of Clontarf, where he was slain in 1014. See *O'Flaherty's West Connaught*, p. 133, No. 48. This Cathal was ancestor of all the O'Conors of Connaught.

[2] *Inserted.* Chap. lxxiii., p. 121. This poem occurs in the older MS. D, and not in O'Clery's MS. As O'Slebhin lived to 1031, he may have acted as Malachy's messenger in 1002 or 3, and there is no reason, except its having been excluded by O'Clery, for supposing the poem to be an interpolation. It was quite consistent with the manners of the times that the message should be delivered in poetry, especially when the ambassador was a professional bard. The family of O'Slebhin, now Slevin, was of the clann Fergusa, descended from Fergus, king of Ireland in the sixth century, and, therefore, of the Cinel Eoghain, the same tribe of which Aodh was the head. See Geneal. Table I., p. 245.

[3] *Abdicate.* See the first stanza of the poem at the beginning of p. 125.

be averted. Eochaidh is exhorted to bring the Ulaidh, or men of eastern Ulster, of whom he was chieftain, and Cathal to bring "the illustrious men of Olnegmacht,"[1] or Connaught; thus the whole of the race of Herimon would be assembled (Aedh leading the northern Hy Neill, and Malachy the southern Hy Neill)[2] against the usurpation of the house of Heber, of which Brian was the representative. The reader, it is hoped, with the explanations already given, will have no difficulty in understanding the historical allusions of this poem.[3]

Refusal of Aedh.

Aedh O'Neill however (ch. lxxiv.) refused to comply with the poet's request, on the ground that when the

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[1] *Olnegmacht.* This was the name of a tribe of the Damnonii, the aboriginal settlers in Connaught, from whom the name of Olnegmacht was poetically given to the whole province. It is probably from this tribe that Ptolemy gave the name of *Nagnatæ* to a district in Connaught.

[2] *Hy Neill.* See the last three stanzas of the poem on p. 123.

[3] *This poem.* It may be well, however, to remind the reader that *Lis Luigheach*, in *stanza* 1, is Fort of Lughaidh Menn, ancestor of the Dal Cais. See Geneal. Table III., p. 247. "The House of Tal," or of Cas Mac Tail, is also another name for the Dal Cais; and Temhair of Fal, or Fail, is Tara of Fal, so called from the ancient stone called Lia Fail; comp. *stanzas* 15 and 19. See *Petrie on Tara* (Transact. R.I.A., xviii., p. 159, *sq.*) Magh-Bregh or Bregia (*st.* 3) has already been explained; and Tara is called Tara of Bregh (*st.* 5), because it is situated in the plain of Bregia. In *st.* 5 (p. 123) the poet supposes Donnflaith (mother of King Malachy II.) to have been Aedh's sister, and, therefore, *daughter* to King Domhnall O'Neill, son of Muirchertach of the leather cloaks; but the received opinion (following Keating, *Reign of Maelsechlainn II.*) makes her not sister, but aunt to Aedh, daughter of Muirchertach Leather cloaks, and sister to Aedh's father. If this be so, Aedh and Malachy were first cousins; on the former supposition Aedh was Malachy's uncle. For *Corc's Brugh* (*st.* 14, p. 125) see note [2], p. 124. The Corc intended was Conall Corc, king of Munster; (see Gen. Table IV., No. 6, p. 248). In the same stanza "Lugaidh's land" is the territory of the Dal Cais, so called from Lugaidh Menn. Table III., No. 6. In *st.* 16, *Lurc* or *Lorc* signifies Leinster, from Laeghaire Lorc, alluded to again *st.* 24, who was the common ancestor of the Hy Neill, and of the kings of Leinster; hence the poet's argument, that his descendants ought to make common cause against Cashel. In *st.* 17 "Muirchertach of the red prowess" is Muirchertach of the leather cloaks. In *st.* 20, "Cormac, grandson of just Conn," is Cormac, grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and son of Art Aenfir, ancestor of the Hy Neill, north and south, and therefore "to his race belongs this western hill;" i.e., Tara, or the throne of Ireland. Hence, Tara

chieftains of the Cinel Eoghain[1] were kings of Tara, they were able to defend their own rights without applying for any external aid, and that he would not risk his life, or the blood of his clan, for the sake of securing the sovereignty of Ireland for any other man. Malachy, on receiving this cold refusal, resolved to go in person to Aedh, to offer him hostages, and to abdicate the throne in his favour. Aedh was himself anxious to give to this proposal a favourable answer (p. 129); but it was necessary to obtain the consent of the clan to the aid in war, which was the condition of it. He therefore assembled the Cinel Eoghain, and laid the question before them. They all voted against engaging in warfare with the powerful sept of the Dal Cais. Aedh then advised a more solemn consideration of the subject; and the tribe, having "retired to secret council," decided that as neither side could expect to vanquish the other, they would refuse Malachy's request, unless he would consent to cede to them "one-half of the men of Meath and of the territory of Tara,"—(in other words, half of the hereditary jurisdiction and possessions of his tribe, the Clan Colmain)—to become from thenceforth the property of the Cinel Eoghain.

The Clan Colmain agree to submit to Brian.

On receiving this unfavourable, and indeed insulting answer, Malachy retired in great wrath, and having summoned his tribe, the Clan Colmain, reported to them the state of the case. They agreed, as a matter of necessity, to submit to Brian. Accordingly Malachy set out, with a guard of honour of twelve score horsemen only, and, "without guarantee or protection, beyond the honour of Brian himself and that of the Dal Cais," made submission, and offered to give hostages. Brian answered that as Malachy

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is called Cormac's Hill, *st.* 16. In *st.* 22 (p. 127) Cathal, King of Connaught, is called "descendant of the three Cathals," [*na cath* "of the battle" a play upon his name], because he had three predecessors Kings of Connaught called Cathal, viz., Nos. 43, 36, and 22, in Mr. Hardiman's list of the Kings of Connaught. Hardiman's ed. of *O'Flaherty's West Connaught*, p. 132, *sq.*

[1] *Cinel Eoghain*, or Northern Hy Neill. The Tribe of which Aedh was himself the chieftain. See Genealogical Table I., p. 245.

had trusted to his honour, he would take no hostages, but would grant him a truce for a year,[1] without pledge or hostage, adding, that he was ready to declare war against Aedh and Eochaidh, provided Malachy would promise not to join them against him. Malachy readily made this promise, but strongly advised Brian to return home satisfied with the result of his expedition, "as having received submission from himself" (p. 133), and so, having attained the great object of his ambition. Brian's followers, being now "at the last of their provisions," readily consented to adopt this advice; and Brian, before he set out for his home, gave twelve score steeds to be divided among Malachy's twelve score mounted followers. But not one of Malachy's men "would deign to carry a led horse with him," showing their reluctance to accept any gift which implied vassalage to Brian. Accordingly, Malachy bestowed the twelve score steeds upon Murchadh, Brian's son, who had that very day given "his hand into Malachy's hand," in token of alliance and friendship (p. 133), and who, by taking back his father's horses, did not in any way compromise himself.

The crown passes to Brian without any formal act of cession.

Nevertheless, this transaction, notwithstanding its palpable hollowness, seems to have been deemed sufficient to transfer the throne to Brian, and to reduce Malachy to the condition of a vassal,[2] under the title of King of Meath. He appears to have submitted, however reluctantly, without a struggle; nor is the exact date of the change expressly marked by our annalists, with the exception of Tighernach, who adds, in Latin, at the end of his year 1001 (=1000 of the Four Masters), "*Brian Boruma*

[1] *A year.* No mention of this truce for a year occurs in the Annals.

[2] *Vassal.* It is remarkable that henceforth in the Annals, whenever Malachy and Brian are mentioned as acting together, Brian's name is put first, although before this time it was the reverse. The Four M., at A.D. 997, have "an army was led by Maelsechlainn and Brian," &c. "Maelsechlainn with the men of Meath, and Brian with the men of Munster," &c.; see also A.D. 998, p. 739, 741. But at A.D. 1001, p. 747, and A.D. 1003, p. 749, we have "Brian and Maelsechlainn."

regnat." The Four Masters, on the other hand, describe their year 1001 as the twenty-third year of Malachy, and A.D. 1002 as the first year of Brian. But Malachy began his reign in 980, so that the year 1001 of the Four Masters, which they say is the twenty-third of Malachy, is really A.D. 1003-4. If so it follows that Malachy continued king during the year 1002-3, although the commencement of Brian's reign[1] was counted from 1002.

Brian seeks hostages from Connaught and Ulster.

The new sovereign began his rule by "a great naval expedition" to Athluain, now Athlone, and by an invasion of Connaught by land. Hostages were brought him without demur to his head-quarters at Athlone, by the Connaught chieftains, as well as by Malachy.[2] In the same year[3] an expedition was made "by Brian[4] to Dun Dealgan (now Dundalk), to demand hostages from Aedh and Eochaidh, the two chieftains of Ulster," who have been already so often mentioned. But Brian's policy seems to have been at this time peace. Aedh and Eochaidh met him at Dundalk, and a truce for a year was agreed to, on the condition that the northern chieftains "were not to attack Malachy or Brian's Connaught allies, during that year, but to continue as friends."[5]

Invasion of Ulster.

When the year was out, Brian mustered his forces (ch. lxxvii.), and invaded the Ultonian chieftains. He appears at this time to have received the submission of all Ireland as far northwards as the county of Armagh. Our author says that he was followed by "all the men of Erinn, both

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[1] *Brian's reign.* See Dr. O'Conor's note on *Tighernach*, A.D. 1001 (*Rer. Hib. Scriptt.*, ii., p. 270), and O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 435.

[2] *Malachy.* Chap. lxxvi., p. 133. Four M. 1001.

[3] *Same year.* Our author says (p. 133) that the expedition to Athlone was "at the end of a year after this," and also that the expedition to Dundalk was "at the end of a year." The meaning apparently is, at the end of the year of truce granted to Malachy, so that the same year is intended. This may account for the first year of Brian being also considered the last year of Malachy; and thus the story of the truce for a year is incidentally confirmed.

[4] *By Brian.* Our author mentions Brian only. The Four Masters, Ann. of Ulster, and Tighernach, say, by Brian and Malachy.

[5] *Friends.* See p. 135.

Gaill and Gaedhil, of all who were from Sliabh Fuaid[1] southwards," that is to say, south of the district which owned Eochaidh as its lord. This was by far the greater part of Ireland; and resistance to such an army by the provincial troops of the North was hopeless.

Weakness of the northern chieftains.

Aedh O'Neill having failed to give him battle, Brian seized hostages from all Ulster. This seems to show some weakness in the condition of the northern chieftains, which two years[2] afterwards manifested itself in open warfare between the Cinel Eoghain, under their youthful chieftain, Aedh O'Neill, and the eastern Ulstermen, under Eochaidh; it ended in the battle of Craebh-Tulcha, in which Aedh and Eochaidh were both slain, Aedh being at the time only twenty-nine years of age.

Brian invades the North.

Brian lost no time in taking advantage of this discord. He proceeded immediately to invade the Cinel Eoghain and Uladh. Marching his troops through Meath, and remaining a night at Tailltin,[3] he advanced to Armagh,

Leaves an offering of gold at Armagh, and takes hostages.

where he laid an offering of twenty ounces of gold upon the altar[4] of the cathedral. He carried off hostages from Uladh, Dalaradia, and all the North, except the country of the Cinel Conaill, the present county of Donegal (ch. lxxvii.).

Brian now (ch. lxxviii.) felt himself strong enough to

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[1] *Sliabh Fuaid.* "Mountains of Fuad" (a man's name); in the south of the county of Armagh, now called the Fews mountains, from the barony of *Fiadha*, or *Fiodh*, in which they are situated.

[2] *Two Years.* The Ann. Ult. say that the battle of Craebh Tulcha took place on Thursday, the 18 kal. Oct., which would indicate the year 1004. The Four M. date this battle 1003, but in that year the 18 kal. Oct., (which is always Holy Cross day) fell on Tuesday. Dr. O'Donovan supposes Craebh Tulcha ["spreading tree of the hill"] to be the place now called Crew, near Glenavy, barony of Upper Massereene, county of Antrim. But see Reeves's *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 342, n. .

[3] *Tailltin*, now Teltown, a parish in the barony of Upper Kells, co. of Meath.

[4] *Altar.* It was probably on this occasion that the curious entry was made in the Book of Armagh, in presence of Brian, by his confessor or chaplain, in which Brian, as chief King of the Irish "Imperator Scotorum," recognised the supremacy of the see of Armagh, and put on record an authoritative declaration on the subject—"finituit" (read *finivit*) "pro omnibus regibus Maceriæ;" i.e. of Cashel—viz. for himself and his successors. See O'Curry's Lectures, p. 653. By this politic measure, Brian evidently hoped to secure the favour and support of the northern clergy.

execute a project which, as we learn from the Four Masters, he had twice before[1] attempted, but which the power of the Northern Hy Neill had prevented him from carrying out. This was to make a circuit[2] of all Ireland, for the purpose of carrying off hostages, to secure the submission of the tribes who had not as yet tendered their allegiance.[3] His circuit of Ireland.

[1] *Twice before.* The first attempt was immediately after he had received the submission of Malachy, A.D. 1001; when "Brian and Maelsechlainn, accompanied by the men of Ireland, Meathmen, Connaughtmen, Munstermen, Leinstermen, and foreigners," went to Dundalk, where the northern chieftains met them, but "did not permit them to advance further." Again, in 1003, the Four M. tell us "Brian and Maelsechlainn" led an army into North Connaught as far as Traigh Eochaile (near Ballysadare, co. of Sligo), to proceed around Ireland, "but they were prevented by the Ui Neill of the North."

[2] *Circuit.* In imitation, probably, of the circuit of Muirchertach of the leather cloaks. See "The Circuit of Ireland, by Muirchertach Mac Neill," edited by Dr. O'Donovan for the Irish Arch. Society, 1841.

[3] *Allegiance.* His route is minutely described by our author (ch. lxxviii.) Having started apparently from Killaloe, he travelled northwards through the midst of Connaught, into Magh-n-Ai, otherwise called *Machaire Connacht* [the plain of Connaught], a great plain in the co. of Roscommon, extending from the town of Roscommon to Elphin, and from Castlerea to Strokestown; over Coirr-Sliabh (now the Curlew mountains, near Boyle), into Tir-Ailella (now the barony of Tir-errill, co. of Sligo), into the district of Cairpre (now the barony of Carbury, same co.), over the Sligech, or river Sligo, "keeping his left hand to the sea, and his right hand to the land," by Benn-Gulban (now Binbulbin, a remarkable mountain near Sligo), over the Dubh or Black river (now the Duff, on the borders of Sligo and Leitrim), and over the Drobhais, (now the Drowis, which rises in Loch Melvin, and falls into the sea at Bun-drowes, near the town of Donegal); into Magh nEine (now Moy, a plain in Donegal); then over Ath Senaigh (or Bel-atha-Seanaigh [mouth of the ford of Seanach], now Ballyshannon; at Easruadh or Eas Aedha ruadh (Assaroe) [cataract of Aedh Ruadh], now the salmon-leap, on the river Erne, Ballyshannon); into Tir-aedha (now the barony of Tirhugh, co. of Donegal), and across Bearnas Mór (now Barnesmore Gap, on the road from Donegal to Stranorlar); over Fearsad into TirEoghain (Tyrone), thence to Dal-riada and Dal-araidhe, to Uladh, and thence to Belach-Dúin, where he arrived about Lammas. Dal-riada is now *the Route* in the northern half of the co. of Antrim. It is not to be confounded with Dal-araidhe or Dal-aradia, in the southern part of the co. of Antrim, and north of co. of Down. *Uladh* was originally the name of the whole province of Ulster, but after the conquest of the ancient Ultu by the Oriels under the Collas, the name became restricted to the district which included the southern half of Antrim and all the co. of Down, but afterwards was confined to the southern portion of Down. In this last sense it is here used. See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 372. Dr. O'Donovan suggests that

Having effected this purpose[1] as far as was possible, Brian dismissed his troops,[2] being probably short of provisions. The men of Leinster crossed Bregia, marching southwards to their homes; the foreigners went off by sea to Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick; and the Connaught-men passed through Meath westwards to their province (p. 137). No mention is made of the Munstermen, who remained, we may fairly conclude, with their chieftain. Having stopped at Craebh Tulcha,[3] or returned thither, the Ulaid or Ulstermen supplied him with provisions, for which Brian paid liberally in horses, clothing, gold, and silver (p. 137).

Naval expedition to plunder Great Britain.

Then follows a paragraph, which is most probably an interpolation.[4] It pretends that Brian, after his circuit of Ireland, organized a naval expedition, consisting of the foreigners of Dublin and Waterford, the Ui Ceinnselaigh, from the county of Wexford, and the Ui Eathach of Munster.[5] These were all maritime tribes, and were sent to "levy royal tribute;" in other words, to plunder, from the Saxons and Britons, from the Lemhnaigh[6] in Scotland, and from the Airer Gaedhel, or inhabi-

Belach-Dúin may have been Belach-Dúna-Dealgan, "the pass of Dundalk." *Four M.*, p 756, n. [h]. But Dr. Reeves (*Adamnan*, p. xlv.), identifies Belach-Dúin with Castlekeeran, barony of Upper Kells, co. of Meath, on the Blackwater, three miles N.W. of Kells. *Fersad* is mentioned as if it was a place between Bearnas Mór and the entrance into Tyrone. The *Four M.* call it *Feartas Camsa*. The Ann. Ult. call it *Feartais Camsa in Ultu in aenach Conaill* ["Feartais Camsa in Uladh, in Conall's fairgreen"], if so, it ought to have been mentioned after Tir Eoghain; but it is perhaps more probable, that the words *ocus it Tir Eoghain* are an interpolation. Feartas Camsa, "passage, or ford, of Camus," was on the river Bann, which separates the counties of Derry and Antrim, near the old church of Macosquin or Camus-juxta-Bann. *Four M.*, p. 745; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.*, p. 342; and *Adamnan*, p. 96–7.

[1] *Purpose.* The Four M. say "that he did not get hostages of the Cinel Conaill or Cinel Eoghain," p. 757.

[2] *His troops.* They are called in the text "the men of *Erinn*," because they had followed Brian in his capacity of Ard-righ, or High King, of Erinn, and not as chieftain of any particular clan or province.

[3] *Craebh Tulcha.* See p. clvi., n. [2].

[4] *Interpolation.* See notes, pp. 136–7.

[5] *Ui Eathach of Munster.* Seated on the S.W. shore of the co. of Cork, round Bandon and Kinsale. See p. cxxvi., *n.* [2]; and B. of Rights, p. 256, *n.*

[6] *Lemhnaigh.* The *Leamhnacha*, or men of Lennox, are so called from the Leamhain, a river flowing from Loch Lomond. Lennox is perhaps *Leamhain-uisce*, Leamhain, or Levinwater.

tants of Argyle. This expedition is not mentioned in the Irish Annals, nor, so far as the editor knows, in any other authority.[1] The plunder thus obtained was divided into three parts: one-third was given to the Dublin Danes; one to the warriors of Leinster and of the Ui Eathach; and one "to the professors of sciences and arts, and to those who were most in need," this latter portion having been probably devoted to useful and charitable purposes, as a set off against the questionable morality of the means by which it was acquired.

Then follows (chap. lxxix.) an account of the peace and prosperity[2] which flourished in Ireland during Brian's administration. He banished and enslaved the foreigners, and rescued the country from their oppression. "A lone woman might have walked in safety from Torach," now Tory Island, off the north coast of the county of Donegal, to Cliodhna, or Carraic Cliodhna, a rock in the harbour of Glandore[3] (*i.e.*, through the whole length of Ireland), "carrying a ring of gold on a horse-rod" (chap. lxxx.) He erected or restored churches, among which are particularly mentioned the church of Cell-Dalua, or Killaloe; the church of Inis-Cealtra, an island in Loch Derg; and the Cloichtech (belfry), or Round Tower, of Tuaim-Greine.[4] He encouraged literature and learning. He made bridges,[5] causeways, and roads. He strengthened the principal

Peace and prosperity of Brian's reign.

[1] *Authority.* The story, however, although probably exaggerated, may have had some foundation in fact. Policy may have led Brian to turn into a foreign channel that restless spirit of his pirate subjects which might otherwise have found vent nearer home.

[2] *Prosperity.* The Annals do not confirm this glowing picture of a *peaceful* reign.

[3] *Glandore*, anciently *Cuandor* [Golden harbour], a beautiful bay between the baronies of E. and W. Carbury, S. of the co. of Cork. In this bay is the rock called Cliodhna's rock, upon which beats a wave called Tonn-Chliodhna, *Tun-cleena*, (Cliodhna's wave), said to utter a plaintive sound when a monarch of the south of Ireland dies. Cliodhna was the name of a fairy princess in an ancient Irish legend. See the *Feis Tighe Chonain* (Ossianic Soc.), pp. 97, 162.

[4] *Tuaim-Greine.* Now Tomgraney, a parish in the N.E. of the co. of Clare.

[5] *Bridges.* Maelsechlainn is said by the Four M. to have made causeways or bridges at Athlone and at Athliag (now Lanesborough), with the assistance of Cathal Ua Conchobhair, King of Connaught, "each carrying his portion of the work to the middle of the Shannon." A.D. 1000, and O'Donovan's note [f], p. 744.

royal forts[1] and fortified islands of Munster. He dispensed a royal hospitality; administered a rigid and impartial justice; and so continued, in unbroken prosperity, for the remainder of his reign, having been at his death thirty-eight years king of Munster, and fifteen years sovereign of all Ireland.[2]

Maelmordha arrives at Kincora.

Our author proceeds (ch. lxxxi.) to mention some curious circumstances which disturbed this prosperity, and led, indirectly at least, to the celebrated battle of Clontarf. We have already spoken of Maelmordha, King

[1] *Royal forts.* It will be remarked that *islands* are included in the enumeration of the different kinds of fortresses: "duns, fastnesses, *islands*, &c.," p. 141. These were the artificial islands or *crannogs* (so called because they were made of *crann*, trees);—the *Pfahlbauten* of the Swiss antiquaries. A list of the fortifications built or strengthened by Brian is given:—They are—1. *Caisil*, or Cashel, a word which signifies *a wall*, and is translated *maceria* in the Book of Armagh; see p. clvi., *n.* [2]. 2. *Cenn-abrat*, or Cenn Febrath, near Kilfinan (as Dr. O'Donovan conjectured), S.E. of the co. of Limerick (see p. cxxxviii., *n.*), where there are still some fine earthen mounds. 3. The island of *Loch Cend*, a lake near Knock-any, co. of Limerick, now dry. 4. The island of *Loch Gair*, now Lough Gur, near Bruff, co. of Limerick. Considerable remains of this crannog exist, which are now the more visible, as modern drainage has very much reduced the depth of the lake. The island is of unusual size, and contains the ruins of a stone fortification. The neighbourhood is full of megalithic circles and cromlechs. In the lake have been found the finest extant specimens of the Cervus Hibernicus, or gigantic deer of Ireland. 5. *Dun-Eochair Maige* (or "fort of the bank of the [river] Maigue," co. of Limerick), probably now Bruree. 6. *Dún-Cliath*, or *Dún Cliach*, a fort on the hill of Knock-any, territory of Cliach, co. of Limerick. 7. *Dún-Crot*, or *Dun-gCrot*, a ford at the foot of *Sliabh gCrot*, now Sliabh Grud, one of the Galtees, in the glen of Aherlagh, co. of Tipperary. 8. The island of *Loch Saiglend*, unknown. 9. The island called *Inis an Goill-dubh* (island of the black foreigner), unknown; see p. xx., *supr.* Four M., 1013, p. 770, *n.* 10. *Rosach*, called *Rosach-nariogh* in the MS. B, now perhaps *Rossagh*, near Doneraile, co. of Cork, *B. of Lismore*, fol. 148, *a.* 11. *Cenn-coradh*, or Kincora, Brian's own residence near Killaloe. 12. *Borumha*, or Bel-Borumha, a remarkable fort, about a mile north of Killaloe. It is said that Brian there protected the cattle spoil which he levied from Leinster, under the name of Borumh, or Boromean tribute.

[2] *Ireland.* See p. 141. The more correct date assigns but 12 years to Brian's reign as King of Ireland, assuming A.D. 1002 to have been his first year. Our author quotes the bard Giolla-Moduda O'Cassidy as his authority for the *fifteen* years, but Keating, quoting the very same stanza, although without naming the poet, reads twelve years. Giolla-Moduda died about 1143. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. [2]. The metre is not altered by either reading.

of Leinster, and of his sister Gormflaith, who was at this time with Brian at Kincora. She is called by our author "Brian's wife," and "the mother[1] of Donnchadh, son of Brian."

He brings with him three pine masts for ships.

Maelmordha arrived at Brian's residence, bringing with him three large pine trees to make masts for shipping. These were probably the offering or tribute paid by Maelmordha as Brian's vassal. The trees had been cut in the great forest of Leinster, called Fidh-Gaibhli, now

[1] *Mother.* The three "marriages" of Gormflaith are described in some verses quoted by the Four M. (1030), as three "leaps" or "jumps, which a woman should never jump." This seems to hint that the three leaps were not legitimate marriages. They were "a leap at Ath Cliath, or Dublin," when she *married* Olaf Cuaran; "a leap at Tara" when she *married* Malachy II.;" and "a leap at Cashel" when she *married* Brian. The Four M., at 1009, record the death of Dubhcobhlaigh, a wife of Brian [daughter of Cathal O'Conchobhair or O'Connor, King of Connaught]. This creates some difficulty; for if Brian's marriage with Gormflaith took place in or after that year, her son Donnchadh could not have been old enough to have taken a command at the battle of Clontarf. If, on the other hand, that marriage took place as a part of Brian's policy to conciliate the Dublin Danes, after Glenmama, A.D. 1000 (see p. cxlviii), Donnchadh could not have been more than 13 years of age at Clontarf. This, it may be said, was probably not too young, according to the customs of the period; the clan would follow the son of their chieftain as a Righdomhna or *possible* heir; but why did they follow a boy when they might have chosen one of their late chieftain's elder sons? That there was something wrong is evident from the fact, that a prophecy, as we shall see, was put in Brian's mouth, designating Donnchadh as his heir. See p. 201. A greater difficulty is that we find Gormflaith at Kincora, and she is called by our author "Brian's wife," at the time of her brother's unfortunate visit there with his pine masts. This must have been after 1009, and, therefore, after Gormflaith had been repudiated, and after the death of the wife Brian had married in her place. Possibly after this lady's death Gormflaith may have visited Kincora in the hope of recovering her position; but finding herself coldly received, she became "grim" against Brian, as the Saga says, and resolved upon a deadly revenge.

The only other explanation of the difficulty is probably the true one, that Donnchadh was illegitimate, and so may have been as old, or nearly as old, as Murchadh. We know that very lax notions prevailed in that age amongst the Irish about concubinage and bigamy. The Njal-Saga says that Gormflaith was not the mother of Brian's sons (meaning, perhaps, that she was not the mother of the sons whom it names), and also, according to Dr. Dasent's version (*Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 323), that "Brian was the name of the king that *first* had her to wife." But for the word *first* there does not seem to be any authority either in the original Icelandic, or in the Latin translation, of the Saga.

Figili.[1] This forest extended into the territories of three tribes[2] (the Ui Failghe, the Ui Faelain, and the Ui Muiredhaigh), at the point where the present county of Kildare unites with the King's and Queen's counties. Each tribe[3] furnished one of the three masts, and each tribe sent a party of its men to carry their respective trees. When ascending a boggy mountain a dispute occurred among the men, probably upon the precedency of their tribes, which Maelmordha decided by assisting in person to carry the tree of the Ui Faelain. He had on a tunic of silk, which Brian[4] had given him, with "a border of gold around it, and silver buttons." By the exertion he made in lifting the tree, one of the buttons came off; and on his arrival at Kincora, he applied to his sister Gormflaith to replace it. She took the tunic and cast it into the fire, reproaching him, in bitter and insulting language, for his meanness in submitting to be a servant or vassal to any man, and adding that neither

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[1] *Figili.* Or Feegile. The name remains in the parish of Clonsast, King's co., a few miles N. of Portarlington.

[2] *Three tribes.* The district inhabited by the Ui Faelain occupies about the northern half of the county of Kildare, including the baronies of Clane and Salt, Ikeathy and Oughterany. *B. of Rights*, p. 206, *n.* The Ui Muiredhaigh (called by the English, *Omurethi*, O'Toole's original country) were seated in the southern portion of the co. of Kildare, viz., in the baronies of Kilkea and Moone, E. and W. Narragh, with Reban, and parts of Connell. *Ibid.*, p. 210. The territory of Ui Failghe consisted of the baronies of E. and W. Offaly, county of Kildare, those of Portnahinch and Tinnahinch, in the Queen's county, and that portion of King's county which is in the dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin. *Ibid.*, p. 216, *n.*

[3] *Each tribe.* The MS. D, adds to the three tribes the Laighis or Leix, and the three Commains. O'Clery seems to have rejected this reading, and it is probably an interpolation. If it were true there ought to have been more than three masts. The district of Leix, in the Queen's co., adjoins the site of the ancient wood of Fidh Gaibhli. The three Commains were septs in the N. of the present co. of Kilkenny, and S. of the Queen's co., on the borders of the ancient Osraighe or Ossory. They were, therefore, at a considerable distance from the wood of Fidh-Gaibhli. For an account of Leix see *B. of Rights*, p. 214, n. p.

[4] *Brian.* It is worthy of note that one of the *rights* to which the King of Naas (i.e., of Leinster), was entitled from the King of Ireland was "fine textured clothes at Tara," and, therefore, after Tara was abandoned, wherever the King held his court. *B. of Rights*, p. 251.

his father or grandfather[1] would ever have yielded to such indignity.

He takes offence.

Her words naturally irritated Maelmordha, and prepared him to resent every insult. An occasion soon presented itself. Brian's eldest son,[2] Murchadh, or Murrogh, was playing a game of chess with his cousin Conaing,[3] when Maelmordha, looking on, suggested a move, by which Murchadh lost the game. Angered at this he said to Maelmordha, "That was like the advice you gave to the Danes, which lost them Glenmama." The other answered, "I will give them advice now, and they shall not be again defeated." Murchadh replied, "Then you had better remind them to prepare a yew tree[4] for your reception."

Quits Brian's house in anger.

This insult set fire to the fuel, and early the next morning Maelmordha quitted the house in wrath, "without permission, and without taking leave" (p. 145).

Brian hearing this sent a messenger to entreat of him to return and listen to an explanation. Cogarán, the messenger (see p. cxxxvi.), overtook him at the bridge of Killaloe as he was mounting his horse. But the King

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[1] *Grandfather.* Her grandfather was Finn, chieftain of the Ui Failghe (or Offaly), sl. 928, who was the son of Maelmordha, son of Conchobhar, ch. of Offaly (ob. 921). Finn had a son, Murchadh (sl. 970), who was the father of Maelmordha, King of Leinster (sl. at Clontarf, 1014), and of Gormflaith. Finn had also a son, Conchobhair (ob. 977), who was the father of Congalach (ob. 1017), father of Conchobhar (ancestor of O'Concobhair Failghe, or O'Connor Faly), father of Brogarbhan (sl. at Clontarf, 1014). Gormflaith died 1020. Maelmordha, King of Leinster, Gormflaith's brother, had a son, Bran, who was the ancestor of the Ui Brain, or O'Byrne, of Leinster. He was blinded by his cousin, Sitric, King of Dublin (his father's great ally), in 1018 (1017 Four M.). He died at Cologne, 1052. See *Ann. Ult.*

[2] *Eldest son.* Brian's first wife was Mór, daughter of Eidhin, ancestor of the OhEidhin (now O'Heyne), of the race of Guaire Aidhne, King of Connaught. See O'Donovan's *Hy Fiachrach* (p. 398). By her Brian had three sons—1. Murchadh; 2. Conchobhar; 3. Flann; all slain at Clontarf. The Njal-Saga erroneously states that Brian's son, Donnchadh, was the eldest, misled probably because, owing to Murchadh's death, he succeeded his father as King of Munster. *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 323.

[3] *Conaing.* Son of Brian's brother, Donncuan. Conaing was afterwards slain at Clontarf. Others suppose that Conaing O'Carroll, erenach of Glendalough, was intended. See note [1], p. 144.

[4] *Yew tree.* See above, p. cxlix.

Excites the Leinster tribes to revolt.

of Leinster's irritation had not yet subsided; he struck the ill-fated Cogarán a violent blow on the skull with a stick, and "broke all the bones of his head." Maelmordha then returned[1] in haste to his own territory, and lost no time in making known to his tribe the great insult he had received, using all his influence to excite them to avenge his wrongs. They resolved upon a revolt, and messengers were sent to Flaithbhertach (or Flaherty), son of Muirchertach[2] O'Neill, to Fergal[3] O'Rourke, King of Brefné, and to Ualgarg O'Ciardha,[4] King of Cairbre O'Ciardha (now the barony of Carbury, in the N.W. of

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[1] *Returned.* A minute account of the route Maelmordha took on his way to Leinster is given. Leaving Killaloe he spent the first night at Sen Leas Abáinn [old fort of St. Abban], in the district of the *Ui mBuidhi*, which was in the Queen's county (baronies of Ballyadams and Slievemargy), on the river now called Douglas, a tributary of the Barrow. Here he remained for the night at the house of Mac Berdai (now *Berry*), chieftain of the Ui mBuidhi. The distance from Killaloe to this place cannot have been less than sixty statute miles, a good day's journey. The next morning he stopped at Garbh-thamhnach [rough field], otherwise Garbh-thonnach [rough mound or rampart], an ancient seat of the kings of Leinster, in the territory of the Ui Muiredhaigh (see p. clxii., n[2]), between Naas and Maynooth. The exact site has not been ascertained. The house seems to have been then occupied by Dunlaing, son of Tuathal, King of Western Life, ancestor of the Ui Tuathail, or O'Toole's of Leinster. See Four M., 1013, and O'Donovan's note [y]. At this place Maelmordha summoned the tribes to meet him, and organized the revolt. These particulars of Maelmordha's journey are so accurately consistent with the geography of the country that they should be regarded as undesigned evidences of the authenticity of the narrative.

[2] *Muirchertach.* This Muirchertach was son of Domhnall, King of Ireland, and brother of Aedh O'Neill, late chieftain of Ailech, of whom we have already spoken. See Gen. Table I., p. 245. His son Flaithbhertach, who succeeded Aedh, was called *an trostain*, "Flaherty of the pilgrim's staff," because he went on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1030. See *Circuit of Ireland*, p. 63.

[3] *Fergal.* This ought to be Aedh, son of Fergal Ua Ruairc, or O'Rourke, if indeed it be not entirely without foundation. Fergal himself was slain in 964 (Four M.) =965 (*Ann. Ult.*) Aedh, son of Fergal, is here called King of Brefné, a district comprising the present counties of Leitrim and Cavan, but formerly a part of Connaught. His father, Fergal, was King of Connaught. *Four M.*, 964. *Topogr. Poems*, xxxvi. (262).

[4] *O'Ciardha.* This family is now reduced to poverty, and the name, anglicized Keary and Carey, is to be found principally among the peasantry of Kildare and Meath. See O'Donovan, *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 266, *note*.

the county of Kildare), and these all promised their aid against Brian (p. 147).

The invasion of Meath.

They kept their word. Flaherty O'Neill ravaged Meath, and slew Osli [or Flosi] son of Dubhcenn,[1] son of Ivar of Limerick, one of Brian's confidential stewards, whom he seems to have appointed to uphold his interests in Meath. Ualgarg O'Ciardha and Ferghal [or Aedh] O'Rourke attacked Malachy; they plundered the Gailenga,[2] in Meath, and slew Malachy's grandson, Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, who would have been heir of Tara if the ordinary rule of the succession had been observed. Many other chieftains[3] also were slain on this occasion.

Defeated by Malachy,

But Malachy overtook the assailants, and defeated them in a bloody battle, in which Ualgarg O'Ciardha, King of Cairbré, and Tadhg O'Cearnachan, sub-King of Brefné, with many others, fell. This event the Four Masters have assigned to the year 1013.

Who plunders Leinster as far as Howth.

Encouraged by this success, Malachy pursued his victory, and dividing his forces into "three plundering parties" (p. 149), ravaged the country as far as Ben Edair, now Howth, attacking principally the foreigners.

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[1] *Dubhcenn.* See above, pp. cii., ciii.

[2] *Gailenga*, now the barony of Morgallion, co. of Meath, which is the anglicized pronunciation of Mór-Gailenga, the great Gailenga. Of this district O'Leochain was the chieftain. Another district called Gailenga-beaga, or little Gailenga, nearer Dublin, included the monastery of Glas-Noeidhin, now Glasnevin. The chieftain of this district was O hAenghusa (now Hennessy). There was another settlement of the Gailenga, in the co. of Mayo, in Connaught. The tribe were descended from Cormac Gailenga, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum, King of Munster. This Cormac was surnamed Gailenga, because he had displaced an ancient tribe of the Firbolg called *Clanna Gaileoin*, or Gailenga. *Irish Nennius*, p. 49.

[3] *Other chieftains.* Cernach, son of Flann, King of Lini (Luighne, *Four M.*), and Senan Ua Leuchan (Ua Leochain, *Four M.*), King of Gailenga, are mentioned. The Lini or Luighne derived their name from Luigh, son of Cormac Gailenga (see last note), and were, in fact, a branch of the Gailenga. Their territory in Connaught was identical with the diocese of Achadh Conaire (now Achonry), but they were also settled in East Meath, and there their name is preserved in that of the barony of *Lune*, which, however, represents only a small part of their original possessions. Cernach, son of Flann, was King of the Meath Luighne. *B. of Rights*, p. 186, *n.*

But Maelmordha, with his nephew Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, gathered the Danish and Leinster forces, encountered Malachy, and cut off the whole of one of his three plundering parties. In this action were slain Flann, surnamed Albanach,[1] son of Malachy, Lorcan, son of Echtighern, King of the Cinel Mechair,[2] and "two hundred others along with them."

The Danes and Leinstermen plunder Meath.

The foreigners, with their Leinster allies, then organized an expedition to Meath (ch. lxxxv,), into the very heart of Malachy's kingdom,[3] which they plundered as far as Fobhar of Fechin,[4] and carried off captives and cattle innumerable, not respecting even the very Termon or sanctuary of St. Fechin.

After having endured these outrages, Malachy sent messengers to Brian to demand the protection[5] to which as a vassal he was entitled.

Brian enters Leinster.

The war had now commenced. Brian, with his own Munster troops and his allies from Connaught, entered Leinster, and ravaged Ossory (ch. lxxxvi.) His son Murchadh, in command of another army, devastated Leinster as far as the monastery of St. Caemhgen, or St. Kevin, at Glendaloch, in the county of Wicklow. He

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[1] *Albanach*, i.e., the Scotch. See note [10], p. 149. According to the Four M. this battle was fought in 1012, at Draighnen, now Drinan, near Kinsaley, county of Dublin. Flann Albanach, son of Malachy, was the ancestor of Diarmaid, commonly called MacMurrough, at whose invitation the Norman knights of Henry II. invaded Leinster.

[2] *Cinel Mechair*. This family is now *Meagher*, or *Maher*. Their tribe name was Ui Cairin, whence the barony of Ikerrin, county of Tipperary.

[3] *Kingdom*. This chapter (lxxxv.) does not occur in the O'Clery or Brussel's MS. The Four M. take no notice of this plundering of Meath as far as Fobhar; but it is mentioned in the Dublin *Ann. Inisfall.* at 1013, doubtless on the authority of the present work.

[4] *Fobhar of Fechin*. Now *Fore*, a famous monastery in the N.E. of Westmeath, founded by St. Fechin in the 7th century.

[5] *Protection*. The words are, "praying him not to permit the Brefné [co. of Cavan], or the Cairbre [co. of Kildare], or the Cinel Eoghain [the O'Neills of Tyrone], to come all together against him," p. 149. Is it likely that Malachy, smarting under the great losses here described, would so soon afterwards treacherously join the party of his bitterest enemies against his own true interests, as the Dalcassian authors would persuade us he did?

burnt and ravaged the whole country, carrying off captives and cattle, until he arrived at Cill Maighnenn,[1] and the Green of Dublin, which was probably the plain between Kilmainham and the city.

Here Brian joined him; and they blockaded Dublin, remaining encamped before it from the festival of St. Ciaran[2] in Harvest to Christmas Day. But the Danish garrison of Dublin kept closely within their walls, and at Christmas, for want of provisions, Brian was forced to raise the siege and return home. Dublin blockaded.

Things remained quiet during the following winter. But in spring, about the festival of St. Patrick (17th of March), Brian began to organize another expedition against Dublin and the King of Leinster (ch. lxxxvii., p. 151), and he had now no time to lose. Sitric, of Dublin, and his mother, Gormflaith, with King Maelmordha, were actively engaged in collecting forces for the final struggle. Our author says, "They sent ambassadors everywhere around them to gather troops unto them, to meet Brian in battle." Brodar, the earl, and Amlaibh, son of the King of Lochlann, "the two earls of Cair[3] and of all the north of Saxon land," are particularly mentioned. They are described as pagans, "having no veneration, respect, or mercy for God or man, for church or sanctuary (p. 153). They came at the head of 2,000 men, who are represented as hard-hearted, ferocious mercenaries; "and there was not one villain of that 2,000 who had not polished, strong, triple-plated armour of refined iron or of cool uncorroding brass, encasing their sides and bodies from head to foot." Sitric and Gormflaith collect Scandinavian allies.

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[1] *Cill Maighnenn*, now Kilmainham, near Dublin.

[2] *St. Ciaran.* The festival of St. Ciaran, in harvest, i.e., of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois, was Sept. 9th. The festival of the older Ciaran of Saighir, or Seir-kiaran, was March 5th.

[3] *Cair.* This is evidently corrupted. See p. 151, note [14]. *Cair* is probably meant for *Cair-Ebroc*, or York (see p. 165); but in B. Brodar is called Earl of Cair Ascadal, and instead of Amlaibh, we find "Ascadal of Cair Ascadal" associated with Brodar. The Danes of Dublin were always in close connexion with their countrymen in York and Northumberland; but the Njal-Saga makes no mention of York.

Additional particulars supplied by the Njal-Saga.

Then our author gives a list[1] of the Scandinavian and other auxiliaries, who, he expressly says, were "*invited*" by the Dublin Danes to join them in resisting Brian. The Njal-Saga supplies some particulars of this invitation, which throw considerable light on the secret springs of the conspiracy. Gormflaith had sent her son Sitric to Sigurd, earl of the Orkneys, who consented to join the confederacy on the conditions that, in the event of its success, he was to be King of Ireland, and to have the hand of Gormflaith. Sitric did not hesitate to promise him this. On his return he informed his mother of the arrangement he had made, and she expressed herself well pleased, but sent him forth again to collect greater forces. She directed him to the Isle of Man, where there lay on the west coast two Vikings, with thirty ships, and she commanded him to engage their services "whatever price they might ask."

Ospak and Brodir.

Sitric soon found them. They were brothers; one was named Ospak; the other was Brodir, who refused to give his aid except on the conditions, which Earl Sigurd had also required, namely, the kingdom and Gormflaith's

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[1] *List.* See p. 153. These are:— 1. Siugrad, son of Lotar (*Hlödver*, or Ludovicus), called Sigurd in the Njal-Saga, Earl of Insi Orc, or the Orkney Islands. See his genealogy, *Burnt Njal* ii., p. 11, ch. 84. 2. He was followed by the foreigners from the Orkneys, and from Insi Cat, possibly the Shetland islands. 3. There came also the foreigners of Manann (Isle of Man); of Sci, now Skye; of Leodhus, now Lewis; of Cind-Tiri (Cantire); and of Airer-Gaeidhil, now Argyle. 4. There were also two Barons of Corn Bretan or Cornwall; and Corn-da-bliteoc, of the Britons of Cill Muni (now St. David's, in Pembrokeshire). In another reading of this last clause, which shows that it was obscure to the ancient transcribers, Cornbliteoc is spoken of as the name of a country. See note [11], p. 153. Corn-da-bliteoc, or Cornablitheoc, is mentioned here and in a subsequent part of the narrative as the name of a chieftain. See pp. 173, 183. 5. Carlus and Ebric, or Elbric, "two sons of the King of France." The King of France was at that time Robert II., son of Hugh Capet; but these may have been the sons of some inferior dynast of France. In another place (see p. 165), Elbric is described as "son of the King of Lochlann." 6. Plat or Plait, "a strong knight of Lochlann," called "son of the King of Lochlann, brave champion of the foreigners." 7. The hero Conmael, or as B. reads, "Maol." He is called Brodar's mother's son, p. 165.

hand. Sitric made no scruple to comply, stipulating only that the agreement was to be kept secret, and that Earl Sigurd especially was to know nothing about it. Accordingly, Brodir gave his word to be at Dublin on Palm Sunday, the day that had been previously fixed with Sigurd[1] and the other conspirators.

Description of Brodar.

"Brodir," according to the Saga, "had been a Christian man, and a mass-deacon by consecration, but he had thrown off his faith and become God's dastard, and now worshipped heathen fiends, and he was of all men most skilled in sorcery. He had that coat of mail on which no steel would bite. He was both tall and strong, and had such long locks that he tucked them under his belt. His hair was black." Such is the Scandinavian description[2] of the man who was destined, after the battle that followed, to slaughter in cold blood the great King Brian, and to be himself slain at the same moment.

Ospak joins Brian.

Ospak, however, refused to fight against "the good King Brian;" and certain prodigies, which the Saga describes, determined him to separate himself from his brother. He "vowed to take the true faith, and to go to King Brian, and follow him till his death day." So he escaped with ten ships, leaving Brodir twenty, and sailing westwards to Ireland, "he came to Connaught," to Brian's house, that is to say, to Cenn-coradh, or Kincora, on the Shannon. "Then Ospak told King Brian all that he had learnt, and took baptism, and gave himself over into the king's hand."[3]

The Muster at Dublin.

In consequence of Sitric's exertions "a very great

[1] *Sigurd.* Burnt Njal, ii., pp. 327, 328.

[2] *Description.* Ibid, p. 329. It has been suggested that Brodir's real name is lost. He was Ospak's *brother*, and *Brodir* was mistaken for a proper name. If so, the mistake was made by the Scandinavian authorities as well as by the Irish. Maurer (quoted by Dasent, *Burnt Njal*, i., p. clxxxix., *note*), conjectures that he may have been the Danish sea-king, Gutring, who was an apostate deacon.

[3] *The king's hand.* Burnt Njal, ii., p. 332. The Irish accounts of the battle make no mention of Ospak, or of his conversion to Christianity; in other respects they are not inconsistent with the story as told in the Saga.

fleet"[1] assembled from various quarters at Dublin. Within the city itself Maelmordha had mustered a considerable force, which he divided into three great battalions, consisting of the "muster of Laighin," or men of Leinster, who were under his own immediate command, with the Ui Cennselaigh, or Hy-Kinshela, whose country was the county of Wexford.

Brian begins hostilities.

Brian meanwhile had advanced towards Dublin (ch. lxxxviii.) with "all that obeyed him of the men of Ireland," namely, the provincial troops of Munster and Connaught, with the men of Meath. But these last, although they came to his standard, were suspected of disaffection,

[1] *Fleet.* See p. 153. The unpublished Annals of Loch Cé give the following account of Sitric's auxiliaries:—"There had arrived there [viz., at Dublin] the chosen braves and chieftains of the island of Britain from Caer Eabhrog, and from Caer Eighist, and from Caer Goniath. There had arrived there also most of the kings and chieftains, knights and warriors, and heroes of valour, and brave men of the north of the world: both Black Lochlanns, and White Lochlanns, in companionship and in alliance with the Gaill; so that they were in Athcliath with the son of Amlaff, to offer warfare and battle to the Gaedhil. There arrived there Siograd Finn [*the white*] and Siograd Donn [*the brown*], two sons of Lothair, earl of the Orkney islands, with the armies of the Orkney islands along with them. There arrived there moreover an immense army from the Insi Gall [the Hebrides], and from Man, and from the Renna or Srenna [a district of Galloway?], and from the British [*i.e.*, Welsh], and from the Plemenna [Flemings?]. There arrived there also Brodar, earl of Caer Eabhrog, with numerous hosts; and Uithir, the black, *i.e.*, the soldier of Eighist; and Grisine, the Flemish pugilist; and Greisiam, of the Normans. There arrived there a thousand heroes of the black Danars, bold, brave, valiant, with shields, and with targets, and with many corslets, from Thafinn [?], who were with them. There were there also immense armies, and the warlike victorious bands of Fine Gall [*Fingall*], and the merchants who came from the lands of France, and from the Saxons, and from the Britons and Romans. There had arrived there, too, Maolmordha, son of Murchadh, son of Finn, chief king of the province of Leinster, with the kings, and chieftains, and stout heroes of Leinster, and with the youths and champions along with him, in the same Following. Great indeed was the Following and the Muster that came there. Warlike and haughty was the uprising that they made there, namely, the warriors and champions of the Gaill and the Gaedhil of Leinster, against the battalions of the Munster-men, and to ward off from them the oppression of Brian Borumha; and six great battalions was the full force of the Danes, *i.e.*, a battalion to guard the fortress [of Dublin] within, and five battalions to contend against the Gaedhil." *Annals of Loch Cé* (MS. Trin. Coll., Dublin), A.D. 1014.

for Brian knew, adds our author, "that they would desert him[1] at the approach of the battle,"—a piece of treachery of which they were not guilty. On his way to Dublin Brian plundered the districts of Ui Gabhla, or Ui Gabhra, and Ui Dunchadha.[2] He advanced into Fine-gall or Fingall,[3] and burned Cill-Maighnenn, now Kilmainham.[4] Brian then sent his son Donnchadh, or Donogh, with "the new levies"[5] of the Dal Cais, and the third battalion of Munster, to plunder Leinster, whose people and soldiery, its natural protectors, were now engaged in the garrison of Dublin. He himself remained to watch Dublin, and to plunder the Danish country around it.

The enemy make a sally from Dublin.

The blaze of the burning in Fingall, which included the neighbouring district of Edar, now Howth, soon attracted the attention of the enemy's troops within the city, and they at once sallied forth in battle array to attack Brian in the plain of Magh-nEalta,[6] "raising on high their standards of battle."

[1] *Desert him.* This accusation was, no doubt, the result of the party spirit, which sought to blacken as much as possible the character of Malachy and his Meath-men, in order to justify Brian's usurpation of the kingdom. See a paper by the editor of the present work, in which reasons are given to clear Malachy of this charge; *Proceedings, Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. vii., p. 498, sq. It may be added that the accusation was evidently disbelieved by the Four M., who make no mention of it. See also Moore's *Hist. of Ireland*, ii., 108.

[2] *Ui Gabhra, and Ui Dunchadha.* See above, p. cxliii, note [8].

[3] *Fingall.* So called from *Fine-gall*, "district or territory of the foreigners," who had settled there. See *Four M.*, 1052; Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 108, *n.* Comp. *St. Patrick, Apost. of Ireland*, 295, *n.* [2]. This was a district in the county of Dublin, extending along the coast from the city to the river Ailbhine (now the Delvin), the northern limit of the county. Ui Dunchadha was probably that part of the county of Dublin which lies south of the Liffey.

[4] *Kilmainham.* The MS. B adds "and Clondalkin." These famous monasteries were now in the hands of the pagan enemy, and therefore their sanctity was no longer respected even by Brian.

[5] *New levies.* Lit. "Gray Levies." See note [10], p. 154.

[6] *Magh-nEalta.* "Plain of the Flocks." This was the ancient name of the great plain lying between the Hill of Howth and the Hill of Tamhlacht (now Tallaght), co. of Dublin. That part of it which afterwards got the name of Clontarf, was anciently called *Sen Magh-nEalta Edair*, "Old plain of the flocks of Edair." *Four M.*, A.M. 2550. Edar was a chieftain, who is said to have flourished a few years before the Christian era. *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, p. 271.

Brian holds a council of war.

Brian was then encamped on the Plain, or Green, of Dublin (p. 155). There he held a council of war with the principal chieftains[1] of his army. We are not told the subject of their deliberations; but the result seems to have been a determination to risk a general engagement on the following morning.

Proposal of the pirates to Brian.

The pirates, according to some accounts, had on that night spent their pay (chap. xc., p. 157), and had resolved to return to their homes. They had gone as far as Benn-Edair, or Howth, where they had left their ships. Dreading the valour of the Dal Cais, and of Murchadh especially, they had promised Brian that if he would delay "the burning," that is to say, the burning and plunder of Fingall, until the morrow's sunrise, they would set sail and never come to Ireland again; but now, when they saw that the devastation of the country had begun, they resolved to have their share of the plunder, and prepared to commence the fight in the morning.[2]

Probable origin of the story.

This story seems in itself very improbable; but it may

[1] *Chieftains.* The members present at this council are enumerated thus: 1. The nobles of Dal-Cais. 2. Maelseachlainn, late King of Ireland, now King of Meath. 3. Murchadh, Brian's eldest son. 4. Conaing, son of Brian's brother Donncuan, lord of Ormond. 5. Tadhg an eich-gill [Teige of the white horse], son of Cathal, son of Conchobhair, king of Connaught; with the nobles of Connaught. 6. The men of Munster, meaning, of course, the chieftains. 7. The men of Meath. "But it happened," adds our author, "that Maelsechlainn and the men of Meath were not of one mind with the rest." What the difference of opinion was is not said; but this clause is doubtless connected with the Munster calumny against Malachy and his clansmen.

[2] *Morning.* The next chap. (lxxxix. p. 155–7) is a manifest interpolation, and does not occur in the O'Clery or Brussel's MS. B. It tells how Brian, looking behind him, beheld the "battle phalanx" of Fergal Ua Ruairc (O'Rourke), with three score and ten banners of various colours, and especially the victorious "gold-spangled" banner of O'Rourke himself, King of the territory of West Breifné [Leitrim] and of Conmaicne, *i.e.*, of Conmaicne Muighe-Rein, a district nearly co-extensive with the diocese of Ardagh. Besides Fergal himself, these troops had for their leader Domhnall, son of Ragallach [Reilly], ancestor of the family of O'Reilly of East Breifné (county of Cavan), and Gilla-na-naemh, son of Domhnall, and grandson of Fergal, ancestor of the family of O'Ferghail, now O'Farrell. Neither of these chieftains is mentioned in the annals, and indeed the whole story bears internal evidence of fabrication, for Fergal O'Ruairc was slain A.D. 966 [964, *Four M.*], and our author

have been founded on the fact, vaguely reported, and not very clearly understood, that the pagan leaders were anxious to delay the commencement of the battle until Good Friday; for the Viking Brodir, as we read in the Njal-Saga, had found by his sorcery "that if the fight were on Good Friday, King Brian would fall, but win the day; but if they fought before, they would all fall who were against him."[1] The pretended flight of a body of the Norsemen, and their promise to Brian to quit Ireland for ever if he delayed the combat, was a not unlikely stratagem to induce him to postpone the battle to the fated Friday morning.

Disposition of the Danish forces.

Our author next proceeds (ch. xciv., p. 163) to give an account of the manner in which the "battalions" of the enemy were disposed. The foreign Danes, and auxiliaries, were placed in the front of the army, under the command of Brodir[2] or (Brodar, as the Irish authorities spell the

had already set him down amongst Brian's enemies. See p. 147, and p. clxiv, n. [3]. The story, however (p. 257), goes on to say that Fergal (who was also King of Connaught), with his attendant nobles, was received with great respect and state by Brian as well as by his son, Murchadh, "who rose up to him, and seated him in his own place" in the tent. Fergal then, in reply to Brian's question, "What news?" informed him that Aedh, son of Ualgarg Ua Ciardha, King of Cairbré (now the barony of Carbury, county of Kildare), had refused to come to the battle. His father, it will be remembered, had been slain by Malachy the year before. See p. 149. Brian thereupon cursed the Ui Ciardha and the Ui Cairbré, and blessed Fergal and the men of Brefné. All this is evidently the clumsy attempt of a clansman to obtain for his chieftain the glory of having been on the victorious side in "the battle of Brian."

The bombastic narrative that follows (ch. xci. and xcii.) is also a palpable forgery, and does not occur in the MS. B. It contains an account of the arms and armour, first of the Danes, and then of the Dal-Cais; but the description is evidently unauthentic. It makes no mention of the national battle-axe in speaking of the offensive armour of the Danes, but attributes to the Dal-Cais the possession of "glaring, bright, broad, well-set *Lochlann axes*."

[1] *Against him.* Burnt Njall, vol. ii., p. 333.

[2] *Brodir.* He is here called Earl of Cair Ebroc, or York, and "chieftain of the Danars." His mother's son, Conmael, cannot have been the same as Ospak, mentioned in the Saga as Brodir's brother, because Ospak had gone over to Brian's side from the beginning. Conmael, when mentioned before (see p. 153), was simply called "the hero." The name is Celtic; but no notice of him occurs in the Irish Annals.

name), with Conmael, "his mother's son," Sigurd, earl of the Orkneys, and other chieftains of inferior note.[1] A second battalion was formed as a kind of rear-guard in support of the foreign Danes. This was composed of the Danes of Dublin, under the command of Dubhgall, son of Amlaf;[2] Gilla-Ciarain, son of Glun-iarainn, son of Amlaf, or Olaf Cuaran; Donchadh, grandson of Erulbh;[3] and Amlaf or Olaf Lagmund, son of Goffraith. There were also in command of subdivisions of this second battalion Ottir Dubh (or the black), Grisin (or Grifin), Lummin, and Snadgair, four petty kings of the foreigners, and chieftains of ships; with "the nobles of the foreigners of Ireland." The third battalion, formed of the Leinster men and Ui Cennselaigh, was stationed behind the Dublin Danes. They were commanded by Maelmordha, King of Leinster, and other chieftains of that province.[4]

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[1] *Inferior note.* P. 165. These are—1. Plait, "the bravest knight of all the foreigners." See p. 153. 2. Anrath, or Anrad, son of Elbric. Elbric is here called "son of the King of Lochlann;" although when he was mentioned before, p. 153, he is said to have been one of the sons of the King of France. 3. Carlus was also (p. 153) said to have been a son of the King of France. Here his name only occurs. These discrepancies show that we can put no great confidence in these lists of chieftains. 4. Torbenn, the black. 5. Sunin. 6. Suanin. 7. "The nobles of the foreigners of western Europe, from Lochlann westwards."

[2] *Amlaf.* This Amlaf or Olaf was the son of Sitric, King of Dublin. He was slain in an incursion of the foreigners into Munster, in which Cork was burned (*Four M.*, A.D. 1012). Dubhgall was, therefore, Sitric's grandson.

[3] *Donchadh, grandson of Erulbh.* These chieftains are called in the text (p. 165) the four "*crown princes* of the foreigners." The word *righdomhna*, translated "crown prince," signifies not necessarily the next heir to a throne or chieftaincy, but one who was *eligible*, and might legally be elected. The family of O'h-Eruilbh (Heriolfr) was of Danish origin, and was seated in the neighbourhood of Kildare. Amlaf, or Olaf, Lagmund was the son of Goffraith (King of the Hebrides and Isle of Man, son of Harold, son of Sitric of Limerick). This Goffraith was slain in Dalaradia, A.D. 989. *Tighernach; Ann. Ult.; Brut y Tywys.*, 970, 981; *Ann. Cambr.*, 982, 987.

[4] *Province.* The chieftains named are—1. Boetan, son of Dunlang, King of Western Leinster. 2. Dunlang, son of Tuathal, King of Liffey. His father, Tuathal, was the son of the Ugaire who was slain by the Danes at the battle of Cenn Fuait, in 916, (see p. 35, and p. lxxxix., note [2]), and who was the son of Ailill (slain 869), son of

Then follows (chap. xcv.) a description of the disposition of Brian's army.[1] In the van, and immediately opposed to the foreign auxiliaries of the enemy, were the brave Dal-Cais and the Clann Luighdech,[2] under the command of Murchadh, Brian's eldest son, on whom a bombastic

Disposition of Brian's army.

Dunlang (slain 867). Tuathal was the ancestor of the families of O'Tuathail or O'Toole; of Ui Muireadhaigh; Ui Mail; and Feara Cualainn. 3. Brogarbhan, King of Ui Failghe or Offaley. See p. clxiii, n. [1]. 4. Domhnall, son of Fergal. He was chieftain of the Fortuatha Laighen, and descended from Finnchadh, son of Garchu, chieftain of the Hi Garrchon, who resisted St. Patrick. For the situation of the Fortuatha Laighen ("foreign tribes of Leinster") in the county of Wicklow, see *B. of Rights*, p. 207, *note*.

[1] *Army.* There is considerable discrepancy between this account and that of the Njal Saga, which makes no mention of Murchadh. We are there told that Brodir, and Sitrygg of Dublin, commanded the wings, and Earl Sigurd the centre of the Danish army. In the Irish army Ulf Hroda, translated in Burnt Njal, "Wolf the quarrelsome," commanded the wing opposed to Brodir, Ospak the other wing opposed to Sitrygg, and Kerthialfad the centre. Brodir felled all before him, but although "no steel would bite on his mail," Ulf Hroda thrust at him so hard that Brodir fell before him, and having recovered his feet with great difficulty, fled into the neighbouring wood, where he watched his opportunity, and issued forth to slay Brian. Kerthialfad fought his way to Earl Sigurd in the enemy's centre, and slew the man who bore the Earl's charmed banner; another standard-bearer took his place, and he too was slain; Sigurd called to others to take the banner, but all refused, fearing the prophecy, that whoever bore it should fall. Then Earl Sigurd tore the magic banner from the staff, and put it under his cloak. This broke the spell, and "the Earl was pierced through with a spear." Ospak, on the other wing of Brian's army, met with a stern resistance, and lost his two sons; but at length Sitrygg fled before him. *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 334, sq.

According to the Irish account, Sitrygg took no part in the battle, but remained to keep the fortress of Dublin. No mention is made of Ospak, and it is not easy to indentify either Ulf Hroda, or Kerthialfad, with any of the chieftains on Brian's side, known in Irish history. The Njal Saga says that Ulf Hroda was Brian's brother, and that Kerthialfad was Brian's foster child:—"He was the son of King Kylfi, who had many wars with King Brian, and fled away out of the land before him, and became a hermit; but when King Brian went south on a pilgrimage, then he met King Kylfi, and then they were atoned, and King Brian took his son Kerthialfad to him, and loved him more than his own son. He was then full grown when these things happened, and was the boldest of all men." *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 323. It has been suggested that King Kylfi may have been the O'Kelly who led the forces of Hy Many in Brian's army; but the Irish records contain nothing to support this conjecture.

[2] *Clann Luighdech.* Race of Lughaidh Menn, King of Thomond; a branch of the Dal Cais. *See Geneal. Table* III., No. 6, p. 247.

panegyric is pronounced (p. 167). In the inferior commands of this battalion, were Torrdelbhach, son of Murchadh (who was at this time but fifteen years of age), and several other chieftains;[1] with "the men of bravery and valour of the Dal-Cais."

A second battalion, formed of the troops of Munster, was stationed in the rear of the Dal-Cais, under the command of Mothla, son of Domhnall, son of Faelan,[2] King of the Deise, or Decies, of the county of Waterford, with Magnus, son of Anmchadh, King of Ui Liathain.[3]

A third battalion was composed of the men of Connaught (ch. xcvi, p. 169), under the command of Maelruanaidh[4] Ua-h-Eidhin, and other inferior chieftains,[5] "with the nobles of all Connaught."

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[1] *Chieftains.* Those named are—1. Conaing, son of Brian's brother, Donncuan, lord of Ormond (slain 948, *Four M.*) Conaing is styled "one of the three men most valued by Brian that were then in Ireland," the other two being apparently Murchadh and Torrdelbach. 2. Niall Ui Cuinn or O'Quin. Aongus Cennatinn (son of Cas Mac Tail), was ancestor of the Ui Cuinn or O'Quin of the Muinntir Iffernain, originally seated at Inchiquin and Corofin (Coradh-Fine), in Thomond, the present county of Clare. —See *Topogr. Poems*, p. lxxix. (711); *Four M.*, p. 774, n. [k]. 3. Eochaidh, son of Dunadach, chief of the Clann-Scannlain (*Four M.*) in Ui Fidhgente (county of Limerick). 4. Cuduiligh, son of Cennetigh, (probably Cennetigh son of Brian's brother Donncuan). These three are said to have been "the three life guards" or "rear guards," of Brian. 5. Domhnall, son of Diarmaid, King of Corcabhaiscinn, in the county of Clare, ancestor of the Muinntir Domhnaill or O'Donnells of Clare. (*O'Huidhrin, Topogr. Poems*, p. 111.)

[2] *Faelan.* This Faelan was son of Cormac, and died 964. The family of O'Faelain, descended from him, are now Phelan, and some of them Whelan.

[3] *Ui Liathain.* Now the barony of Barrymore, county of Cork.

[4] *Maelruanaidh*, pronounced Mulrooney. This chieftain was the first who could have borne the patronymic of Ua h-Eidhin (now O'Heyne), as he was the son of Flann, and grandson of Eidhin, from whom came the tribe name. His father's sister, Mór, was Brian's first wife. He is called by the Four M., *Maelruanaidh na Paidre*, "Mulrooney of the Pater noster," from which we may infer that he had a character for piety. See his genealogy in Dr. O'Donovan's *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 398. He was at this time chieftain of the Hy-Fiachrach Aidhne, in the S. of the county of Galway.

[5] *Chieftains.* These were—1. Tadhg Ua Cellaigh or O'Kelly, "King" of Hy Many. (See O'Donovan, *Tribes, &c., of Hy Many*, p. 99, *Four M.*, 1013, n., p. 774.) 2. Maelruanaidh, son of Muirghius, "King" of the Muinnter

The two paragraphs which follow in chap. xcvi. are not found in the O'Clery MS. The first contains a statement that Brian's ten stewards (Mor-maer) were drawn up with the foreign auxiliaries (probably the Danes of Munster) on one side of the army, and that Fergal O'Ruairc, with the Ui Briuin,[1] and the Conmaicne[2] were ordered to the left wing of the army. The other informs us that Malachy, King of Tara, with the men of Meath, refused to take the station assigned him in consequence of his traitorous understanding with the enemy. We have already seen that there is good reason to suspect the truth of these statements about the treachery of Malachy and the presence of Fergal O'Ruairc in the battle.

Interpolations of the Dublin MS.

The Dal-Cais, it will be remembered, were placed in

Position of Murchadh.

Maelruanaidh. The title of king is not given to him in the MS. B, and he is not mentioned at all by the Four M. 3. Domhnall O'Concennainn (now O'Concannon), chief of the Ui Diarmada or Corca-Mogha, whose territory is now the parish of Kilkerrin, barony of Tiaquin, co. of Galway. He is omitted in B, and by the Four M. 4. Ualgarg Mac Cerin (which name would be now Ulrick Mac Kerrin), chieftain of the Ciarraidhe Locha-na-nairnedh, barony of Costello, county of Mayo. In the Annals of Loch Cé we read: "Brian, however, had not assembled any army or multitude against this immense host of the western world and Gaill, except the men of Munster only, and Malachy with the men of Meath, for there came not to him the province of Uladh, nor the Airgialla, nor the Cinel-Eoghain, nor the Cinel Conaill, nor the Conachta (except the Hy Maine, and the Hy Fiachrach, and the Cinel Aedha). For there was not a good understanding then between Brian and Tadhg-an-eich-gill, son of Cathal, son of Conchobhar, King of Connaught; so that on this account Tadhg refused to go with Brian to this battle of Cluain-Tarbh." Nevertheless, according to our author (see chap. lxxxviii., p. 155) Tadhg-an-eich-gill, King of Connaught, is mentioned as one of those who sat in council with Brian on the night before the battle. (See p. 155.) We do not, however, find any place assigned to King Tadhg among the chieftains in command of the battalion of Connaught enumerated, chap xcvi., p. 169. Possibly the misunderstanding may have arisen at this very council, and Tadhg of the White Steed, with his followers, may have returned to his home in disgust, the night before the battle.

[1] *Hy Briuin.* These were the descendants of Brian, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages; they were called Hy Briuin Breifni, or Hy Briuin of Breifné, to distinguish them from other tribes of the same name and descent. They were settled at this time in the counties of Leitrim and Cavan.

[2] *Conmaicne.* These were the Conmaicne of Moy Rein, seated in the present county of Longford, and south of Leitrim.

the van of the army, under the command of Murchadh, Brian's eldest son. Another account of Murchadh's position is given (ch. xcvii.) on the authority[1] of "some of the historians of Munster," who said that his troops were "mixed with the battalion of Desmumha," or Desmond, together with his company or body-guard, composed of "seven score sons of kings,[2] that were in attendance on him." The obscure story that follows is hardly worth notice; it speaks of a rash attempt on the part of Murchadh, to attack the foreigners opposed to him, with the help of the troops of Desmond only. The story runs, that Brian, observing this movement, sent Domhnall, son of Emhin,[3] to remonstrate against it, and a somewhat angry conversation took place, which possibly may indicate the existence of jealousy[4] or disunion among the leaders of Brian's army. The result, however, was that "the nobles of all Desmond[5] were killed there, because they endea-

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[1] *Authority.* The MS. B has merely —"Others say that Murchadh was placed before the battalion of Desmond," without mentioning historians, or *Senchaidhe.*

[2] *Sons of Kings.* These are called ɑmɣɑċ, a word which has been translated "volunteers" (p. 169). They are represented as having placed themselves under Murchadh, as heir apparent of the throne, after [*i.e.*, after the death of] Aedh O'Neill. The word signifies *soldiery*, from ɑmɑɣ, *a soldier*, which, as Dr. O'Brien in his Irish Dict. suggests, was probably cognate with *ambactus*; (See Du Cange, in voc.)

[3] *Domhnall, son of Emhin.* He was *Mor-maor*, Thane, Steward, or Chieftain of the Eoghanachts of Magh-Gerrginn, or Marr, in Scotland. He was descended from Maine Leamhna, son of Conall Corc, of the race of Oilioll Olum (see *Geneal. Tables*, IV., p. 248), who was also Brian's ancestor. See a curious account of this family from which the English royal family of Stewart or Stuart was descended, in O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 382, *sq.* Maine Leamhna had that name from the river Leamhain, and his family were thence called Leamhnacha or Lennox. See note [6], p. clviii, *supra.*

[4] *Jealousy.* See p. 171, note [16].

[5] *Of all Desmond.* This must be taken with some qualification, for we shall see (chap. cxx., p. 213) that after the battle the surviving chieftains of Desmond were strong enough to revolt against the Dal-Cais, and threaten a battle, from which their own dissensions alone withheld them. Here they are represented as zealous followers of Murchadh. Chap. xcviii. has been omitted by O'Clery, and is an evident interpolation. It describes the arrival of Dunlang O'Hartigan, who accounts for his late coming by telling Murchadh of his having been enticed by fairies, with promises of life without death, &c. (see p. 173), and that al-

voured to follow Murchadh to surround the foreigners and Danes."

On the eve of the battle a challenge to single combat had passed between Plait, "son of the King of Lochlainn, brave champion of the foreigners," and Domhnall, son of Emhin, Mor-maer Mair (high steward of Mar.) On the following morning, when the combat began (chap. c., p. 175), Plait, who was one of the chosen men in armour, came forth between the hosts, calling aloud for Domhnall. Domhnall soon appeared; a terrible fight ensued; both fell dead at the same moment; "the sword of each through the heart of the other, and the hair of each in the clenched hand of the other." "And the combat of these two" (says our author) "was the first combat of the battle" (p. 177).

Single combat between Plait and Domhnall.

The next chapter (ci.) is a palpable interpolation,[1] and has been omitted in O'Clery's MS. It was intended to celebrate the prowess of Fergal O'Ruairc, and the chieftains of Breifné, in defence of Brian; but we have seen that Fergal could not have been in this battle, and that

The praise of Fergal O'Ruairc an interpolation.

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though he had learned from the fairies that it was fated for him to die on the same day with Murchadh, and that both he and his father Brian, and his son Turlogh, were destined that day to fall, nevertheless he (O'Hartigan) was resolved to keep his word, and came to the battle and to certain death; it was then arranged that O'Hartigan should undertake to combat Brodar the Viking, and Cornabliteoc, and Maelmordha, and the Leinstermen. For further information on the Legend of Dunlang O'Hartigan, see Mr. O'Kearney's Introd. to the *Feis Tighe Chonain* (Ossianic Soc.), p. 98, *sq.* The curious account of the battle of Clontarf, there quoted by Mr. O'Kearney, speaks of Dunlang O'Hartigan as being himself a fairy (*sioguidhe*). *Ibid.*, p. 101. See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 200.

[1] *Interpolation.* This chapter gives an account of the supposed combat between Dunnall or Dunlang, son of Tuathal, King of Liphé, or Lifé, with 1,000 followers, and Fergal O'Ruairc, or O'Rourke, Domhnall Mac Raghallach (or Reilly), and Gilla-na-naomh, son of Domhnall O'Ferghail, with the nobles of the Ui Briuin and Conmaicne. The King of Liphé and his troops were on the side of the Danes, the other three heroes were on the side of Brian. Both parties suffered severely, only one hundred of the Ui Briuin and Conmaicne, with their chieftain, survived the battle, and Dunlang Mac Tuathail was beheaded by Mac an Trin, captain of Fergal O'Ruairc's household, who is not elsewhere mentioned. But this is all fiction, and evidently a comparatively modern addition to the original narrative.

if he was, he would have been, most probably, on the other side.[1]

Conflict of the Dal-Cais.

Then we have an extravagant and bombastic description of the conflict between the Dal-Cais and the Danes (chap. cii., p. 179), which contains no fact of interest, except that the battle was visible from the fortifications of Dublin, and was watched with interest from the battlements by the garrison and their women (p. 181).

King Malachy's description of the battle.

There follows a description of the same battle attributed to King Malachy (ch. ciii.), as it was seen by him from a distance. He is represented as having been requested by his tribe, the Clan Colmain, to give them an account of what he had seen. The narrative is of course highly favourable to the valour and prowess of the Dal-Cais, but is full of intolerable bombast, and was evidently intended to insinuate that both Malachy and his followers had kept themselves aloof from the battle,[2] in consequence of their supposed treacherous understanding with the enemy.

Combat of Dunlang and Cornabliteoc.

The combat of Dunlang O'Hartigan with Cornabliteoc is the next remarkable event recorded (chap. civ.) The foreign chieftain is represented as having led one hundred and fifty of his followers to attack Dunlang, who by his single arm vanquished them all, at least, all of them, to use the language of the text (p. 185), "who waited to be wounded and beaten;" in other words, all who did not run away. Cornabliteoc is said to have been transfixed by Dunlang's spear, the rough point of which "passed through him, both body and body armour," but it is not said that he was slain. All this, however, has been omitted in O'Clery's manuscript; and bears internal evidence of fiction, especially if it should turn out that

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1 *Other side.* See chap. lxxxiv., p. 147, and p. clxiv., *supra.*

2 *Battle.* This pretended narrative of the ex-king of Ireland, taken avowedly from the present work, has been adopted by Keating in his history. The copy of it given in MS. D, exhibits some various readings, and will be found in Appendix C, with a translation.

Cornabliteoc is not the name of a chieftain, but of a *district* of Cornwall.

Combat of Conaing and Maelmordha.

But both MSS. record the single combat of Conaing, Brian's nephew, who is here called King of Desmumha, or Desmond, with Maelmordha, King of Leinster (chap. cv., p. 185). After a great number of chieftains of inferior rank had fallen before they themselves met, they both (as our text says) "fell by each other."[1]

Conflict of the Dublin Danes and men of Connaught.

Then the foreigners of Ath-cliath, or Dublin, and the men of Connaught attacked each other, with considerable loss on both sides. Of the Connaughtmen, one hundred only escaped; of the Danes of Dublin, but twenty. The Danes were pursued to Dubhgall's bridge,[2] in Dublin, and were there cut to pieces. The last on the side of the Danes who was there slain was "Arnaill Scot;"[3] he was

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[1] *Fell by each other.* The annals of Loch Cé tell us that Conaing was in the tent with Brian when the furious Brodar, flying from the battle, entered, and beheaded first Brian and then Conaing.

[2] *Dubhgall's bridge.* It is called "the bridge of Ath-cliath, *i.e.*, Dubhgall's bridge," in the MS. B (see p. 251). It was, therefore, at that time the only bridge across the river at Dublin, and was probably called *Drocheat Dubhgaill*, or Dubhgall's bridge, either (as some think) because it connected the Danish quarter, now Oxmantown, with their fortress and possessions south of the river, or more probably because it was built by some Dubhgall or Dane, whose name has not been preserved. The exact site of this bridge is uncertain. It may have crossed the river at the old ford, called *Ath Cro*, or bloody ford, or perhaps it occupied the site of what was long called the *Old Bridge*, at the end of the present Bridgefoot-street. This much, however, is certain, that the Irish name here given it favours the opinion that it was the bridge of some individual Dane, or person called Dubhgall, not "Bridge of the Danes," which would be *Droicheat na nDubhgall*, as Mr. Gilbert has well observed.—*History of Dublin*, i., p. 320. In later times, however, this bridge was certainly called *pons Ostmannorum*, which was, no doubt, intended as a translation of Dubhgall's bridge. See the valuable paper by Chas. Haliday, esq., "On the ancient name of Dublin," p. 446. *Transact. Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. xxii., part ii. Dubhgall is the source of the family names still common—Dowell, MacDowell, MacDougall, Doyle, Dugald, &c. There was a Dubhgall, grandson of Sitric, King of Dublin; see pp. 165, 207, and p. clxxxv., note [2].

[3] *Arnaill Scot.* This curious particular is here mentioned in the Dublin MS. only, but his death is recorded in B, under the name of Ernal Scot, ch. cxvii., p. 207. Nothing is known of him, unless he was the same as Arnljot, Earl Sigurd's Scottish steward. *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 13.

killed by "the household troops" of Tadhg Ua Cellaigh, or O'Kelly, King of Hy Many.

Panegyric on Murchadh.

There follows (chap. cvi., p. 187) a very inflated panegyric upon Murchadh, Brian's eldest son, who is described as wielding at the same time two swords, one in his right, and the other in his left hand. He is compared to Hector, son of Priam, to Samson in Jewish history, and to Hercules, as well as to Lugh or Lughaidh Lamhfada,[1] [*i.e.*, Lugh of the Long hand], King of the Tuatha de Danann, a famous hero in Irish legends. Nevertheless the great degeneracy of the human race since Hector's time is fully admitted,[2] and accounted for by the consideration that the world was in its infancy, unfit for action, before Hector, and was "a palsied drivelling dotard" after Murchadh; therefore there could be no illustrious championship before Hector, nor ever shall be after Murchadh.

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[1] *Lugh or Lughaidh Lamhfada.* He flourished, according to O'Flaherty's chronology, A.M. 2764, *Ogyg.*, iii., c. 13, p. 177. His valour and exploits are a favourite subject with the Irish bards.

[2] *Admitted.* A curious scale or measure of this degeneracy is given on the authority of the "Senchaidhi," or *Historians, of the Gaedhil*, p. 187. Hector was a match for seven like Lugh Lamfhada, who was equal to seven like Conall Cernach, who was equal to seven like Lugh Lagha, who was equal to seven like Mac Samhain, who was equal to seven like Murchadh; so that Hector was a match for 16,807 such heroes as Murchadh with all his valour. Conall Cernach was chieftain of the heroes of the Red Branch, and is fabled to have been present in Jerusalem at our Lord's crucifixion. See his pedigree, *Battle of Magh Rath*, note [c], p. 328; O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, iii., c. 48, p. 283. Lugh or Lughaidh Lagha, brother of Oilioll Olum, King of Munster in the third century, is much celebrated in Irish romantic history for his valour. Mac Samhain was a famous Fenian champion, in the service of Finn Mac Cumhaill, the Fingal of Macpherson. It may be here mentioned that the *ancient* order of Fenians were a body of militia, whose object was the support of the monarchy and the maintenance of law and order. See a full account of them in Keating (Reign of Cormac Ulfada), *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 343. Their history is largely interpolated with fiction and the marvellous. There is a copious literature in the Irish language, consisting principally of romantic tales, recording the deeds of Fenian heroes, some of which have been published by the Ossianic Society of Dublin. See Trans. of that Society for 1855, containing "the Pursuit of Diarmaid and Graine," with Mr. Standish H. O'Grady's introduction, where a valuable account of the extant Fenian literature is given.

His exploits in the battle.

The narrative now describes the exploits of this great chieftain (chap. cvii.) Murchadh perceived that the mail-clad phalanx of the foreigners was gaining upon the Dal-Cais. He was seized with a terrible fury; "a bird of valour[1] and championship arose within him, and fluttered over his head, and on his breath." He rushed upon the Danish battalion, and forced his way through them (p. 189). It was admitted by his enemies[2] that he cut down fifty men with each hand, and never repeated a blow; a single cut from one of his swords sufficed to slay his adversary,—neither shield nor coat of mail was able to resist these blows, or protect the body, skull, or bones of the foe who received them. Thrice he passed thus through the thick of the Danes, followed by the Clann Luighdech, or sons of Lughaidh[3] (*i.e.*, the troops of Desmond), and the seven score sons of kings[4] that were in his household.

The battle seen from the walls of Dublin.

The battle, as seen from the walls of Dublin, was compared[5] to a party of reapers cutting a field of oats. It was observed by Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, from the battlements, but he attributed the slaughter to the prowess of his allies. "Well do the foreigners reap the field," said he to his wife, who, it will be remembered, was Brian's daugh-

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[1] *A bird of valour.* This seems like a description of the Scandinavian *Berseckr.* A parallel passage occurs in the *Battle of Magh Rath*, edited for the Irish Archæol. Society by Dr. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1842, p. 33. Congal Claen, the hero of the tale, "stood up, assumed his bravery, his heroic fury rose, and *his bird of valour* fluttered over him, and he distinguished not friend from foe at that time, &c." See the account of the raven banner of Inguar and Ubba, quoted above, p. lvi., n. [5]. Earl Sigurd had also a raven banner in the battle of Clontarf, woven for him by his mother with magical skill. *Burnt Njal*, vol. i., *Introd.*, p. cxc., note.

[2] *Enemies.* Namely, "the historians of the foreigners and of the Laighin," or men of Leinster, as our author says (p. 189). He had a little before (p. 187) spoken of "the historians of the Gaedhil." There were therefore already historians of the battle on both sides. But we have seen that we cannot infer from this the lapse of any very great length of time since the battle. See above, p. cx., note [5].

[3] *Lughaidh.* See Geneal. Table IV., No. 5.

[4] *Sons of kings.* See chap. xcvii., p. 169.

[5] *Compared.* This comparison is attributed to "the old men of Athcliath," in O'Clery's MS. See Append. C, p. 255.

ter; "many a sheaf do they cast from them." "The result will be seen," said she, "at the end of the day."

Total rout of the Danes.

And so it proved. At the end of the day the Danes and their allies of Leinster were routed with a terrible slaughter (chap. cviii.) They were unable to take shelter in Dublin, for their retreat was cut off[1] between the field of battle and Dubhgall's bridge, and they were forced into the sea. There they found that the receding tide[2] had carried their ships out of their reach, and many perished by drowning.

Death of Turlough.

But the loss was great on both sides. Torrdelbhach (or Turlough), Murchadh's young son, followed the enemy into the sea (chap. cix.); there a "rushing tide wave" struck him, and he fell with great force against the weir[3] of Clontarf, where he perished along with two, or according to another reading, three, of the foreigners, whom he held in his grasp until they were drowned.

Dialogue between Sitric and his wife.

The flight of the Danes to their ships was seen by Sitric and his wife from the battlements of Dublin, and another conversation between them is recorded. "It seems to me," said Brian's daughter, in bitter irony, "that the foreigners have gained their patrimony." "What meanest thou, woman?" said her husband. "Are they not rushing into the sea," she replied, "which is their natural inheritance? I wonder are they in heat like cattle; if so, they tarry not to be milked?" Sitric, losing temper at this coarse insult, gave her a blow, which, says the O'Clery MS., knocked out one of her teeth (p. 193). Such (according to our author) was the refinement of Danish court manners at that time in Dublin.

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[1] *Cut off.* Our author does not say how their retreat was cut off; it is probable that Malachy and his Meath men were posted here, for it was here he met the remnant of the army of Leinster after the battle, and opposed their retreat, with great slaughter, from the river Tolka to Dublin. See *Four M.*

[2] *Tide.* See above, pp. xxvi., xxvii.

[3] *The weir.* Hence this battle is commonly called *Cath Coradh Chuanatarbh*, "The battle of the Weir of Clontarf." This ancient salmon weir is supposed to have been at the present Ballybough bridge, on the road from Dublin to Clontarf.

Meanwhile Murchadh having passed through and broken the ranks of the enemy, perceived Sigurd,[1] son of Hlodver, Earl of Orkney, in the midst of the Dal-Cais, dealing out wounds and slaughter on all sides; "no edged weapon harmed him;[2] there was no strength that yielded not, no thickness that became not thin" before him (p. 195). Murchadh rushed upon him, and with a blow of his right hand sword, cut the fastenings of the earl's helmet, which fell back, and thus exposing his neck, Murchadh with his left hand sword dealt him a second well-aimed blow, and Sigurd fell dead upon the field. Murchadh slays Earl Sigurd.

Next follows the account of a single combat (chap. cxii.) between Murchadh and the son of Ebric, or Elbric,[3] here called "son of the King of Lochlann," who had rushed into the centre of the Dal-Cais, making a breach, which was "opened for him wherever he went." Murchadh seeing this, turned upon the mail-clad battalion, and killing fifteen on his right and fifteen on his left, cut his way to the son of Elbric. A bombastic description of the fight then follows, in which we are told that Murchadh's sword having become red hot, the hilt or handle[4] inlaid with silver melted, and so wounded his hand that he Single combat between Murchadh and Ebric's son.

[1] *Sigurd.* His mother was *Edna*, daughter of Cearbhall, or Carroll, son of Dungal, lord of Ossory, and king of Dublin. *Scriptt. Hist. Island*, iii. Tab. 1. He had been a Christian, for Olaf Tryggveson "allowed him to ransom his life by letting himself be baptized, adopting the true faith, becoming his man, and introducing Christianity into the Orkney islands." After Olaf's death, however, Sigurd abandoned his fealty, and, probably, also his Christianity. *Laing, Kings of Norway*, ii., p. 131.

[2] *Harmed him.* The text attributes this invulnerability to Murchadh; but it ought rather be understood as belonging to Sigurd, as in O'Clery's MS. See App. C, p. 258. It is a manifest allusion to the effect of Sigurd's charmed banner, as described in the Njal-Saga.

[3] *Elbric.* See note [3], p. 195, where it is suggested that this hero's name may have been *Anroid*. It is so understood by the compilers of the Dublin Annals of Inisfallen. Ebric or Elbric is probably intended for the Scandinavian name *Eric*. In B, it is written *Elbric* and *Ebric*.

[4] *Handle.* This improbable story is thus amplified by one of the latest historians of Ireland: "Sometimes as their right hands swelled with the sword-hilts, well known warriors might be seen falling back to bathe them in a neighbouring spring, and then rushing again into the melée." *Popular Hist. of Ireland*, by Thos. D'A. M'Gee (New York, 1864), vol. i., p. 99.

was forced to cast the sword away; then seizing the foreigner by the helmet, he drew his coat of chain armour off him, and dragged him to the ground. Murchadh being uppermost possessed himself of the foreign chieftain's sword, and stabbed him through the breast three times; but notwithstanding this, the son of Elbric had time to draw his knife, with which he gave Murchadh a deadly wound, so that "the whole of his entrails were cut out, and fell to the ground before him." The Irish hero, however, had strength enough left to cut off his enemy's head; nor did he die until sunrise the following morning, when he received "absolution, and communion, and penance," and lived "until he had received the Body of Christ, and had made his will" (p. 197).

Brian's devotions in his tent.

Meanwhile Brian, who had not himself entered the battle as a combatant,[1] was engaged in prayer[2] and devotional exercises, at some distance from the contending armies. He had recited fifty psalms, fifty prayers, or collects, and fifty pater-nosters, when he desired his attendant, Latean, or Laidin,[3] to look out and tell him the

[1] *Combatant.* The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen represent Brian as having commenced the battle in person, after having gone through the army, crucifix in hand, exhorting his men, and setting before them the great interests that were at stake. This chronicle, however, is of no authority. It was compiled (from ancient sources, no doubt), by John Conry and Dr. O'Brien, titular bishop of Cloyne, and its compilers were eminent Irish scholars. Its value is diminished by the fact that they both belonged to a school which frequently permitted themselves to be carried away from their authorities by zeal for some favourite hypothesis. Nevertheless these Annals are valuable as showing the interpretation put upon difficult passages of the authentic chronicles by such eminent Irish scholars as Conry and O'Brien.

[2] *Prayer.* This agrees with what is said in the Njal-Saga, that "Brian would not fight on a fast day, and so a shield-burg [*i.e.*, a ring of men holding their shields locked together] was thrown round him, and his host was drawn away in front of it." *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 334. When the route began, some of these men were tempted to join in the pursuit; the shield-burg was weakened; Brodir perceiving this, easily broke through and slew the king. *Ibid*, p. 337.

[3] *Latean, or Laidin.* The O'Clery MS. B, calls him Brian's *horse-boy*, (gilla a éic ṗein). The family is now dispersed, and have generally taken the name of Ladden. But the allusion to the family in the text is an evident interpolation. See above, pp. xxiv., xxv. The Njal-Saga makes no mention of Latean, but tells us

general appearance of the battle, and especially the position of Murchadh's standard. Latean reported that the strife was close and vigorous, with a confused noise, as if seven battalions were cutting down Tomar's wood,[1] but that Murchadh's standard was floating aloft, and many of the banners of the Dal-Cais around it, and many heads falling wherever it went. Reports made to him of the battle.

Then Brian said fifty more psalms, and made the same inquiries. This time the answer was that all was confusion; multitudes on both sides had fallen; no man could tell on which side the advantage lay; all were so besmeared with blood and dust that no father could know his own son. But Murchadh's standard still stood and moved through the battalions westward, that is to say, towards Dublin. "As long as that standard remains erect," said Brian, "it shall go well with the men of Erinn."

When he had repeated the last fifty psalms of the psalter, and said his fifty collects and his fifty paternosters, he asked the attendant to look out once more. Latean replied, "They appear as if Tomar's wood was on Murchadh's fall.

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that "the lad Takt" [*i.e.*, Tadhg, Brian's son] was with him when Brodir rushed upon the aged king. Takt threw up his arm to defend his father, and the stroke of Brodir's sword or battle-axe cut off Takt's arm and the king's head; "but the king's blood" (adds the Saga) "came on the lad's stump, and the stump was healed by it on the spot." *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 337. The Annals of Loch Cé tell us that Conaing, Brian's nephew, was with him in the tent, and was beheaded along with him. This is evidence that the name of Latean was not in the original narrative. Neither the Four M. nor the Ann. of Ulster mention the tent or the particulars here given of Brian's murder.

[1] *Tomar's Wood.* This was a wood which seems to have extended from the plain of Clontarf along the north side of the river Liffey to near Dublin. Whether it extended to the south side of the river at this time is uncertain. But anciently the round hill, or Drom, on which the Castle of Dublin and Christ Church Cathedral are built, was called *Drom-choll-coill*, "Hill of the hazel wood;" and recent excavations in the streets of the neighbourhood have shown undoubted evidence of the existence of an ancient hazel wood on the hill. See Haliday, *On the Ancient Name of Dublin*, p. 441.

fire, its underwood[1] and brushwood destroyed, and its stately trees only remaining. So in the contending armies the private soldiers are cut down; a few of the chieftains and gallant heroes only are left; Murchadh's standard has fallen." "Alas!" said Brian, "Erinn has now fallen with it; why should I wish to survive such losses, even though I should obtain the sovereignty of the world?" The attendant now recommended an immediate flight to the security of the camp; but Brian refused to move. "Retreat," he said, "becomes us not. And wherever I go, I know that I shall not escape death, for Aibhill, of Craig Liath,[2] appeared to me last night, and revealed to me that I should be killed this day, and that the first of my sons[3] I should see this day (and that was Donnchadh) should succeed me in the sovereignty." Then Brian gave directions about his will and his funeral; he left 240 cows to the successor of Patrick, or abbot of Armagh; to his own cathedral of Killaloe, and the other churches of Munster, their "proper dues," adding, Donnchadh knows that I have not wealth of gold or silver, therefore let him pay them as an adequate return "for my blessing"[4] (meaning

Brian refuses to fly.

His gifts to the clergy.

[1] *Its underwood.* From this place (p. 199) to the end of the work the MS. D is defective, and the conclusion of the narrative is supplied from O'Clery's copy B.

[2] *Aibhill of Craig Liath*, more correctly Aibinn. This was the banshee [*ben-sidhe*] or boding female spirit of the Dal-Cais, who appeared before the chieftain's death to warn him of his approaching fate. See above, p. cxi., note [2]. If Brian was not a believer in this superstition, the historian who has recorded the story certainly was.

[3] *First of my sons.* The annals of Loch Cé tell us that when Brian received the prediction he sent for Murchadh, his eldest son. Murchadh waited to put on his dress; meantime Donnchadh, without waiting to dress, went at once to his father's cell, and thus the prophecy was fulfilled in him to Brian's great discontent, who received both his sons in wrath, and dismissed them his presence. The narrative in the text is evidently written or tampered with by a partizan of Donnchadh. This is at least evidence of its antiquity, for it was probably so interpolated when Donnchadh's claim was doubtful, and certainly before 1064, when Donnchadh died.

[4] *My blessing.* The original is *mo bhennachttan ocus mo chomarbus*—lit. "for my blessing and my succession," i.e., their blessing of me, and for Donnchadh's succession to me.

for their blessing upon me) "and for his own coming to the throne in succession to me." He even prescribed the route to be observed by the procession in his funeral; first to Sord or Swords, near Dublin; then to Daimhliag of Ciaran, now Duleek, in the county of Meath; then to Lughmagh or Louth, where he requested the "successor of Patrick,"[1] with the Society or Clergy of Armagh, to meet his remains.[2] Directions about his funeral.

Latean, during this conversation, perceived a party of foreigners approaching. It proved to be Brodar, with two other warriors. Latean described them to his master as "blue stark-naked people." By this description the aged chieftain[3] recognized them at once as the foreigners who were in coats of mail. He immediately stood up from the cushion on which he had been praying, and unsheathed his sword. Brodar would have passed him without notice had not one of his companions, who had once been in Brian's service, cried out that this was the king. "No," said Brodar, perceiving that Brian had been at prayer, "that is a priest." "Not so," said the other; "this is the great King Brian." Brodar then turned round, having "a bright gleaming battle-axe in his hand." Brian made a blow with his sword which "cut off Brodar's left leg at the knee, and his right leg at the foot." The savage Viking, however, had time, before he fell, to cleave Brian's head with his axe, Brodar murders Brian.

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[1] *Patrick.* The *comharba* or "successor of Patrick" at this time was Maelmuire, son of Eochaidh, of the Race of Colla da Crioch, and of the tribe of Ua Sionaigh, from which were taken the bishop-abbots of Armagh for many generations in hereditary succession. He died on the Friday before Whitsun-Day, 3 June, 1020, and was succeeded by his son Amhalgaidh, 1020–1050, and then by another son Dubhdaleithe, 1050–1065. This Amhalgaidh was the first prelate of Armagh who exercised jurisdiction over Munster, acting most probably on the authority of the entry made by Brian's chaplain in the Book of Armagh during his father's incumbency.

[2] *Remains.* See pp. 202, 203.

[3] *Aged chieftain.* According to the Four M., Brian was born in 925, and was, therefore, at this time 89 years of age. The Ulster annals fix the more probable date of 941 as the year of his birth, which would make him only 73 in 1014. See Dr. O'Donovan's note [f], Four M., p. 772.

and Brian to cut down one of the companions[1] of his assassin.

Panegyric upon Brian.

Then follows (chap. cxv.) a panegyric upon Brian, in the style to which the reader of this work has, by this time, become accustomed. No such deed had been done in Ireland since the beheading of Cormac Mac Cuilennain.[2] Brian was one of the three born in Ireland who had most successfully promoted the prosperity[3] of the country, for he had delivered Ireland from the bondage and iniquity of the foreigners, and had defeated them in twenty-seven battles. He is compared to Augustus, to Alexander the Great, to Solomon, to David, and to Moses (p. 205).

Prophecies of the evils resulting from Brian's death.

Having cited some prophecies attributed to St. Berchan and to Bec Mac De, predicting evils that should follow on Brian's death, which (it need scarcely be said) are childish forgeries, our author proceeds to enumerate the principal chieftains slain on both sides, whose names[4] are given in detail.

Return of Murchadh with oxen.

After the battle the Munster clans, having collected

[1] *Companions.* All this looks very like romance, and is far less probable than the account of Brian's death given in the Njal-Saga. There Brodir or Brodar is represented as knowing who Brian was, and where he was. He broke through the guards, and "hewed at the King." He then cried out aloud:—"Now let man tell man that Brodir felled Brian." Brodir was surrounded and taken alive; but, what follows seems somewhat apocryphal, "Wolf the quarrelsome cut open his belly and led him round and round the trunk of a tree, and so wound all his entrails out of him, and he did not die before they were all drawn out of him. Brodir's men were all slain to a man." *Burnt Njal*, ii., 337.

[2] *Cormac mac Cuilennain.* He was King of Munster and Bishop of Cashel. Slain 903. See the history of his reign in Keating (*O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 519), Moore's *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 45, *sq.*

[3] *Prosperity.* The other two were Lugh or Lugaidh Lamhfada, and Finn Mac Cumhaill. The former of these heroes (see p. clxxxii.) lived before the Christian era, and was the reputed founder of the Tailten (or Telltown) games. The other was the original leader of the Fenian militia, the Fingal of Macpherson's Ossian, whose followers are there called Fingalians.

[4] *Whose names.* See p. 207. On the side of the Danes there fell—1. Brodar, son of Osli [Flosi?] earl of Caer Ebroc or York, "with a thousand plundering Danars, both Saxons and Lochlanns." This is a curious example of the use of the term *Danars*, to signify robbers, ruffians, or desperados. The thousand Norsemen of the coats of mail are evidently intended. 2. Sitriuc [*read* Sigurd], earl of the Innsi

together their surviving chieftains and men, encamped on the Green of Dublin (p. 211), where they remained for

Orc or Orkney Islands. 3. Of the foreigners of Dublin were slain 2,000, amongst whom are mentioned Dubhgall, son of Amlaff, son of Sitric, King of Dublin; Gillaciarain, son of Gluniarann, son of Olaf Cuaran (see p. 165); Dunchadh Ua h-Erulf (grandson of Heriolfr, see note, p. clxxiv.); Amlaff the Lagman, son of Godfrey (see p. 165, and p. clxxiv., n. [3],), King of the Insi Gall, or Hebrides; and Ernal Scot (see p. clxxxi., n. [3]). 4. Of the other foreigners are mentioned Oitir the black, Grisin [? Grifin], Luiminin, and Siogradh, four leaders of the foreigners and chieftains of ships. 5. Carlus and Ciarlus, two sons of the King of Lochlann. 6. Goistilin Gall, and Amund, son of Dubhginn [or Dubhcenn], two Kings of Port Lairge or Waterford. 7. Simond, son of Turgeis. 8. Sefraid or Geoffrey, son of Suinin. 9. Bernard, son of Suainin. 10. Eoin Barun (John the Baron?), and Ricard, the two sons of the Inghen Ruaidh [red maiden, see p. 41]. 11. Oisill and Raghnall, the two sons of Ivar O'Ivar. These were evidently the Danes of Waterford; therefore our author adds, p. 207, that it was right they should fall with Brian, because it was by Brian and his brother Mahoun the fathers of all these had been slain.

Then follows a list of the Irish chieftains who fell on the Danish side. These were—1. Maelmordha, King of Leinster. 2. Brogarbhan, son of Conchobhair, King of Ui Failge or Offaly (see p. clxiii, n. [1]). 3. Domhnall, son of Fergal, King of Fortuatha Laighen. (See p. clxxv., n.). 4. Dunlang (son of Tuathal), King of Life or Liffey. See p. 35, and note [2], p. lxxxix. With these fell 2,000 of the Leinster men, and 1,100 of the Ui Ceinnselaigh, the total loss of the enemy being 66,000, which is no doubt exaggerated. Brian lost his son Murchadh and his grandson Torrdelbach, with Conaing, his nephew, son of his brother Donncuan. Next to these are enumerated Eochaidh, son of Dunadhach, chief of the O'Scanlainn; Cuduiligh, son of Cenneidigh or Kennedy; and Niall O'Quin, the three "rear guards" or body guards of Brian (see p. clxxvi., n. [1]). Domhnall, son of Diarmaid, King of Corcabhaiscinn (Ibid. and Four M., p. 775, n. [g]); Mothla, son of Faelan or Phelan, King of the Deisi (Ibid. and Four M., p. 773, n. [1]), with Magnus, son of Anmchadh, King of the Ui Liathain (see p. clxxvi., n. [s]); Gebennach, son of Dubhagan, King of Fera-Muighe [Fermoy], (*Four M.*, p. 774, *n.* [o]); Dubhdabhoirenn, son of Domhnall, (i.e., of the Domhnall mentioned, p. 213); and Loingsech, son of Dunlang (i.e., of Dunlang, k. of Leinster, No. 4, supra.); Scannlan, son of Cathal, King of the Eoghanacht Locha Lein (or Killarney), *Four M.*, p. 775, *n.* [r]; Baedan, son of Muirchertach, King of Ciarriaghe Luachra (the co. of Kerry). The Four M. and Ann. Ult. call this chieftain *Mac Beatha*, son of *Muireadhach Claen*, whom Dr. O'Donovan identifies with the ancestor of the O'Connor Kerry. *Four M.*, p. 774, n. [p]. The Ann. of Loch Cé have copied verbatim the list of the Ann. Ult. Maelruanaidh Ua hEidhin (or O'Heyne), King of Aidne (see p. clxxvi., n. [4]). *Four M.*, p. 775, *n.* [c]. Tadhg Ua Cellaigh [O'Kelly], K. of Hy Many (p. clxxvi., n. [5], *Four M.*, p. 774, *n.* [m]), and Domhnall, son of Eimhin (son of Cainneach, Mormaor or Steward of Mar in Scotland, *Four M.*) See p. clxxviii., n. [3], and *Four M.*, p. 775, *n.* [c],

the next two days[1] awaiting the return of Donnchadh, son of Brian, who, it will be remembered, had been sent to plunder Leinster (see p. 135). He returned "at the hour of vespers on Easter Sunday," with eight and twenty oxen, which were immediately slaughtered on the Green of Dublin. Hearing this, Sitric, King of Dublin, sent a message to Donnchadh, demanding a share in the oxen, and threatening, unless his demand was complied with, to attack the shattered troops of the Dal-Cais with his fresh soldiers from the garrison of Dublin. Donnchadh, however, sent back a haughty refusal, and Sitric, we are told, "declined the battle, for fear of Donnchadh and of the Dal-Cais" (p. 211).

Care of the dead and wounded.

The next day (Easter Monday) was spent in visiting the field of battle, for the purpose of burying the dead (p. 211) and succouring the wounded. The bodies of thirty chieftains were sent off to their territorial churches to be interred in their family burial grounds; and those who were still living, among the wounded, were carried on biers and litters to the camp.

Dissension among the leaders of Brian's army.

On this very night, however, dissension broke out among the surviving leaders of Brian's army. Observing the broken condition of the Dal-Cais, the chieftains of Desmond resolved to put forward their claim to the sovereignty of Munster, on the ground of the alternate right founded on the will of Oilioll Olum. Cian, son of the Maelmuaidh or Molloy, who had taken so active a part in the murder of Brian's brother Mahoun (see p. 85, sq.), resolved to contest the matter before the Dal-Cais had reached their home, or had had time to repair their losses. They had marched with the Dal-Cais, although in separate camps, as far as Rath Maisten;[2] there the two tribes separated, and Cian sent messengers, to Donn-

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1 *Two days.* Our author notes (p. 211) that Brian's funeral, with that of his son Murchadh, was celebrated in the manner he had directed, and that Donnchadh paid in full all bequests, as his father had willed.

2 *Rath Maisten.* Masten's fort. Now Mullagh-Mast, or Mullamast, an earthen fort, about six miles east of Athy, co. of Kildare.

chadh, to demand hostages, in other words, to claim the sovereignty of Munster. The men of Desmond he said, having submitted to Brian, and to Brian's brother, Mathgamhain, it was now the turn of their chieftain to be received as sovereign. Donnchadh replied that they had submitted to his uncle and to his father from necessity, not in recognition of any alternate right to the throne. Brian had wrested Munster from the foreigners at a time when the chieftains of Desmond had tamely submitted to their tyranny. Donnchadh therefore refused to give hostages in recognition of Cian's claim, and announced his intention of holding the sovereignty by the same force of arms which had given it to his father.

Cian prepares for battle.

When this answer was received, Cian and his followers at once advanced under arms to give battle to the Dal-Cais. Donnchadh ordered the sick and wounded to be put into the fort of Rath Maisten for protection; but the sick and wounded refused. They "stuffed their wounds with moss," took up their arms, and insisted upon being led into battle. This example of determination alarmed the troops of Desmond, and "they hesitated to give battle" (p. 215). But this was not all. Domhnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn, was now chieftain of the Ui nEochach of Munster,[1] and joint leader with Cian, of the army of Desmond. A dispute arose between them. Domhnall's father, Dubhdabhoirenn (or Duvdavoren) had been King of Munster. He therefore claimed his share of the territory which Cian proposed to wrest from the son of Brian. This was sternly refused, and Domhnall separated his troops from those of Cian, refused[2] to fight against the

His feud with Donnell Mac Duvdavoren.

[1] *Munster.* See above, p. lx., *n.* [2]. The Ui Eochach or Ui nEochdach were the descendants of Eochadh, son of Cas. See the descent of Domhnall, s. of Dubhdabhoirenn; *Geneal. Table* IV., p. 248. Donnchadh, s. of this Domhnall, was ancestor of the Ui Donnchadha, or O'Donoghue of Munster.

[2] *Refused.* Domhnall demanded that Munster should be equally divided between himself and Cian. This being declined, he refused to support Cian's claim. His words, as given by our author, were:—"I shall not go with thee against the Dal-Cais, because I am not better pleased to be under thee

Dal-Cais in Cian's quarrel, and from this time "they met not" (says our author) "in one camp till they reached their homes." Before the end of the year, as we learn from the Annals of Ulster,[1] the feud had reached its climax. The two chieftains fought a battle, with great slaughter, in which Cian, with his brothers Cathal and Ragallach, was slain. The following year[2] Domhnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn, was himself slain in a battle at Limerick, by Donnchadh and Tadhg, the sons of Brian.

Opposition made by Ossory and the men of Leix.

The wounded Dalcassians were greatly exhausted after their recent excitement in the prospect of a bloody fight; but at Ath-I,[3] on the Bearbha (now the Barrow) they washed their wounds in the river, and were refreshed (p. 215). They had still, however, to cross the hostile territory of Ossory in order to reach their homes. There Donnchadh, son of Gillapatrick, King of Ossory, with his allies the Laighsi,[4] were up in arms, and encamped in battle array on the plain called Magh Chloinne Ceallaigh[5] to oppose the progress of the Dal-Cais. Besides the hereditary enmity of the two clans, Donnchadh had a private

than under the son of Brian, unless for the profit of land and territory for myself" (p. 215). Nevertheless, Mr. Moore represents him as "calmly expostulating with his brother chieftain, and succeeding in withdrawing both him and the whole of their force quietly from the camp;" ii., 118. The Dublin Ann. of Inisfallen, which Mr. Moore continually quotes as if they were an ancient authority, would have corrected this error. Donnell Mac Duvdavoren had no nobler motive than the aggrandizement of his clan and the increase of his own territory.

[1] *Ulster.* Ann. Ult., 1014. The Four Mast. have misplaced the entry of this event at the beginning instead of at the end of the year, so that a reader might inadvertently suppose that Cian had been slain before the battle of Clontarf.

[2] *Following year.* Four M., 1014 (=1015), p. 783. Ann. Ult., 1015.

[3] *Ath-I.* Properly *Baile-atha-ai*, "Town of the ford of the district," now Athy, a considerable town on the river Barrow, S. of the co. of Kildare. *Ai* is a region, district, patrimony.

[4] *Laighsi.* The inhabitants of Leix, a district in the Queen's county. This tribe was descended from Laeigsech Ceann mór, son of Conall Cernach, a celebrated hero, who flourished in the first century. See *Book of Rights*, p. 214, *n. O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, iii., cap. 51, p. 293.

[5] *Magh Chloinne Ceallaigh.* "Plain of the children of Ceallach," or Kelly: called also Magh Dructain, a district inhabited by a branch of the O'Kelly's, in the terrritory of Leix. See *Four M.*, A.D. 1394, note [t]. *Topogr. Poems*, p. lii. (426).

feud with the sons of Brian, because his father, Gillapatrick, who had sided with the murderers of their uncle, Mathgamhain, had been taken prisoner[1] by Brian, and kept in fetters for a year (p. 217). Knowing this, the son of Brian had his shattered forces drawn up "in martial array" at Athy, expecting opposition; and when the King of Ossory sent ambassadors to demand hostages, in other words, to lay claim to the sovereignty of Munster, the answer given was that whatever pretence the chieftains of Desmond may have had, seeing they were of the Eoghanachts, descendants of Oilioll Olum, and directly concerned in the rule of alternate sovereignty, the son of Gillapatrick, of Ossory, had none; for he was of a different race,[2] and had no natural right to the throne of Munster.

Heroic conduct of the Dalcassian wounded.

The wounded men hearing this, again insisted on being led to the battle with the rest of the army; they caused themselves to be supported by stakes driven into the ground, against which they could lean their backs, and in this condition they prepared for action.[3] The men of

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[1] *Prisoner.* See chap. lxvi., p. 107. Gillapatrick, father of this Donnchadh, was son of another Donnchadh, son of Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, or Carroll, the great ally of the Danes, and himself Danish King of Dublin. See *Tribes and Territories of Ossory*, by Dr. O'Donovan (reprinted from *Transact. Kilkenny Archæol. Soc.* for 1850); *Dublin*, 1851, p. 12.

[2] *A different race.* He was of the race of Heremon of Leinster, whereas the Dal-Cais were of the race of Heber. See *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, p. 118; *O'Donovan, Tribes of Ossory*, p. 11.

[3] *For action.* This enthusiastic conduct of the wounded is made the subject of Moore's well-known words:—

"Forget not our wounded companions who stood
In the day of distress by our side,
While the moss of the valley grew red with their blood,
They stirred not, but conquer'd and died.
The sun, that now blesses our arms with his light,
Saw them fall upon Ossory's plain:—
Oh! let him not blush, when he leaves us to-night,
To find that they fell there in vain."

Here the poet assumes that the heroes whose valour he celebrates fell in battle in a national cause; but the original story, as recorded in the present work, is that their enthusiasm was called forth, not in the cause of their country, but in the cause of their clan. "Country" was at that time in Ireland an unknown sentiment; and

Ossory, however, intimidated by this wonderful energy of the Dal-Cais, declined the contest, and the wounded men, when the danger was past, relapsed into intense weakness. One hundred and fifty of them fainted away, and expired. They were buried on the spot, with the exception of the more noble among them, who were carried to their native places, to be interred with their ancestors in their family burial-grounds.

"And thus far[1] the war of the Gaill with the Gaedhil, and the battle of Clontarf."

Completeness of the victory due to Malachy.

Upon the death of Brian, as we have seen, the troops under his command dispersed, each clan to its own proper territory, leaving Malachy to his own resources. His energy in the emergency refutes triumphantly the base calumny[2] that he was secretly in the interest or pay of the enemy. To him, in fact, if we may credit the Four Masters, was due the completeness of the victory. The remains of the enemy's army, and particularly of the men of Leinster, who had lost their sovereign, were met by him, on the evening of the battle, in their flight to Dublin. "He routed them," say the annalists, "by dint of battling, bravery, and striking, from the Tulcain[3] to Dublin." The next year, 1015, Malachy, with his allies of the Northern O'Neill, led an army to Dublin itself against the Danish garrison. They "burned the fortress, and all the houses outside the fortress." They afterwards invaded the territory of Ui Cennselagh (county of Wexford), plundered the whole country, "carrying off many thousand captives

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even the author of these romantic fictions about the heroic wounded of the Dal-Cais could conceive nothing more glorious than that they should display their heroism in the cause of their clan.

[1] *Thus far.* This is the well known form in which an Irish historical tale generally ends.

[2] *Calumny.* See Mr. Moore's *Hist. of Ireland*, chap. 22, vol. ii., p. 137, *sq.*, where this calumny is conclusively refuted. See also p. clxxi., n [1].

[3] *Tulcain.* Four M., 1013, p. 777. Now the Tolka. A small river running through the village of Finglas, near Dublin. These facts are suppressed by all the Munster historians, as well as by our author.

and cattle,"[1] and thus effectually weakened the power of the Dublin Danes and their allies of Leinster.

Malachy replaced on his throne.

The immediate result[2] of the battle of Clontarf and the death of Brian was to replace Malachy upon his former throne. His right was tacitly recognised; he seems to have resumed the government as a matter of course,[3] as if his administration had never been interrupted; and it is remarkable that the annalist, Tighernach, who wrote within the same century, in recording his death and the length of his reign, ignores altogether the twelve years of Brian's usurpation, including them in the total which he assigns to the reign of Malachy. Nothing, as Mr. Moore has remarked, can more clearly show "the feeling entertained on the subject in times bordering on those of Brian."[4]

Constitutional changes resulting from Brian's revolution.

But although the name of king was thus tamely yielded to its rightful owner, the consequences of Brian's revolution were severely felt. The old constitutional rule under which the Ard-righ, or chief King of Ireland, had been elected exclusively from the descendants of Niall of the nine hostages, was no longer acquiesced in, although it

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[1] *Cattle.* Four M., 1014, p. 783; and Ann. of Clonmacnoise, quoted by Dr. O'Donovan, *ibid.*

[2] *Result.* It would be out of place here to attempt any lengthened account of the consequences, immediate or remote, of the battle of Clontarf. A good summary of them, and of the whole of this melancholy period of Irish history, will be found in a work already referred to. M'Gee's *Popular History of Ireland—(New York)*, 1864. (Vol. ii., p. 101, *sq.*)

[3] *Of course.* Warner talks of his having been "restored with the general consent of the *states of the Kingdom*," whatever that may mean; and his follower, Mr. M'Dermot, gives us an account of a formal "*assembly of the states of the Kingdom*, assembled to elect a successor," in which "they all concurred in restoring" Malachy. Warner, *Hist. of Irel.*, ii., p. 223. M'Dermot, *New and Impartial Hist. of Irel.*, ii., 274. For such a statement there is not the smallest authority.

[4] *Brian.* Moore, ii., p. 138. The Annals of Ulster and the Four M. have followed the older chronicle; the latter annalists expressly quote "the Book of Clonmacnoise," by which they mean what we now call the Annals of Tighernach. See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 436. Mr. Moore says that Tighernach "wrote in the following century." By this error he impairs his own argument, for Tighernach died in 1088, before the end of the same century.

had a prescriptive right of five hundred years. The Kings of Connaught and Leinster now asserted their claims to the succession, maintaining that they had as good a title as Brian had to become chief-king in their turns; and thus, from the death of Malachy to the days of Strongbow, the history of Ireland is little more than a history of the struggles for ascendancy between the great clans or families of O'Neill,[1] O'Connor, O'Brien, and the chieftains of Leinster.

The position of the Norsemen of Ireland, not seriously affected.

The Norsemen of Ireland were not seriously affected in their position by the victory of Clontarf. They retained their hold of the great seaports, and the Irish annals, for some years, continue to record the usual amount of conflict between them and the native tribes. We read, however, of but few new invasions, and the design of forming in Ireland a Scandinavian kingdom, which seems to have influenced such men as Sigurd, of Orkney, and the viking Brodar, was certainly abandoned. The national distinction between the Irish and the Danes,

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[1] *O'Neill.* In this clan are included the descendants of Malachy II., who was of the Southern Hy Neill. The celebrated Dearbhforgaill, or Dervorgall, "the Helen of Ireland," was the daughter of Murchadh (ob. 1153), son of Domhnail (ob. 1094), son of Flann (sl. 1013), son of Malachy. She was the wife of Tighernan O'Rourke, of Brefné. She eloped with, or was carried off by Diarmaid, called Mac Murchadha, in 1152, and was the cause of his calling to his aid the Norman Knights of Henry II. In 1153 she returned to her husband; was a great benefactor to the Church, and died in the abbey of Mellifont, 1193, aged 85. Diarmaid (see pp. ix., xi.), was descended from Enna Cennsalech (K. of Leinster in the fourth century), and was the ancestor of the Mac Murchadha or Mac Murroughs of Leinster, whilst his sons, Domhnall, surnamed Caemhanach [Kavanagh], and Enna, surnamed from his great ancestor Cennsalach [Kinnsela], were the ancestors respectively of the families of Kavanagh and Kinnsela. The O'Byrnes were descended from Bran, son of Maelmordha, the King of Leinster, who fell in the battle of Clontarf. These are the principal families of Leinster alluded to above. The Mac Lochlainn, or O'Lochlainn, were of the Northern O'Neill, descended from Domhnall, brother of Niall Glundubh. Two of this family, Domhnall Mac Lochlainn (ob. 1121), and Muirchertach, or Morrogh (1156–1166), claimed to be Kings of Ireland in the confused times of the 12th century, which preceded the coming of the Anglo-Normans. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, pp. 439, 440.

however, continued until after the Anglo-Norman invasion; the Danes then in several places sided with the native chieftains; but in many instances they appear to have recognised in the new comers a kindred origin. In the seaport towns especially a common interest produced alliances by which the peculiarities of the two races were gradually softened down, and both were at length confounded by the Irish under the same generic name of GAILL, or foreigners.

Paganism shaken among the Irish foreigners.

The battle of Clontarf seems to have shaken the foundation of paganism among the Scandinavians of Ireland. About the same time, indeed, Christianity, so called, or, at least, a profession of Christianity, was making considerable progress in the north; and paganism in Ireland was no longer strengthened by any new arrivals. It may have been, as a learned writer[1] holds, that on the field of Clontarf the spells of heathendom were deemed to have been vanquished for ever by the superior power of the faith, so that it was considered hopeless to continue the contest; and it is certain that the next generation saw Christianity the recognised religion of the country; and Bishoprics were founded in the Danish cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, at the instance of the Danish inhabitants themselves.[2] Most true, nevertheless, it is "that the pure doctrines of Christianity were then the possession of a few, while the creed of the common herd was little more than a garbled blending of the most jarring tenets and wildest superstitions of both faiths.[3]"

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[1] *Writer.* Dasent, *Burnt Njal*, Introd., p. clxxxix., *sq.*

[2] *Themselves.* See Ware's *Bishops*, in loc. Ussher, *Religion of the Ant. Irish*; (*Works* by Elrington, iv., p. 326). *Sylloge Epistt. Hib.* (*ib.*, p. 564).

[3] *Faiths.* See *Burnt Njal*, p. cxcviii. One or two instances will suffice to show how King Olaf the Saint propagated Christianity. In the Uplands he "inquired particularly how it stood with their Christianity; if there were any there who would not renounce heathen ways;" he "drove some out of the country, mutilated others of hands or feet, or stung their eyes out; hung up some, cut down some with the sword; but let none go unpunished who would not serve God." See

Conclusion.

The Editor's object in this Introduction.

The Editor must now apologise for the great length to which these remarks have extended. His object was, as far as possible, to identify every *place* mentioned in the present work by pointing out its modern name and geographical position, that the reader might be enabled to trace on the map of Ireland the ancient stations and fortresses of the Norsemen, and the sites of their principal battles.

He has also endeavoured to give, as accurately as he could, the genealogies of the Irish chieftains as well as of the Danish or other Scandinavian leaders who are mentioned in the work. The corruption of the names of the latter, as they are represented by Irish transcribers, was a serious obstacle to accuracy in this attempt, and to it was added the further difficulty caused by the Editor's imperfect acquaintance with the language of the Sagas. It is hoped that his mistakes will be viewed with indulgence, when it is remembered that this is the first attempt ever made to harmonize the genealogies of the north with Irish historical records.

It appears to the Editor to be an object well worth the time and labour he has expended upon it, if he has succeeded in proving that the minute history of the two countries can be made to dovetail satisfactorily into each other. This will be an unanswerable evidence of the

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Laing, *Sea Kings of Norway*, ii., p. 79. Again, at Heligoland, "he threatened every man with loss of life, and limbs, and property, who would not subject himself to Christian law." *Ibid.*, p. 147. In the Drontheim country he surprised the people at a heathen sacrifice; Olver, in whose farm called Egge the feast was held, he commanded to be put to death, with "many other men besides." "The King also let all the bonders he thought had the greatest part in the business be plundered by his men at arms;" and of the men he judged most guilty, some he ordered to be executed, some he maimed, some he drove out of the country, and took fines from others." *Ibid.*, p. 152. After this fashion Christianity was established in Norway by King Olave the Saint, and such were the missionary services to the Church that won him that title.

authenticity of both; for it would be clearly impossible that the author of a mere fiction, or of a dishonest forgery, should be able to make the genealogy of his heroes, as well as the geography of his narrative, tally with the facts of the history at the precise period to which his story belongs. In the present instance it will be found that, except in the case of some mere errors of transcription, or of some palpable interpolations, this work will fully stand the test.

Defects of the present work.

Nevertheless, the Editor cannot but regret that this tract, so full of the feelings of clanship, and of the consequent partisanship of the time, disfigured also by considerable interpolations, and by a bombastic style in the worst taste, should have been selected as the first specimen of an Irish Chronicle presented to the public under the sanction of the Master of the Rolls. His own wish and recommendation to His Honor was, that the purely historical chronicles, such as the Annals of Tighernach, the Annals of Ulster, or the Annals of Loch Cé, should have been first undertaken. The two former compilations, it is true, had been already printed,[1] by Dr. O'Conor, although with bad translations and wretchedly erroneous topography; and a rule which at that time existed prohibited the Master of the Rolls from publishing any work which had, even in part, been printed before. This rule has since been judiciously rescinded;[2] and it is hoped that His Lordship will soon be induced to sanction a series of the Chronicles of Ireland, especially the two just alluded to, which, it is not too much to say, are to the history of Ireland and of Scotland what the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is to that of England. The Annals of Loch Cé[3] belong to

Importance of publishing the Irish Annals of Tighernach and Ulster.

[1] *Printed.* The Ann. of Ulster are given only to the year 1131. The Dublin MS. extends to 1503. The *Chronicon Scotorum* is not here mentioned, because it is already on the list of the Master of the Rolls, edited by Mr. W. M. Hennessy.

[2] *Rescinded.* New editions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the Annales Cambriæ, and the Brut y Tywysogion, have already appeared in the series.

[3] *Loch Cé.* Or "Annals of Inis Mac nErinn in Loch Cé," (*pron.* Lough Kè.) These Annals (of which only a single MS. exists) were formerly called *Tigernachi continuatio*, and for a short time the *Annals of Kilronan.* But Mr. O'Curry (*Lectures*, p. 93, *sq.*) has satisfactorily shown that they are the Annals of Loch Cé, mentioned by Abp. Nicholson in Appendix, No. IV., to his Irish Historical Library.

a later period. They begin with the battle of Clontarf, 1014, and continue the history, with some few gaps, to 1590.

Until these and other original sources of history are made accessible, it is vain to expect any sober or trustworthy history of Ireland; the old romantic notions of a golden age, so attractive to some minds, must continue to prevail; and there will still be firm believers in "the glories of Brian the brave," the lady who walked through Ireland unmolested in her gold and jewels, and the chivalrous feats of Finn Mac Cumhaill and his Fenians.

Authors of the popular histories of Ireland avowedly ignorant of the Irish language.

The authors of our existing popular histories were avowedly ignorant, with scarcely an exception, of the ancient language of Ireland, the language in which the real sources of Irish history are written. It was as if the authors of our histories of Rome had been all ignorant of Latin, and the writers of our histories of Greece unable to read Greek. Even this, however, would not fully represent the real state of the case as regards Ireland. Livy and Tacitus, Herodotus, and Thucydides, are printed books, and good translations of them exist. But the authorities of Irish history are still, for the most part, in manuscript, unpublished, untranslated, and scattered in the public libraries of Dublin, Oxford, and London, as well as on the Continent of Europe. Hence our popular histories leave us completely in the dark, and often contain erroneous information. Wherever the Irish names of persons or places are concerned, they are at fault; they are entirely silent on the genealogies, relationships, and laws of the clans and their chieftains, a subject so essential to the right understanding of Irish history; and we are not correctly informed either who the actors are, or where the scenes of the narrative are laid. All interest in the story is therefore lost.

Antiquarian theories of the last century, respecting Ireland.

Along with this total neglect of the original Irish records, the antiquarian scholars of the last century had perplexed themselves with untenable theories as to the ancient history of the country. The old Celtic language was a dialect of the Punic or Carthaginian. The aboriginal inhabitants of Ireland were a colony from Tyre or from

Carthage. Their religion was the worship of Baal or Astarte. The Round Towers were temples for the adoration of fire. The cromlechs, stone circles, and other megalithic monuments, were altars or theatres for the public immolation of human victims. To these theories, for which not the slightest evidence exists, but which have not yet lost their hold on the public mind, the whole history of Ireland was made to bend. Antiquity was ransacked for arguments to support them; and arguments were piled together from the remains of pagan Greece and Rome, from Persia, from Scandinavia, from India—from every quarter of the globe except Ireland.

Improvement in our more recent popular histories.

But a decided change for the better has now begun; and our more recent histories, even though they continue to exhibit a strong party bias, contrast most favourably with the similar publications of the last century. The beginning of this change is mainly due to the noble design of publishing historical Memoirs of the counties and towns of Ireland, planned, and in a measure carried out, by the enlightened officers[1] then at the head of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland. The new feature in this work was, that it was resolved from the beginning to make use of all the accessible records extant in the Irish language. The original orthography of the names of towns and townlands, with their true etymologies, was carefully studied, and the anglicized spelling corrected, according to the laws which appeared to regulate the passage of the old Irish names,[2] into their present modern representatives. A body of Irish scholars was engaged for this work, and for the collection of materials for the "Memoirs;" and at their head was placed the late ever to

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[1] *Officers.* Although we speak here in the plural number, it is well known that the real designer and organizer of the Memoirs was one, whose appointment to his present office has been of such great and permanent benefit to Ireland. It is lamentable to think that such a work, after the publication of a single volume of the highest merit, should have been abandoned.

[2] *Names.* See a paper "On the changes and corruptions of Irish topographical names," by Patrick W. Joyce, esq., in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (read May 22, 1865).

be lamented GEORGE PETRIE. A more judicious selection could not have been made. He was a man singularly devoid of all party prejudice; an accomplished antiquary, of rare judgment and of ripe scholarship; characterized in a remarkable manner by the love of historical truth. Among the staff under his direction were John O'Donovan[1] and Eugene O'Curry, men of very different genius and character, but who both became, under the advantages thus afforded them, scholars of the highest eminence.

The assistance given to the Editor of this work by his friends.

To Petrie, and to the two distinguished men just named —all three now alas lost to us—the Editor is deeply indebted for invaluable assistance in translating and editing the present work. By Mr. O'Curry the original MSS. were transcribed for collation, and a rough translation of the text prepared. From these transcripts the Editor carefully collected the various readings, which will be found in

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1 *O'Donovan.* One good result of the preparations made for the Ordnance Survey Memoirs was the publication of the Annals of the Four Masters, a magnificent work, which we owe to the spirit and patriotism of our great Dublin publisher, Mr. George Smith. In the copious notes with which Dr. O'Donovan has enriched his translation of these Annals, a large portion of the matter collected by him when engaged on the Survey has been preserved. He has also published a great mass of valuable information, of the same kind, in the works so ably edited by him for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Societies. To these publications the improved tone of our modern Irish historians, above noticed, is mainly due. The new translation of Keating's History of Ireland, lately published at New York (Haverty, 1857) by Mr. John O'Mahony, is largely indebted to O'Donovan's notes upon the Four Masters. Notwithstanding the extravagant and very mischievous political opinions avowed by Mr. O'Mahony, his translation of Keating is a great improvement upon the ignorant and dishonest one published by Mr. Dermod O'Connor more than a century ago (*Westminster*, 1726, *Fol.*), which has so unjustly lowered, in public estimation, the character of Keating as an historian; but O'Mahony's translation has been taken from a very imperfect text, and has evidently been executed, as he himself confesses, in great haste; it has, therefore, by no means superseded a new and scholarlike translation of Keating, which is greatly wanted. Keating's authorities are still almost all accessible to us, and should be collated for the correction of his text; and two excellent MS. copies of the original Irish, by John Torna O'Mulconry, a contemporary of Keating, are now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The work, however, is not suited for Lord Romilly's series of chronicles.

the notes under the text; and corrected the translation to the best of his judgment, having in every instance the opinion and advice of Dr. O'Donovan and Mr. O'Curry upon all difficulties. The whole text of the work, to p. 217, with the translation, was in this way gone over and printed before those great masters of the ancient language and history of Ireland were called to their everlasting rest.

From Dr. O'Donovan especially the Editor received a large amount of information, communicated in the shape of notes upon the narrative. From these notes invaluable aid was derived in the identification of the topographical names, and in the Irish genealogical researches.

To Dr. Reeves the Editor owes his most grateful thanks, for his kindness in reading, with his characteristic accuracy and care, the proof-sheets of the Introduction, and Genealogical tables in the Appendix; and particularly for the free communication of that extensive topographical and other information, of which he is an inexhaustible fountain.

He is deeply indebted also to his excellent friend, Charles Haliday, esq., who kindly placed in his hands the materials of a work on the connexion between the Norsemen of Ireland and Northumberland, containing much valuable genealogical and historical information. By these papers the Editor's researches were directed to the best sources of Scandinavian history, and he was enabled to test the accuracy of the results at which he had himself independently and previously arrived.

His thanks are due to Mr. W. M. Hennessy, for very able assistance in reading the sheets, and for several corrections and suggestions, which he hopes he has duly acknowledged in every instance.[1] To Mr. Hennessy also the reader is indebted for that most necessary appendage to every book of this kind—THE INDEX.

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[1] *Every instance.*—The correction of the text (p. 37) where tomarr, "measure," was mistaken for a proper name (see p. xcii, *n.* [8]), is due to Mr. Hennessy.

Facsimiles of the Manuscripts.

Lithographed facsimiles of the two principal manuscripts used in forming the Irish text of the work will be seen prefixed to the title page. These MSS. have already been described;[1] but it should be stated that the facsimiles of them have been executed under considerable disadvantages. The rules of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, did not permit the removal of the originals to London. Accordingly photographs were taken of the selected specimens by Mr. Mercer, of Dublin, and sent to London to be lithographed by Messrs. Day and Co. In the case of the older MS. designated by the letter L, the difficulty was very great, owing to the darkness of the parchment, and the almost entire obliteration of the writing on the page selected. It was desirable, however, to give that page on account of its containing the commencement of the work, deficient in the other MS.; and for the sake of the ornamented initial letter, which is characteristic of this class of Irish manuscripts. To meet the difficulties it became necessary to render the letters more distinct, by carefully retracing them, before sending the photograph to the lithographer, and also to omit altogether the second column[2] of the page, which was found too dark and obliterated to be restored by this process. It is, however, to be feared that notwithstanding the great care and accuracy with which the letters were retraced, a blurred appearance has been given to the writing, which does not do full justice to the sharp definition and elegance of the original character. The other MS. (marked D), is much more accurately represented.

The Editor in conclusion has to return his thanks to Lord Romilly for so kindly allowing him, without any pressure, his full time to complete the work. He is

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1 *Described.* See pp. ix., xiii.

2 *Column.* It has been stated (p. ix.), that this MS. is written in double columns. The passage given, Plate I, occupies about a third of the first column. It will be found in ordinary type, with a translation, in Appendix A, p. 221. The passage selected from the MS. D, Plate II., will be found at the beginning of p. 62, line 2, *sq.* It represents a full page of the original.

ashamed to put on record the date at which it was first announced for publication. In his own defence he has to plead the occupation of his time by professional avocations, as well as the peculiar difficulties of the work itself, which nothing but time could overcome. The translation required the greatest consideration, owing to the immense number of Irish words, to whose true signification our dictionaries give no clue. The labour of forming a correct text by a careful collation of the existing manuscripts of the work was necessarily irksome and tedious. The topographical and historical matter collected in the Introduction and Appendices, required much time and patient research, as every one who has ever been engaged in such studies, will readily admit. Each statement had to be well weighed, the authorities checked, and many paragraphs written and rewritten before the matter was given to the printer.

Trinity College, Dublin,
October, 1866.

cogadh gaedhel re gallaibh.

THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL,

OR

THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND NORSEMEN.

COGADH GAEDHEL RE GALLAIBH.

The period of the Danish invasions, 170, or, as some say, 200 years.

Bai docraitte iongnaḋ adbal mór ar Erinn uile go foirleṫan, ó genntiḃ gormglasa gusmara, ocus ó ḋanaraiḃ doilġe durċroideacha, fri ré ċian, ocus re haimsir ḟada, .i. fri reiṁes deiċ mbliaḋan ocus oċt ficit, no da ċed iar ffoirinn .i. ó reiṁes Airtri mic Caṫail mic Fingaine, co reiṁes Briain mic Cinnéittiġ; ocus o reiṁes Aoḋa mic Néill ḟrassaiġ mic Fergaile, co Maolseċlainn mac Doṁnaill.

The kings of Munster during that time.

II. Oċt riġ déc hi cCaisiul frissin ré sin. It iat annso an anmanna, .i. Airtri mac Caṫail mic Fingaine; ocus Feidlimid mac Criomṫainn; Olcóḃar mac Cinaeṫ; Ailgenán mac Dungaile; Maolguala mac Dungalaiġ; Cennfaelaḋ mac Murchaiḋ; Donnchaḋ mac Duiḃdaḃoirenn; Duḃlachtna mac Maelguala; Finguine mac Laeġaire Cenngégain; Corbmac mac Cuilennain; Flaiṫḃertaċ mac Ionṁainen; Lorcan mac Connligáin; Ceallaċan mac Búadaċain; Maelfaṫartaiġ

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1 *Gaedhil.* That is, "the War of the Irish," who in their own language call themselves *Gaedhil* or Gael (in Welsh *Gwyddil*), "with the Gaill," strangers or foreigners, a generic name given to all invaders of Ireland. See O'Donovan's Transl. of *Book of Rights*, p. 51, n. 9. The original terms are here retained without translation, because of the alliteration which was evidently intended.

2 *Awfully great.* L. omits the expletive adjectives and reads, Bui doċraiti mor for feraiḃ hErenn, "there was a great oppression on the men of Ireland." See Appendix A.

3 *Gentiles.* L. reads, Lochlannċaib, omitting the adjectives gormglasa, gusmara.

4 *Fierce.* L. reads, dulgiḃ durċrideċaiḃ, the ancient and more grammatically correct forms. The

THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL[1] WITH THE GAILL.

THERE was an astonishing and awfully great[2] oppression over all Erinn, throughout its breadth, by powerful azure Gentiles,[3] and by fierce,[4] hard-hearted Danars, during a lengthened period, and for a long time, namely, for the space of eight score and ten years, or two hundred, according to some authorities, that is to say, from the time of Airtri, son of Cathal, son of Finguine, to the time of Brian, son of Cenneidigh,[5] and from the reign of Aedh, son of Niall Frassach,[6] son of Ferghal, to Maelsechlainn,[7] son of Domhnall. The period of the Danish invasions, 170, or, as some say, 200 years.

II. There were eighteen[8] kings in Caisel during that time. These are their names—viz., Airtri, son of Cathal, son of Finguine; and Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann; Olchobhar, son of Cinaeth; Ailgenan, son of Dungal; Maelguala, son of Dungal; Cennfaeladh, son of Murchadh; Donnchadh, son of Dubhdabhoirenn; Dubhlachtna, son of Maelguala; Finguine, son of Laeghaire, *surnamed* Cenngegain; Cormac, son of Cuilennan; Flaithbhertach, son of Ionmhainen; Lorcan, son of Connligan; Cellachan, son of Buadhachan; Maelfathartaigh, son of Bran; Dubh- The kings of Munster during that time.

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reader will observe the alliteration in the adjectives ó gennṫiḃ g. g. ó ḋanaraiḃ d. d.

[5] *Cenneidigh.* L. adds, i Caṫraiḋ, "in Cashel."

[6] *Niall Frassach.* L. adds, i Temraig, "in Teamhar or Tara." L. also omits the genealogical particulars, giving only the names of the kings, without the names of their grandfathers.

[7] *To Maelsechlainn.* L. omits the words "to Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall."

[8] *Eighteen.* L. reads, ṡe rig ḋeg, "sixteen kings," and omits the list of names, which is therefore probably an interpolation. The text gives nineteen names—one name has, therefore, probably been interpolated. See Appendix B.

mac Bṛain; Dub̆dab̆oiṛenn mac Dom̆naill; Ferg̣raidh mac Cleṛig; Donnchad̆ mac Cellaig̣; Mat̆g̣am̆ain mac Ceinneittig̣; ocus Bṛian mac Ceinneittig̣.

The kings of Ireland during the same period.

III. Da ṛig̣ dec imoṛṛo, for Tem̆ṛaig̣, fṛis an ṛe sin, .i. Aod̆ Oiṛnidhe mac Neill Fṛassaig̣, Conc̆obhaṛ mac Donnchad̆a, Niall mac Aed̆a, Maelsechlainn mac Maelṛuanaid̆, Aod̆ Finnliat̆, Flann mac Maelsec̆-lainn, Niall Glundub̆, Donnchad mac Floinn, Congalac̆ mac Maelmit̆ig̣, Dom̆nall ó Neill, Maelsec̆lainn mac Dom̆naill, ocus Bṛian mac Ceinneittig̣. Fṛi ṛeim̆es na ṛiog̣ sin, ocus na ṛuiṛec̆ tṛa, moṛ do d̆uad̆ ocus do d̆oc̆aṛ, do t̆áṛ ocus do t̆aṛcaisse, dimned̆ ocus deccomnaṛt ṛo ṡodaimsiot sṛuit̆e saeṛa soibesac̆a nanGaeid̆el, ó Danmaṛcac̆aib̆ allmaṛd̆aib, ocus ó di-beṛgaib̆ baṛb̆aṛdaib̆.

The first invasion of the foreigners.

IV. 18 ṛe ṛeim̆es tṛa Aiṛtṛi mic Cat̆ail, ocus Aod̆a mic Neill, ṛo tinnscainset Goill indṛad Eṛenn aṛ túṛ, dáig̣ is nanaimsiṛ sin tangadaṛ Goill i gCamaṛ ó Fot̆aid Tíṛe .i. fic̆e aṛ céd long; ocus ṛo hindṛed̆ leó an tiṛ, ocus ṛo haiṛged̆ ocus ṛo loisced̆ leó Inis Labṛaind, ocus Daiṛinis; ocus tugsad Eog̣anac̆t Loc̆a Léin cat̆ dóib, ocus ṛo maṛb̆ad̆ se fiṛ deg aṛ .cccc. do gallaib̆ and, .i. an bliad̆ain aṛ maṛbad̆ Dímain Aṛad sin, .i. .x. mbliad̆na aṛnécc Aiṛtṛi mic Cat̆ail.

A.D. 812.

Another invasion, A.D. 821-823.

V. Táinig longes ele iaṛ sin .i. an daṛa bliad̆ain iaṛngab̆ail ṛig̣e do Feid̆lim mac Cṛim̆t̆ainn, co ṛo indṛaid̆set Coṛcaig̣, ocus Inis Tem̆ni, ocus ṛo hind-

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[1] *Cellach.* Read *Cellachan.* See Appendix B.

[2] *Temhair:* i.e., in Tara. As the kings of Munster are designated as kings *in Caisel,* or Cashel, their royal seat or fortress—so the kings of Ireland are called kings *in Tara,* although the royal palace there had ceased to be the actual residence of the supreme king, for some time before the Danish invasions. Here again L. omits the list of names.

[3] *During the time.* L. omits the expletives in this paragraph. See Appendix A.

[4] *Airtri.* In this passage B. puts the king of Munster first, and the king of Ireland second. The order is inverted in L. This latter MS. was not written in Munster.

dabhoirenn, son of Domhnall; Fergraidh, son of Clerech; Donnchadh, son of Cellach[1]; Mathghamhain, son of Cenneidigh; and Brian, son of Cenneidigh.

III. But in Temhair[2] there were twelve kings during the same period—namely, Aedh Oirdnidhe, son of Niall Frassach; Conchobhar, son of Donnchadh; Niall, son of Aedh; Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh; Aedh Finnliath; Flann, son of Maelsechlainn; Niall Glundubh; Donnchadh, son of Flann; Conghalach, son of Maelmithigh; Domhnall, grandson of Niall; Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall; and Brian, son of Cenneidigh. During the time[3] of those kings and chieftains, much hardship and oppression, contempt and indignity, fatigue and weakness, were submitted to by the learned and accomplished nobles of the Gaedhil, from pirate Danmarcachs, and barbarous robbers. The kings of Ireland during the same period.

IV. It was in the time of Airtri,[4] son of Cathal, and of Aedh, son of Niall, that the foreigners first began the devastation of Erinn; for it was in their time the foreigners came into Camas ó Fothaidh Tire[5]—viz., an hundred and twenty[6] ships, and the country was plundered and devastated by them, and Inis Labrainn and Dairinis were burned by them. And the Eoganachts of Loch Lein gave them battle, when four hundred and sixteen men of the foreigners were killed. This was the year after[7] that in which Diman of Aradh was killed, and ten years after the death of Airtri, son of Cathal. The first invasion of the foreigners. A.D. 812.

V. There came another fleet after that—viz., in the second year after the accession to the throne of Feidhlim, son of Crimhthann, and they plundered Corcach, and Inis Another invasion, A.D. 821–823.

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[5] *Camas ó Fothaidh Tire.* Cammuſ hui Fat̃aiḋ Tiꞃe L. Caoiminiſ o bFot̃aiḋ (Fair Island of Ui Fothaidh), Keating. Introd., p. xxxvi., n. 2.

[6] *An hundred and twenty.* L. has the same number, but Keating reads, Luc̃t tꞃi fic̃it Longꝫ a Lion, "the crews of three score ships was their number."

[7] *After.* L. omits the notice of Diman's death, and reads, .i. in ḋechmaḋ bliaḋain ꞃenecc Aꞃtꞃi: "i.e., the tenth year *before* the death of Artri." See App. A. and B. Another instance of the same difference will be found, chap. xxiii. (p. 22, note 3), where the Four M. understood *after*, although here they understood *before*.

ꝛeaḋ leó Bendc̆aiꝛ, ocuꝛ Cluain Uam̆a, ocuꝛ Roꝛ Maeláin. Ro hindꝛeaḋ leó Scellecc Michil, ocuꝛ ꝛuccꝛat Edgall leó imbꝛoid, conid̆ do míoꝛbuilibh atꝛulla, ocuꝛ maꝛb̆ do goꝛta ocuꝛ ditaid̆ aca hé.

Bangor in Ulster plundered, A.D.824, 5.

VI. Tanic longeꝛ ele i tuaiꝛceꝛt Eꝛend iaꝛꝛin; cetꝛi bliad̆na iaꝛnéc Aeda mic Neill ic Ad̆ dá Feꝛt, ocuꝛ ꝛo aiꝛgꝛet Bencuꝛ Ulad, ocuꝛ ꝛo bꝛiꝛitaꝛ ꝛcꝛin Comgaill, ocuꝛ ꝛo maꝛbadaꝛ a epꝛcop, ocuꝛ a ꝛuidí, ocuꝛ a ꝛꝛut̆i; da aiꝛgꝛet dna mag foꝛ.

Invasion of Hy Cennselaigh, and plundering of the principal churches of Munster.

VII. Tanic longeꝛ ele innuib Cendꝛelaig, ocuꝛ ꝛo aiꝛgꝛet Teac̆ Munnu, ocuꝛ Teac̆ Molind, ocuꝛ Iniꝛ Teoc. Tancadaꝛ iaꝛꝛin innOꝛꝛaigib, ocuꝛ ꝛo hinꝛed in tiꝛ leo. Tucꝛat Oꝛꝛaigi cat̆ doib, ocuꝛ idꝛocaꝛ .c.lxx. dib and. Ro toglad leo Dun Deꝛmugi, ocuꝛ Iniꝛ Eoganan, ocuꝛ Diꝛiuꝛt Tiꝛꝛaiti, ocuꝛ ꝛo hinꝛed leo Leaꝛ Moꝛ, ocuꝛ ꝛo loiꝛced Cell Molaꝛꝛi, ocuꝛ Cluain-aꝛd Mubeoc, ocuꝛ ꝛo hinꝛed dna Land Leꝛí, ocuꝛ Cend Slebi la faiꝛind eli dib. Ro haiꝛged leo, dna, Soꝛd Coluimcilli, ocuꝛ Damliag Cianan, Slani, ocuꝛ Oꝛllaꝛaili, ocuꝛ Glend dá lac̆a,

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[1] *Inis Temhni.* Inis Temli, L. Inis Doimhle, Four M.

[2] *Bennchair.* Bechere, L., which is no doubt the true reading. See Appendix A.

[3] *Ros-Maelain.* Ros-niallain, L.

[4] *Edgall.* The Dublin MS. begins here with the last three letters of this name, ... all ꝛceillgi leo imbꝛait conitꝛeb míꝛbulí atꝛulla, ocuꝛ maꝛb do goꝛta ocuꝛ ditaid acu: "..... [Edg]all of Scellig with them into captivity, so that it was by miracles he escaped, and he died of hunger and thirst with them." See the reading of L., Appendix A, and note, p. 233. Hitherto the Irish text has been taken from B. In the remainder of the work, D., as being the more ancient MS., will be adopted as the basis of the text. The Irish reader will observe the change of orthography.

[5] *Its bishop.* Epꝛcob in bali, L., "the bishop of the town," i.e., of Bangor.

[6] *The plain.* Mag ṁbili, L., "they plundered Magh-Bile," i.e., Movilla, in the county Down. This is probably the true reading.

[7] *Devastated.* Ro haiꝛced, B., "was spoiled" or "robbed."

[8] *One hundred and seventy.* The reading of L. and B. is here adopted, as being the more probable number. D. has .x. cendbaꝛ ocuꝛ tꝛi ꝛicit, ocuꝛ c.lxx. dib and: "Three score and ten helmets, and an hundred and seventy of them there," which seems evidently the combination of two different readings: Keating reads, moiꝛꝛeiꝛioꝛ aꝛ ꝛeact gced, "seven hundred and seven."

Temhni[1]; and Bennchair,[2] and Cluain Uamha, and Ros-Maelain,[3] were plundered by them. Scelleg Michil was also plundered by them; and they took Edgall[4] with them into captivity, and it was by miracles he escaped, and he died of hunger and thirst with them.

Bangor in Ulster plundered, A.D. 824,5.

VI. There came, after that, another fleet into the north of Erinn, four years after the death of Aedh, son of Niall, at Ath-dá-Fert; and they plundered Bennchur of Uladh, and brake the shrine of Comhghall, and killed its bishop,[5] and its doctors, and its clergy: they devastated, also, the plain.[6]

Invasion of Hy Cennselaigh, and plundering of the principal churches of Munster.

VII. Another fleet came to Ui Cennselaigh, and they plundered Teach Munnu, and Teach Moling, and Inis Teoc. They afterwards went into Osraighe, and the country was devastated[7] by them. The Osraighe gave them battle; and there were killed of them there one hundred and seventy.[8] By them were demolished Dun Dermuighe,[9] and Inis Eoganain, and Disert Tipraiti; and they devastated Leas Mor, and burned Cill Molaisi, and Cluain-ard Mubeoc[10]; Lann Leri,[11] also, and Cenn Slebhi were plundered by another party of them. There were plundered[12] also by them Sord Coluim-cilli, and Damliag Chianain, Slaini,[13] and Orlla-saile,[14] and Glenn-dá-Locha,

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[9] *Dun Dermuighe.* Dun Dergmúine, B. "Dun Dergmuine."

[10] *Mubeoc.* Mobeccoc L. Mobeóg, B. Mobeódog, Keating. The reading of L. is more correct, being the devotional form of the name of St. Bec (diminutive *Becoc*, or *Becan*), with the pronoun *mo*, my, *Mobecoc*, "My Becog." Cf. *Lanigan, Eccl. Hist*, iii., p. 20. L. puts the plundering of Dun Dermuighe, &c., after that of Lismore, Cill Molaisi, and Cluain-Ard-Mobecog.

[11] *Lann Leri.* These words, to the next full stop, are omitted in B. In L. the clause is given thus: Ra gab rempo ra thuaid iartain co Snám Aigneċ co ro millet Lann Leri ocus Cellsleibi: "They afterwards went northwards to Snamh Aignech" [Carlingford bay], "so that they spoiled Lann Leri, and Cell Shleibhi" [Killeavy]. Cellsleibi is a more correct reading than the Cenn Slebi of the text.

[12] *There were plundered.* L. reads Ac tuaid arisi doib co ro airgset: "They returned again" [i.e., from the north of Ireland] "and plundered." "Damhliag Chianan," was at first written in the MS. duncianan, *Dun Chianan*, but corrected by a later hand.

[13] *Slaini.* Omitted in B.

[14] *Orlla-saile.* L., B., and Keating read, Cell uarsaile.

ocus Cluain Uama, ocus Mungairt, ocus urmor cell Erend.

A fleet enters Limerick harbour, A.D. 834.

VIII. Tanic longes ele for cuan Lumníg, ocus ro hinrit Corco Baiscind, ocus Tradraigi, ocus u Coníll Gabra leo. Tucsat o Conaill cat̆ doib ic Senatib .i. Donc̆ad mac Scannlan rí ua Conaill, ocus Niall mac Cindfaelad; ocus ní fes ca lin idrocair andsin dib.

Turgeis in the north of Ireland, assumes the sovereignty of the foreigners, A.D. 839.

IX. Tanic iarsin rigloncges adbulmor la Turges, i tuascert Erenn, ocus ro gab rigi Gall Erend, ocus ro hinred tuascert Erenn leo, ocus ro scailset fo Leit̆ Cuind. Ro gab tra longes dib for Loc̆ Eat̆ac̆; ocus ro gab longes ele ic Lugbud; ocus ro gab longes ele for Loc̆ Raí. Ocus ra hinred tra Ard Mac̆a fo tri isinnin mís leo sin, ocus ro gab Turgeis fein abbdani Arda Mac̆a, ocus ro hinnarb Faranan abb Arda Mac̆a ocus ard comarba Padraic, co torac̆t Mumain, ocus scrin Padraic leis; ocus buí cet̆ri bliad̆na im Mumain, ocus Turgeis inn Ard Mac̆a, ocus irrígi tuaiscirt Erend; amail ro tairngir Bercan, primfait̆ nimi ocus talman,—

St. Bercan's prophecy.

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[1] *Erinn.* Urmor cell nErend uile, L., "the greater part of the churches of all Ireland." So also Keating.

[2] *Tradraighe.* The reading of L., B., and Keating, is here adopted. D. reads dartraigi. Instead of ro hindred.....leo, as in B. and D., L. has ra hindrit.....uat̆usaide.

[3] *Senati.* Seandad, B. Seannaid, Keating. The place of this battle is not mentioned in L.

[4] *Donnchadh, son of Scannlan.* Donadhach, 4 M. The clause mentioning the names of these chieftains omitted in the text of L., is added in the margin in a later hand: but instead of Niall, son of Cennfaeladh, as he is called here, and also by the Four Masters (A.D. 845), this marginal addition in L. reads "Domhnall, son of Cennfaeladh, king of the Hi Cairbri." See Appendix A., p. 224.

[5] *There slain.* Torcair ann diob, B., "was slain there." Dorochair and, L., "fell there."

[6] *Was plundered.* Ro indraisiot, B., "they plundered." B. omits leo.

[7] *Leth Chuinn.* The northern half of Ireland, called *Leth Chuinn* or Conn's half.

[8] *Of them.* For dib, the reading of L. and D., B. has ele, "another fleet."

[9] *Lughbudh.* Illugmud, L. Luġmagh, B. and Keating. Now *Lowth.*

[10] *Loch Rai.* Loch Ri, L. Loċ Rib̆, B. and Keating.

[11] *In the same month.* Fo t̆ri sinn oen mis leo, L. Fo t̆ri in en mí

and Cluain Uamha, and Mungairt, and the greater part of the churches of Erinn.[1]

VIII. Another fleet came into the harbour of Luimnech; and Corco-Baiscinn, and Tradraighe,[2] and Ui Conaill Gabhra were plundered by them. The Ui Conaill defeated them at Senati,[3] under Donnchadh, son of Scannlan,[4] king of Ui Conaill, and Niall, son of Cennfaeladh, and it is not known how many of them were there slain.[5]

A fleet enters Limerick harbour, A.D. 834.

IX. There came after that a great royal fleet into the north of Erinn, with Turgeis, who assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Erinn; and the north of Erinn was plundered[6] by them, and they spread themselves over Leth Chuinn.[7] A fleet of them[8] also entered Loch Eathach, and another fleet entered Lughbudh,[9] and another fleet entered Loch Rai.[10] Moreover, Ard Macha was plundered three times in the same month[11] by them; and Turgeis himself[12] usurped the abbacy of Ard Macha, and Farannan,[13] abbot of Ard Macha, and chief comharba of Patrick, was driven out,[14] and went to[15] Mumhain, and Patrick's shrine with him; and he was four years in Mumhain, while Turgeis was in Ard Macha,[16] and in the sovereignty[17] of the north of Erinn, as Bercan[18] prophesied, chief prophet of heaven and earth,[19]—

Turgeis in the north of Ireland, assumes the sovereignty of the foreigners, A.D. 839.

St. Bercan's prophecy.

ꝺeo, B. These are merely differences of orthography, except that B. omits ꝼin, reading "in one month," instead of "in the same month."

12 *Himself.* B. omits ꝼein, and merely says "Turgeis," instead of "Turgeis himself." The name of this chieftain is Tuiꝛgeiꝼ in B. throughout. D. has Tuꝛgeiꝼ, *nom.*, Tuꝛgeꝼ, *gen.*

13 *Farannan.* Forannan, L. and B. throughout. *Comharba*, is the name given to a successor in an episcopal or abbatial see.

14 *Driven out.* Ro hinꝺꝛeaꝺ ocuꝼ ꝛo hinꝺaꝛbaꝺ, B., "was driven out and banished." Ro innaꝛbaꝺ aꝼꝼ, L., "driven away."

15 *Went to.* Lit. reached. Coꝛꝛoċt, L. Ꞩon ꝺeachaꝺ, B., "came to."

16 *In Ard Macha.* In abꝺaine Aꝛꝺa Maċa, B., "in the abbacy of Ard Macha."

17 *And in the sovereignty.* L. reads ocuꝼ neꝛt tuaꝼciꝛt hEꝛenꝺ aice, "and the power of the north of Erinn was with him."

18 *Bercan.* L. introduces this prophecy thus: Iꝼ anꝺꝼin ꝛa comaꝺꝺaꝺ ꝼaꝼtini Ꝺeꝛchain in pꝛim ꝼaꝺa: "It was on this that the prophecy of Berchan, the eminent prophet, was fulfilled."

19 *And earth.* B. adds ocuꝼ atbeꝛt, "and he said."

Ticfat Genti dar muir mall
Mescafait gor fearaib Erend
Bib uaṫib abb ar caċ cill
Bid uaṫib rig for Erend.
Seaċt bliadna doib, ní feidm fand,
In nardrigi na hErend,
In nabbadani caċa cilli
Du dubgentib Duiblinni.
Biaid abb ar mu cillsea de,
Ní ticfa don ermeirge,
Can pater, is can creda,
Gan goedilg, aċt gaill berla.

The prophecy of St. Colum Cille.

Ro tairngir tra Colum Cilli in ní cetna fos, conebarit,
In longes sin Laċa Rai
Ria do morad̆ gall genti
Bid uaṫib abb ar Ard Maċa
Bid forlamus anflaṫa.

The prophecies of Ciaran the older,

X. Ro tincell, dna, sen Ciaran Saiğri in scel cetna .i. Danair fo trí do gabail Erend, .i. daim dib ar Colum Cilli dinnarba, ocus daim dib in inad a saraigt̆i siun i Tailltin, ocus daim in inad trasci nan apstal i Temraig. Conid airsin ro can in filid ocus in fait̆ .i. Bec mac Dé, conid asbert,

and of Bec-mac-Dé.

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[1] *Soft.* Keating reads, meann, "over the glorious sea."—*Curry's Copy, p.* 590. Keating quotes only the first quatrain of this prophecy.

[2] *The men.* L. reads, ferand, "the land."

[3] *Over every church.* Abaid for caċ cill, L. For this and the next line, B. substitutes the last two lines of the quatrain, attributed to St. Colum Cille: this was probably an error of transcription, arising from the initial words of the lines being the same.

[4] *A king.* Nert, L., "power over Erinn."

[5] *Seven years.* This quatrain is omitted in B.

[6] *Black Gentiles.* L. reads do Gentib duin Dublíni, "the Gentiles of the fort of Dublin."

[7] *My church.* Mo ċillsi ḋe, B. Formċillse de, L. In the next line B. reads, ní ṫaiṫeoċa in iarmeirge, a more modern but less correct orthography.

[8] *Without Pater:* i e., ignorant of the *Pater noster* and *Credo*—mere pagans.

[9] *Without Irish.* Can Latin, L., "without Latin." But the alliteration of Gaedhilg, and Gaill, in D. and B., seems intentional.

[10] *Colum Cille.* "Item Colum Cille," L. Ebarit is, perhaps, an error of the scribe for Ebairt.

"Gentiles shall come over the soft[1] sea;
They shall confound the men[2] of Erinn;
Of them there shall be an abbot over every church[3];
Of them there shall be a king[4] over Erinn.
Seven years[5] shall they be; nor weak their power,
In the high sovereignty of Erinn.
In the abbacy of every church
The black Gentiles[6] of Dubhlinn.
There shall be of them an abbot over this my church,[7]
Who will not attend to matins;
Without Pater[8] and without Credo;
Without Irish,[9] but only foreign language."

Colum Cille[10] also foretold the same thing, when he said— The prophecy of St. Colum Cille.
"This fleet of Loch Rai,[11]
By whom[12] are magnified the Gaill-Gentiles;
Of them there shall be an abbot over[13] Ard Macha;
It shall be the government[14] of a usurper."

X. The old Ciaran, of Saigher, foretold also the same— The prophecies of Ciaran the older, viz., that Danars would three times conquer Erinn; that is, a party of them [in punishment] for the banishment of Colum Cille[15]; a party of them, for the insult[16] to [Ciaran] himself at Tailltin; and a party for the fasting of the Apostles[17] in Temhair. And it was of this the poet and prophet Bec-mac-De sang, as he said[18]— and of Bec-mac-Dé.

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[11] *Loch Rai.* Loċa Ri, L. Loċa Riḃ, B.

[12] *By whom.* For ꝓia, "by whom," L. and B. read, maiṫ, "has well exalted," or "magnified." Keating reads, bad maith do móraḋ Ʒeinnte, "the Gentiles shall be well exalted."—*Curry's Copy, p.* 581.

[13] *Over.* L. and B. omit ar, and read, "an abbot of Ard Macha."

[14] *Government.* Ollamnaċt, L., "the rule" or "sovereignty."

[15] *Of Colum Cille.* Ar ꝑon Colum Cille, B., "because of Colum Cille's banishment." The meaning is, that the Danes were sent by Providence to punish the country for the three national sins mentioned.

[16] *Insult.* The word implies a *sacrilegious* insult. Ꝺ ꝑaraiġṫi ꝑium ꝼein, B., "the sacrilege offered even to himself," or "to his very self."

[17] *The Apostles:* i.e., of the apostles or twelve eminent saints of Ireland—naem hEꝑenn, L., "of the saints of Erinn."

[18] *As he said.* The words, Conid aꝑbeꝑt, are omitted in B. L. gives the prophecy of Bec-mac-Dé immediately after that attributed to Colum-cille, and then explains the allusion to the three invasions said to have been

Diar ben clog i Tailltin te,
Ciaran sen saidbir Saiġre,
Do gell [dErinn] comma tri
Dama Danar dubḃlongsí.

Cid tra acͮt tancatar na tri cantana sin, ocus ro comollit na fastini; [aṁail ro tͮairngir gach naeṁ fírén foircclig̃e].

Turgeis enters Loch Ree, and plunders the monasteries of Meath and Connaught, A.D. 838–845.

XI. Tanic [tra Turgeis Arda Macͮa, ocus ro toccaib] longes ar Locͮ Rai, ocus ro hinred Midi uad as, ocus Connacͮta; ocus ro hinred Cluain mic Nois leis, ocus Cluain Ferta Brenaind, ocus Lotͮra, ocus Tir dá Glas, ocus Inis Celtra, ocus cella Dergderc arcena; ocus is and dobered Ota ben Turges a hurıcli ar altoir Cluana mic Nois. Tucsat, imorro, Connacͮta catͮ doib du in drocair Maelduin mac Muirgissa rigdomna Connacͮt.

Invasion of Dublin and Leinster.

XII. Tancatar iarsin .u. longa ocus tri ficͮit, cor gabsat inDublind Atͮa Cliatͮ, ocus ro hinred Lagin co fargi leo, ocus Mag mBreg. Tucsad, dna, Dailréta catͮ ele doib, du indrocair Eogan mac Oengussa rí Dalriται.

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foretold by Ciaran: see App. A., p. 225–6; it is evident, however, that Ciaran of Clonmacnois must have been intended: for it was he, not Ciaran, surnamed the Old, who was insulted by King Diarmaid at Tailltin or Teltown. Old Ciaran (of Saigher) is said to have lived before the coming of St. Patrick.

[1] *Saigher.* The original reading may have been saig, "the sage," which was mistaken by copyists for saigre, "of Saigher."

[2] *To Erinn.* These words, necessary to the metre, are supplied from L. and B.

[3] *Should be.* Co fa tri, L. Co ba tri, B. These are differences of spelling only.

[4] *And now.* This paragraph to the end of the chap. is omitted in L. For tri cantana sin, B. reads, tircanta, "prophecies." The clause within brackets is supplied from B., but is unnecessary.

[5] *Turgeis.* The words within brackets in the Irish are substituted from B. for the words in D.—iarsin Turgeis co hArd Macͮa, ocus ro cotaiċ: "Afterwards Turgeis came to Ard Macha, and there came a fleet," &c. L. reads, Tanic iarsain Turgeis for Loch Ri, "afterwards Turgeis came upon Loch Ri," which was, most probably, the original reading.

[6] *By him.* B. omits leis.

[7] *Derg-dheirc:* i.e., the churches on the islands in Loch Derg-dheirc, now Loch Derg. D. has cell dercert, for which cella dergderc,

"When the bell was rung in warm Tailltin,
Ciaran the Old, the wealthy, of Saigher,[1]
Promised [to Erinn[2]] that three times there should be[3]
Parties of Danars of the black ships."

And now[4] these three predictions came to pass, and the prophecies were fulfilled, [as every righteous and true saint had foretold].

Turgeis enters Loch Ree, and plunders the monasteries of Meath and Connaught, A.D. 838–845.

XI. There came [now Turgeis,[5] of Ard Macha, and brought] a fleet upon Loch Rai, and from thence plundered Midhe and Connacht; and Cluain Mic Nois was plundered by him,[6] and Cluain Ferta of Brenann, and Lothra, and Tir-dá-glas, and Inis Celtra, and all the churches of Derg-dheirc,[7] in like manner; and the place where Ota,[8] the wife of Turgeis, used to give her audience was upon the altar of Cluain Mic Nois. The Connachtmen, however, gave them battle, in which Maelduin, son of Muirghes, royal heir apparent of Connacht, was slain.

Invasion of Dublin and Leinster.

XII. After this[9] came three score and five ships, and landed[10] at Dubhlinn of Athcliath, and Laghin was plundered to the sea by them, and Magh Bregh. But the Dal Riada[11] met them in another battle, in which was slain Eoghan,[12] son of Oengus, king of Dal Riada.

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the reading of L. and B., has been substituted. B. omits ꝛꝛcenꝛ.

[8] *Ota.* B. has *Otur*, and L. *Otta.* For ꝛ h-uꝛicli, "her audience," L. and B. read, ꝛ ꝼꝛecꝛꝛtha, "the place where she used to give her answers."

[9] *After this.* Iꝛꝛꝼin, omitted in B., but the word occurs in L.

[10] *And landed.* L. omits coꝛ ꝺꝛbꝼꝛꝛt, and reads, co Dublinꝺ, "to Dublinn," &c. D. reads, Mꝛꝺ mꝛeꝺ, for which the more correct spelling of B. has been substituted.

[11] *The Dal Riada.* L. reads, Tucꝼꝛꝛt Dꝛlꝛiꝛꝛꝛi cꝛtꝫ ꝺon lonꝺiꝺ ꝼein, "the Dalriadans gave battle to this fleet." B. agrees with D., omitting only the word ele, "another." L. adds here the following note, which does not occur in the other MSS.:—Uꝛiꝛ ꝛꝛ ċuꝛꝛꝛꝛ lꝛm cleꝛi hEꝛenꝺ ꝼꝛ thuꝛiꝺ ꝛꝛ milliuꝺ lꝛꝺen ocuꝼ Dꝛeꝺ: "Afterwards many of the clergy of Erinn went to the north after the plundering of Laigin and Bregh."—See App. A., p. 226.

[12] *Eoghan.* In L. and B. he is more correctly called *Eoghanan*, son of Oenghus. He was the 31st king of the Dalriadans of Scotland, according to O'Flaherty. *Ogygia*, p. 481. L. gives the tribe name in the *nom.* Dꝛlꝛiꝛꝛꝛi, *gen.* Dꝛilꝛiꝛꝛꝛi. B. gives the *nom.* Dꝛlꝛiꝛꝛꝛ, and *gen.* Dꝛilꝛiꝛꝛꝛ; making the inflexion

Simultaneous invasions in various places of Munster.

XIII. Tanic iarsin tola murbructa mor du gallaib inn Erind, co nac̆ rabi aird innti can longes. Is leoside do hargead Brigoband, ocus ro marbad Tressac̆ mac Mec̆ill. Ro gab, am, longes igCiarraigi Luac̆ra, ocus ro hinred leo co Cill Iti, ocus co Cuil Emni, ocus ro hinred, tra, re longes Luimnig Martini na Muman, ocus rucsat Farannan comarba Arda Mac̆a o Cluain Comairdi co Lumneac̆, ocus ro brissidar scrin Padraic.

Farannan, of Armagh, carried off, A.D. 845.

Turgeis taken and drowned, A.D. 845.

XIV. Iisí sin bliadain ro gab̆ad̆ Turgeis re Maelsec̆lainn, ocus ro bait̆ead iarsin i Loc̆ Uair .i. in bliadain rémbatud Neill Cailli sin, ocus indara bliadain re nec Fedlemeda mic Crimthaind, ocus is re remis na deissi sin doronait na gníma sin uli. Ocus ar marbad Turgeis, imorro, doluid Farannan abb Ardamac̆a asin Mumain [co Ardmac̆a], ocus ro daingníced scrin Padraic leis.

The battle of Roscrea, A.D. 845.

XV. In bliadain, dna, ro gabaid̆ Faranan ocus ro brised scrin Padraic, ocus ro hinred cella Mum̆an, is and sin tancatar [Gaill] co Ros Creda, la feil Poil ocus Pedair, ocus int aenac̆ innillti and; ocus tucad cat̆ doib, ocus ro muid for Gallaib tria rat̆ Poil ocus Pedair, ocus ro marbait co diairmiti and; ocus ro bualed Onp̆ile iarla and do

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in Dal. The readings of the text, which are from D., seem ungrammatical, Dailreta, in the *nom.*, and Dalriti, in the *gen.*

[1] *Sea-cast floods.* Murbruc̆ta, lit. "sea-belched," or "vomited;" a participle. Tola, floods.

[2] *Into Erinn.* L. has i Mum̆ain, "into Munster," which is probably the true reading.

[3] *Thereof:* i.e., of Munster, if the reading of L. be adopted. B. reads, aird in Erinn, "not a point in Erinn."

[4] *Mechill.* B. reads, Tressach mac Meircill, "Tressach, son of Meircill." L. omits this notice of the plundering of Brigobhann, or Brigown, and the death of Tressach, a personage who is not mentioned in the Irish Annals.

[5] *Martini.* Marthin, L. Mairtine, B.

[6] *Ard Macha.* L. reads, Comarba Patraic ó Cluain Comarda leo: "The comharba," [or successor] "of Patrick, from Cluain Comharda, with them." B. has Comarba Phatraicc o Cluain Comarta.

[7] *This year:* i.e., the same year in which Forannan was captured, and Patrick's shrine broken. D. reads ro gab Turgeis, which does not make

XIII. After this there came great sea-cast floods[1] of foreigners into Erinn,[2] so that there was not a point thereof[3] without a fleet. It was by these that Bri-Gobhann was plundered, and Tressach, son of Mechill[4] killed. A fleet came to Ciarraighe Luachra, and all was plundered by them to Cill Ita and Cuil Emhni; and the Martini[5] of Mumhain were plundered by the fleet of Luimnech, who carried off Farannan, Comharba of Ard Macha,[6] from Cluain Comairdi to Luimneach, and they broke Patrick's shrine.

Simultaneous invasions in various places of Munster.

Farannan, of Armagh, carried off, A.D. 845.

XIV. It was in this year[7] Turgeis was taken prisoner by Maelsechlainn; and he was afterwards drowned in Loch Uair,[8] viz., the year before the drowning of Niall Cailli, and the second year before the death of Fedhlimidh, son of Crimhthann; and it was in[9] the time of these two that all these events[10] took place. Now, when Turgeis was killed, Farannan, abbot of Ard Macha, went out of Mumhain[11] [to Ard Macha], and the shrine of Patrick was repaired[12] by him.

Turgeis taken and drowned, A.D. 845.

XV. Now the same year in which Farannan was taken prisoner,[13] the shrine of Patrick broken, and the churches of Mumhain plundered, [the foreigners] came to Ros Creda[14] on the festival of Paul and Peter, when the fair had begun; and they were given battle, and the foreigners were defeated through the grace of Paul and Peter, and countless numbers[15] of them were killed there; and Earl Onphile[16] was struck there with a stone by which

The battle of Roscrea, A.D. 845.

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sense. The reading of B. is substituted.

8 *Loch Uair.* Illo͛c Ꝼuaıꝛ, B.

9 *And it was in.* This clause is omitted in L.

10 *Events.* Na ʒnıoṁꝛaḋa, B.

11 *Out of Mumhain.* Ꝼo ṫuaıḋ, B., "to the north." The words "to Ard Macha" are inserted from L.

12 *Repaired.* Leꝛꝛaıʒeḋ, L. Ḋaınʒníġeaḋ, B.

13 *Taken prisoner.* Ro ʒaḃaḋ, B. This repetition of the events of the year does not occur in L., where we read only Tanʒaḋaꝛ ḋna ʒaıll co Roꝛꝛcꝛe ꝛın bliaḋaın ꝛeo, "the foreigners came to Roscrea this year."

14 *Ros Creda.* Roꝛꝛcꝛe, L. Roꝛcꝛe, B., and in c. xvii., p. 16. The word ʒaıll, is added from L.

15 *Countless numbers.* Co ḋıaıꝛmíṫí, lit. "innumerabiliter." Co hanḃaıl ıaḋ, B., "they were slain prodigiously."

16 *Onphile.* Oılꝼın, B. Oılꝼınn, Keating (p. 636).

cloiċ, cor marb de é. Mor, dna, dulc ocus dimmiud fuaradar ocus friṫ uaṫib, isna bliaḋnaiḃ sin, nac innister etir.

Northmen on the Boyne, in Bregia, Meath, &c.

XVI. Tanic iarsin longes tri ficit long do Normandaib for Boind, ocus ro inrit Breġa leo, ocus Midi. Tanic longes [aile] cor gab for Loċ Ecach, ocus ro hinred leoside co hArd Maċa. Tanic longes ele cor gabside for abaind Liḟi, ocus ro hinred Mag mBreg leo, ettir tuaiṫ ocus cill.

A great fleet lands south of Dublin; their ravages in Leinster.

XVII. Tanic iarsin longes adbul mor in desciurt Aṫa Cliaṫ, ocus ro hinred leo urmor Erend; ocus ro hinred leo am I Coluim Cilli, ocus Inis Muireoc, ocus Daminis, ocus Glend da Laċa, ocus Lagin uli co hAċudúr, ocus co hAċudbo, ocus co Liaṫ Mochaeṁoċ, ocus co Daire mor, ocus co Cluain Ferta Molua, ocus co Ros Cre, ocus co Loṫra, co ro brisetar scrin Ruadan, ocus co ro millset Cluain Mic Nois, [ocus co Saiġir], ocus co Durmaig.

Invasion of the south of Ireland. Munster plundered.

XVIII. Tanic iarsin longes in desciurt Erend co hinriset Scelleg Miċil, ocus Inis Flaind, ocus Disert Domain, ocus Cluain Mor, cor marbsadar Rudgaile mac Trebtadi ocus Cormac mac Selbaig ancair,

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[1] *Killed.* L. inserts here the following passage, which is not found in the other MSS., Ba grema d'ḟeraiḃ Muṁain in trosscud daronsat ra Polis ra Petar inn aidche reime. See Appendix A. This seems like a marginal note inserted by the transcriber in the text.

[2] *Not recorded.* The text of B. is here adopted. D. reads, is na bliaḋnaiḃ, doneoc naċ innister etir. L. differs from both. See Appendix A.

[3] *A fleet.* D. reads, long tri ficit long, an evident mistake of transcription. The reading of B. is preferred. L. reads, longes adbul mor, "a very great fleet," without mentioning the number of ships.

[4] *Another.* Aile is added from L. ele, B.

[5] *Loch Echach.* Loch Eachdhach, B. Loch Nethach, L. B. omits cor gab, "settled." L. reads, cor ragaib.

[6] *To Ard Macha.* L. adds, "and Ard Macha itself was burned and plundered by them."

[7] *And settled.* L. and B. omit cor gabside. B. reads, ocus ro hindred leo maġ mBregh uile etir cella ocus tuaṫa: "All Magh Bregh was plundered by them, both churches and country." L. reads, "Magh Laighen and Magh Bregh were plundered by them, both country and churches."

[8] *Very great.* L. omits iarsin, "after that," and adbul mor, "very great," and reads "the fleet that was with

he was killed.[1] Much, indeed, of evil and distress did they receive, and much was received from them in those years, which is not recorded[2] at all.

Northmen on the Boyne, in Bregia, Meath, &c.

XVI. There came after that a fleet[3] of three score ships of the Northmen upon the Boinn; and Bregia and Midhe were plundered by them. [Another[4]] fleet came and settled on Loch Echach,[5] and these plundered all before them to Ard-Macha.[6] Another fleet came and settled[7] on the river of Liffe, and Magh Bregh was plundered by them, both country and churches.

A great fleet lands south of Dublin; their ravages in Leinster.

XVII. There came after that a very great[8] fleet into the south[9] of Ath-Cliath, and the greater part of Erinn was plundered by them; they plundered, also, Hí of Colum Cille,[10] and Inis Muireoc,[11] and Damhinis, and Glenn dá Locha, and the whole of Laighin, as far as to Achadh Ur, and to Achadh Bó, and to Liath Mocaemhoc,[12] and to Daire-mór,[13] and to Cluain Ferta Molua, and to Ros Cre, and to Lothra, where they broke the shrine of Ruadhan, and they spoiled Cluain Mic Nois, [and as far as Saighir,[14]] and on to Durmhagh.

Invasion of the south of Ireland. Munster plundered.

XVIII. There came after that a fleet[15] into the south of Erinn, and they plundered[16] Scellig Michil, and Inis Flainn,[17] and Disert Domhain,[18] and Cluain Mor, and they killed Rudgaile,[19] son of Trebtade, and Cormac,

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them went at once." Ꞇanıc ꝺna ꞇonꞅeꞅ ba ꞇıa anꝺaꞅaıꝺe.

[9] *The south.* L. and B. omit ınꝺeꞅcıuꞅꞇ.

[10] *Hí of Colum Cille.* Hí Coꞇaım Cıꞇꞇı, L., B.

[11] *Inis Muireoc.* A corrupt spelling: more correctly Ꞇnıꞅ Muꞅıꝺaıꞅ, L., and in modern spelling, Ꞇnıꞅ Muıꞅeaꝺaıꞅ, B.

[12] *Liath Mocaemhoc.* D. reads, Monemoċ, which is evidently a mistake. The reading of L. and B. has been adopted in the text.

[13] *Daire-mór.* D. reads, co hꞒꞅꝺmoꞅ: but the reading of L. and B. has been substituted, as being evidently correct.

[14] *Saighir.* The words ocuꞅ co Saıġıꞅ are added from L. and B.

[15] *Fleet.* L. reads Ꞇoṅꞅeꞅ o Ꞇuımnıuc, "a fleet from Limerick."

[16] *Plundered.* Ꞅuꞅ mıꞇꞇꞅeꞇuꞅ ocuꞅ ꞅuꞅ ınꝺꞅaꞇaꞅ, B., "they spoiled and they plundered."

[17] *Inis Flainn.* Inis Faithlend, L., B.: now Inisfallen, in the Lower Lake of Killarney.

[18] *Disert Domhain.* Disert Donnain, L. Disert Damhain, B.

[19] *Rudgaile.* L. reads, "Rudgaile, son of Trebhtaidhe, and Cormac, son of Selbach, the anchorite."

ocus ir dorighe fo orlaic angeal fo thri ocus for cenglar cach uair. Ocus fo hinred, dna, leo Corcach, ocus fo lorced Ror Ailithri, ocus Cend Mara, ocus urmor Muman, ocus [tuccrat Mumha Medonach cath doib] fo cured a nar ic Ard Fearadaigh. Tucrat, dna, dercert Erend cath doibrighe, ocus Doncad mac Amalgada rig Eoganacht ua Neit, ocus drochair Clochna rig Corcalaigi leo and.

Battle of Corca Laighe.

The fleet of Dublin plunders Kildare, Clonenagh, &c.

XIX. Ro hinred leo, dna, Cell Dara, ocus Cluain Eoneach, ocus Cend Etig, ocus Cell Achad la longes Atha Cliath for; ocus fo toglad Dun Mairc .i. du in drochair Aed mac Duibdacrich, comarba Coluim mic Crimthainn ocus Findain Cluana Eoneg. Ocus fo hinred leo, dna, Cenannus, ocus Manistir Buti, ocus Damliac Ciaran, ocus Sord Coluim Cilli, ocus Finglar Cainneg; ocus fo lorced sin uli leo ocus fo hinsit.

The Black Gentiles contend with the Fair Gentiles, A.D. 851.

XX. Tancadar iarsin Duibgenti Danarda, ocus fo laeret fo Erinn, ocus da badar ic diucur na Fingenti a hErinn, ocus tucrat cath, ocus do marbrat .u. mili dono Fingentib ic Snam Ergda. Tanic iarsin longes ele fo gab iCiarraigi, ocus fo hinred leo co Lumneach, ocus Cell Iti, ocus Imleach Ibair, ocus Carrel

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[1] *The anchorite.* Anchora, L., Angcaire naem, B., "the holy anchorite."

[2] *Every time.* Gach lae, B., "every day." L. reads, ra horlaic aingel fo di, ocus for cenglaitir na gaill cach nuairi: "The angel set him loose twice, and the foreigners used to bind him every time."

[3] *They burned.* Loiscthi leo, B., "was burned by them."

[4] *Cenn Mara.* L. adds, ocus Aedh.

[5] *Mumha Medhonach:* i.e., the men of Middle Munster. The words within brackets in the text are inserted from B.

[6] *Ard Feradaigh.* B. reads, *Carn Fearadaigh*, which is also the reading of the Four M. L. has Ard Fertha, *Ardfert.*

[7] *Under.* D. reads, ocus Donncad, "and Donnchad." The reading of B. is preferred.

[8] *Ua Neit.* An error for Ua Neid, or Ua nEochach (see p. 137). h.netaid, L. Ocus Ua nEchach, B., "and of Ua nEchach." The word *and* is a mistake. The meaning is, that Donnchadh, son of Amhalghaidh [*pron.* Awley] was king of the Eoghanacht Ua nEochach, that is of those Eoghanachts, or descendants of Eoghan Mor (son of Oilioll Olum, king of Munster,) who were also descendants of Eochaidh, son of Cas, son of Corc, king of Munster. See Gen. Table, IV., p. 248, and Table of

son of Selbach, the anchorite,[1] and he it was whom the angel set loose three times, though he was bound again every time.[2] Moreover, Corcach was plundered by them, and they burned[3] Ros Ailithri and Cenn Mara,[4] and the greater part of Mumhan; but [the Mumha Medhonach[5] gave them battle and] their slaughter was completed at Ard Feradaigh.[6] The south of Erinn also gave them battle under[7] Donnchadh, son of Amhalgaidh, king of the Eoganacht Ua Neit,[8] and Clochna,[9] king of Corca Laighe, was killed by them there.

Battle of Corca Laighe.

XIX. Cell Dara, also, and Cluain Eidhneach, and Cenn Etigh, and Cell Ached were plundered by them, that is, by the fleet of Ath Cliath; and Dun Masc was demolished, where fell Aedh, son of Dubh-da-Crich, Comharba of Colum Mac Crimhthainn, and of Finntan of Cluain Edneach. They also[10] plundered Cennannas, and Mainister-Buite, and Damhliac-Cianan, and Sord-Coluim-Cille and Finnghlas-Cainnigh; and all these were burned by them and plundered.

The fleet of Dublin plunders Kildare, Clonenagh, &c.

XX. There came after this Black-gentile Danars, and they spread[11] themselves over Erinn, and they endeavoured to drive the Fair-gentiles out of Erinn; and they engaged[12] in battle, and they killed five thousand of the Fair-gentiles at Snamh Ergda[13]. After that another fleet came and landed in Ciarraighe,[14] and all was plundered by them to Luimnech, and Cill-Ita; and Imleach-Ibhair, and Caisel

The Black Gentiles contend with the Fair Gentiles, A.D. 851.

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the Descendants of Oilioll Olum, *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 341. L. adds, .ı. acCoꞃcaıg ꞃo maꞃbad: "viz., it was at Corcach he was killed."

[9] *Clochna.* L. omits all notice of the death of Clochna.

[10] *Also.* For the expletive dna, B. reads, ċena, "in like manner." L. omits the mention of Finntan of Cluain Edneach, and all that follows, as far as the word Cenannuꞅ, and instead reads, Rucꞅad leo ımMumaın ocuꞅ ꞃaꞃıa . . . . . ocıaꞃꞃaıd ꞅuaꞅlaıċtı ꞅaıꞃ ocuꞅ ıꞅꞅed naċ ꞅuaıꞃ. Ra . . . . . la longeꞅ aṫa cliaṫ ocuꞅ maınıꞅtıꞃ butı, etc. Some words are illegible. See Appendix A.

[11] *Spread.* Ro leaṫataꞃ, B.

[12] *Engaged.* Tuccꞅat ꞅeın caṫ da ceıle, B., "they engaged in battle with each other."

[13] *Snamh Ergda.* Snamh Oengusa, B. Snamh Eidhneach, Four M. (A.D. 850). Snamh Aidhneach, Ann. Ult. (A.D. 851). Snam Aıgneċ, L.

[14] *Ciarraighe.* B. reads Taınıc ıaꞃ-

na ríg, ocus airerd Ceṫtraigi, ocus Liaṫ Mocaemoc. I remis Fedlemeda mic Crimṫaind do ronait uli na hargni sin.

Various defeats sustained by the foreigners.

XXI. Mor, dna, do ḋuad [ocus do doċar] fuaradar frisin remis sin. Ro brisedar am Cenel Conaill caṫ forrṫo ic Aes Ruaid. Da brisedar Dail Cais caṫ ele forru for Loċ Deircdeirc. Da brisetar Ua Neill caṫ ele ic Ard Brecan. Ro marbsatar, dna, U Cholgan Saxulb iarla. Do rain Olċubur mac Cineda ríg Caisil, ocus Lorcan mac Cellaig rí Lagen caṫ Sceiṫ Neċtain forru, du i drocair tanaissi ri Loċland, ocus da cet dec do maiṫib Loċland umi. Ro toglaig, dna, Olcubur cétna i Tulaig na Rigna forthu, du i drocair soċaidi; ocus ro marb Leṫ Moga uli iat.

Battle of Sciath Nechtain, A.D. 847.

Several other defeats sustained by them.

XXII. Ro bris tra Maelsechlainn rí Temraċ caṫ Carlen Glinni forrṫu, du i drocradar .uii. cet. Ro bris, dna, Tigernag caṫ [forra] ic Dairi Disiurt Daconna, du i drocradar .u. cet. Ro bris, dna, Olcubur cetna, ocus Eoganaċt Caisil caṫ fortu ic Dun Maeltuli du i drocradar da ficet déc. Drocradar, dna, tri cet .lx.uiii. la Findgenti. Drocradar da

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sin longes ele gur gaḃ hi cCiarraiġe: "After that came another fleet, and landed in Ciarraighe."

[1] *Mocoemhoc.* Monaemoc, D. The reading of L. and B. is preferred. See p. 17, note 12.

[2] *In the reign.* B. reads, ocus is re reimis Feiḋlimid mic Crioṁṫaind do ronta uile na fogla sin: "And it was in the reign of Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, that all these inroads were made." L. has, in aimsir Feidlimid mic Crimthainn da ronait na huile sin: "In the time of Feidhlimidh, son of Crimhthann, these evils were committed."

[3] *And damage.* The words ocus do doċar are inserted from B., which MS. reads also fuaratar fir Erenn fris an re sin, "did the men of Ireland suffer during that time." The text, on the contrary, states that the foreigners suffered toil and damage; and proceeds to describe the defeats sustained by them.

[4] *Earl Saxulb.* Raalb iarla, L., "Earl Ralph."

[5] *Heir.* In the original tanaisti or *Tanist.* The Four M. name him *Tomrar*, or *Tomhrair* (A.D. 846). *Domrair*, Ann. Ult. (A.D. 847). B. omits da cet dec do maiṫib Loċlann, "twelve hundred of the nobles of Lochlann;" but these words occur in the Four M. In the next line B. reads intOlcobar cetna, which seems more correct, although the meaning is the same.

[6] *Tulach-na-Rigna.* Literally, "*in*

of the Kings, and the eastern Cethtraighi; and Liath Mocoemhoc.[1] It was in the reign[2] of Feidlimidh, son of Crimhthann, that all these ravages were perpetrated.

XXI. Much of toil [and damage[3]] did they suffer during that period. The Cenel Conaill defeated them in a battle at Eas Ruaidh. The Dal Cais defeated them in another battle on Loch Deircdeirc. The Ui Neill defeated them in another battle at Ard Brecain. The Ui Colgan killed Earl Saxulb.[4] Olchobhar, son of Cinaedh, king of Caisel, and Lorcan, son of Cellach, king of Laighen, defeated them in the battle of Sciath Nechtain, where the heir[5] of the king of Lochlainn fell, and twelve hundred of the nobles of Lochlainn along with him. The same Olchobhar demolished Tulach-na-Rigna[6] against them, where numbers of them were killed; and Leth Mogha[7] killed all of them.

Various defeats sustained by the foreigners.

Battle of Sciath Nechtain, A.D. 847.

XXII. Maelsechlainn, also, king of Temhar, defeated them in the battle of Caislen-Glinni,[8] where seven hundred were killed. Tighernagh, too, defeated [them] in a battle at Daire-Disiurt-Dachonna,[9] where five hundred[10] fell. The aforesaid Olchobhar,[11] and the Eoghanachts of Caisel, defeated them in a battle at Dun-Maeltuli,[12] where twelve score[13] fell. There fell, also, three hundred and sixty-eight[14] by the Fair-gentiles. Two hundred of them fell

Several other defeats sustained by them.

Tulach-na-Rigna:" but B. omits ı, "in," and reads, Ꞇulaċ na Ꞅıġna, more correctly.

[7] *Leth Mogha:* i.e., the people of Leth Mogha. B. reads ꞃo maꞃbaꝺ ılleıth Mogha uıle ıaꝺ, "they were killed in Leth Mogha all of them."

[8] *Caislen-glinni.* Caıꞅ-ġlınne, B. Ᵹlaıꞅlınne, Keating, p. 591; but, p. 602, he mentions also a battle of *Caisglinne.* B. says that 710 were slain in this battle, ꝺu ı ꞇꞇoꞃċaıꞃ ꞅeċꞇ ccéꝺ .x. Keating gives the same number; the text is supported by L.

[9] *Daire-Disiurt-Dachonna.* Disiurt Daconna, B. The word within parentheses in the text is inserted from B. and L.

[10] *Five hundred.* Ꝺa ꝼıceꞇ .x. B. Keating, and Four M. (A.D. 846), "twelve score." Ꝺa ceꞇ ꝺeᵹ, Ann. Ult. (A.D. 847), "twelve hundred."

[11] *Olchobhar.* An ꞇ-Olċobaꞃ ceꞇna, B.

[12] *Dun Maeltuli.* This name is omitted in B. Dun Mael, L.

[13] *Twelve score.* Cuıcc ceꝺ, B. L. "five hundred;" and the same number is given, Four M., A.D. 846, Ann. Ult., A.D. 847.

[14] *Three hundred and sixty-eight:* ccc.lxxuııı, L. Ceaṫꞃaꞃ aꞃ ꞇꞃı ꝼıċꞇıb aꞃ ꞇꞃı ceꝺaıb la hu ꝼıꝺ-

ced dib re Cianaċt ic Inis Finmic; ocus idrocradar, dna, tri cet dib fos re Cianaċta i cind mís iarsin ic Ráiṫ Altan. Ro bris, dna, Maelseclainn caṫ ele forṫu ic Raiṫ Commair. Ro brisidar, dna, Ciarraigi Luaċra caṫ ele forṫu.

Arrival of Amlaibh with a prodigious fleet, A.D. 853.

XXIII. Tanic iar sin Amlaib [mac] ri Loċland ocus longes adbul mor leis .i. deċ m-bliadna arnec Mailseclainn, gor gab rigi Gall Erend, ocus is leis ro baṫed Concubar mac Donċada rigdomna Temraċ. Is leoside ro ronad caṫ Cluana daim fors na Desi, du i drocairdar maṫi na Desi uli. Is leo romarbad mac Cindfaelad rig Muscraigi Breogain, ocus ro muċad Muċdaigren mac Reaċtabrat in nuaim. Is leo ro marbad Caetil Find lin a longpuirt. Is leo ro marbad Maelguala mac Dungaile ríg Caisil, .i. a druim da brised im cloiċ. Cid tra aċt idroċradar sin uili fos ic feraib Muman .i. Ona ocus Scolph, ocus Tomar, teora ocus ced.

Arrival of Ossil, and his defeat.

XXIV. Tanic iarsin Ossill mac ríg Locland, longes ele, ocus ro hinred urmor Erend leo. Drocradar

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geinnti, B., i.e., "364 by the Ui Fidhgeinnti."

1 *Inis Finmic.* Inis Findmaic, L. Inis Findmec, B.

2 *Rath Altan.* Raiṫ Aldain, L. Raṫ Allan, B.

3 *Ten years after.* Sin deċmad bliadain renec Maelseċlainn, L., "in the tenth year *before* the death of Maelsechlainn," [i.e., before 863.] *O'Flah. Ogyg.* p. 434. This seems the correct reading, and is followed by the Four M., 851, and by the Ann. Ult. 852 (=853). These Annals agree also with L. in calling this chieftain mac rig Lochlann, "son of the king of Lochlainn;" not "king of Lochlainn," as in B. and D. See Appendix A., and chap. xxx., *infra*, where the MSS. B. and D. themselves, call this Amlaibh, "son of the king of Lochlainn." The word mac has, therefore, been inserted within brackets in the text. Keating says that Amhlaibh arrived "about the time when Olcobhar, king of Munster, died;" an event which the Four M. date 849 (=852).

4 *Son of Donnchad.* Mac Cinaeda, B. Mac Donnċaḋa Leṫri Miḋe, Ann. Ult. 863; Four M. 862.

5 *Cluain-Daimh.* Is leisin longes sain ro memaid cath cluana daim, L., "it was by this fleet was gained the battle of Cluain-daimh, &c." Ocus is leis ro srained cath, 7c., B.: "And it was by them was won the battle, &c." D. reads caṫ clundam, but for this, caṫ cluana daim has been substituted in the text, on the authority of L. and B.

6 *Was suffocated.* For ro muċad, "was suffocated," (the reading of L.

by the Cianachta at Inis-Finmic[1]; and there fell, too, three hundred more of them by the Cianachta in a month after that, at Rath-Altan.[2] Maelsechlainn gained another victory over them at Rath-Commair. The Ciarraighi Luachra also gained another victory over them.

Arrival of Amlaibh with a prodigious fleet, A.D. 853.

XXIII. After that came Amlaibh, [son of] the king of Lochlainn, with a prodigious fleet, i.e., ten years after[3] the death of Maelsechlainn, and he assumed the sovereignty of the Gaill of Erinn; and it was by him that Conchobhar, son of Donnchad,[4] heir apparent of Temhair, was drowned. It was by them the Desi were overthrown in the battle of Cluain-Daimh,[5] where all the nobles of the Desi fell. It was by them the son of Cennfaeladh, king of Muscraighe-Breoghain, was killed, and Muchdaighren, son of Reachtabrat, was suffocated[6] in a cave. It was by them Caetil Find[7] was killed, with his whole garrison. It was by them Maelguala, son of Dungaile, king of Caisel, was killed: i.e., his back was broken by a stone. However, they were all killed by the men of Mumhain,[8] i.e., Ona, and Scolph, and Tomar, an hundred and three.[9]

Arrival of Ossil, and his defeat.

XXIV. There came after that Ossill,[10] son of the king of Lochlainn, with another fleet, and the greater part of Erinn was plundered by them. These, too, fell by

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and D.) B. reads, ocuſ ꝛe Muꝛchaꝺh mac Muċtiʒeꝛn mic Reaċtaḃꝛa i Muṁain: meaning that Cennfaeladh was killed by the Lochlainns, "and by Murchadh, son of Muchtighern, son of Reachtabra, in Munster." Over the words i Muṁain, "in Munster," a later hand has written ueꝺ in uaiṁ, "or in a cave." The text is undoubtedly the true reading. L. has ꝛa mucaḋ Muċtiʒeꝛn [mac] Reċtabꝛaꝺ in uaim. See Appendix A.

[7] *Caetil Find.* Caṫaꝺ Finꝺ, B. Caup Finꝺ, L.

[8] *Men of Mumhain.* Ra fiꝛu hEꝛenn, ocuſ na toeſiʒ ſeꝺ, L.: "By the men of Erinn, and also their leaders," [i.e., their leaders also were destroyed by the men of Erinn].

[9] *An hundred and three.* The names of the leaders are omitted by B. L. reads Scolph, ocuſ Ona, ocuſ Tomꝛaiꝛ, ocuſ Tuꝛʒeiſ, 7c. It seems probable that 7c., "et cetera," and 7.c., "and one hundred," were in some way confounded, and the name of one of the chieftains mistaken for teoꝛa, "three."

[10] *Ossill.* Oiſꝛi, L. Ꝺuiſꝛe, Ann. Ult. A.D. 862, 865. Uaiꝛſi, Four M. A.D. 861. Perhaps the name is *Vailsi*, *Falsius*, or *Flosius*.

sin fos la feraib Erend. Dročair, am, intOsil ocus .u. ced leis ic feraib Erend i Mumain in oen lo. Is ísin bliadain i dročair Colp̌ín ocus longes Duni Medoin i Cind Curraig. Ro bas ica marbad o Cind Curraig co Lis Mor, ocus do drocradar socaidi dib .i. la Rečtabrat mac Brain. Da čuaid, dna, baeťbarr iarla ocus sočaidi don lučt madma leis co Ať Cliať. Iarsin ro baťed ic Ať Cliať tre mírbúilid Ciaran ocus Aeda Scannail for a rabadar ic forbaissi. Iis ísin bliadain i dročair Tomur iarla la Brenaind, i cind tri la arnargain Cluana Ferta do. Is ísin bliadain ro bris Aed Findliať mac Neill cať fortu ic Loč Febail, du i dročairdar da cet deg cend in oen inad dib, ocus ruc a nuili inmais ocus a seodu.

Colphin and the fleet of Dun Medhoin destroyed.

Earl Baethbarr drowned.

Battle of Loch Foyle, A.D. 866.

XXV. Ro hinrit, dna, la Baraid ocus la mac Amlaib Lagin ocus fir Muman la longes Ať̌a Cliať corruačtadar Ciaraigi, gunar ḟacsat uaim fo ťalmain and gan tačailt, ocus níp ḟacsat ní o Lumneič co Corcaig can inred, ocus ro loscset Imleč Ibair, ocus ro hinriset na Desi deisciurt. Ro inridar, dna, in lučt cetna da bliadain remisin Mídi ocus Connačta, co rancadar Corcumruad ocus Leim Conč̌ulaind. Dro-

Leinster and Munster plundered by Baraid and Amlaff's son, with the Dublin fleet.

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[1] *This Ossill.* B. reads, ocus torċair in tOisill le feraib Muṁain, ocus cuicc ced leis i naen lo: "And this Ossill fell by the men of Munster, and 500 with him in one day." L. reads also, le feraib Muṁain, "by the men of Munster," but omits "and 500 hundred with him in one day."

[2] *Colphin.* Perhaps *Golfin.* This name does not occur in the Annals.

[3] *Was continued.* Literally, "they were in their being killed, from Cenn Curraigh to Lis-mor."

[4] *Earl Baethbarr.* B. calls him Badbarr, "Badbarr," omitting the title of Iarla, or Earl.

[5] *Was drowned.* B. reads, ocus ro baiḋeaḋ iatt occ Aṫ Cliaṫ, tre miorbuilibh Ciaran ocus Aeda ocus Sccandail: "And they were drowned at Ath Cliath, by the miracles of Ciaran and Aedh and Sgandall."

[6] *Twelve hundred heads.* Da ced deg in aen ionad, B., "twelve hundred in one spot." Da ficit, L., "two score," but the words following are illegible in this MS. Keating has, go ttug ceaṫraċaḋ ceann taoisiġ dioḃ leis, iar marḃaḋ da ċed ar mile loċlonnaċ oile do: "Forty heads of their chieftains were borne off by him, after he had killed 1,200 other Lochlainns." The Four M.

the men of Erinn; and this Ossill,[1] with five hundred men along with him, fell by the men of Erinn in Mumhain in one day. It was in that year that Colphin,[2] and the fleet of Dun Medhoin, were destroyed at Cenn Curraig. And the slaughter of them was continued[3] from Cenn Curraig to Lis-Mor, and numbers of them were killed by Rechtabrat, son of Bran. The Earl Baethbarr,[4] however, escaped with many of the defeated party to Ath Cliath. Afterwards he was drowned[5] at Ath Cliath, through the miracles of Ciaran, and Aedh Scannail, whom they were besieging. It was in that year that Earl Tomar was killed by St. Brendan, three days after he had plundered Cluain Ferta. It was in that year that Aedh Finnliath, son of Niall, gained a battle over them at Loch Febhail, where there fell twelve hundred heads[6] of them in one spot; and all their wealth and all their jewels were taken.

Colphin and the fleet of Dun Medhoin destroyed.

Earl Baethbarr drowned.

Battle of Loch Foyle, A.D. 866.

XXV. Then Laighen and the men of Mumhain were plundered by Baraid,[7] and Amlaibh's son, with the fleet of Ath Cliath,[8] until they reached Ciarraighe[9]; and they left not a cave there under ground that they did not explore[10]; and they left nothing from Luimnech to Corcach that they did not ravage. And they burned[11] Imleach Ibhair, and they ravaged the southern Desi. The same party, two years before,[12] had ravaged Midhe and Connacht, until they came

Leinster and Munster plundered by Baraid and Amlaff's son, with the Dublin fleet.

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say "twelve score heads," A.D. 864. Ann. Ult. 865.

[7] *Baraid.* Ḃaṙiṫh, L. Ḃaiṙṙiṫ, B. Ḃaṙiṫ, Ann. Ult. (A.D. 880). Ḃaṙaiṫ, Four M. (A.D. 878).

[8] *With the fleet.* Leo Longeṙ, D., a mistake of transcription, for which la Longeṙ, the reading of B. and L., has been substituted. L. has simply, "Laighin and the men of Mumhain were plundered by the fleet of Mac Amhlaibh:" instead of "the fleet of Ath Cliath," and without any mention of Barait in this place.

[9] *Ciarraighe.* Ciaṙṙaige Luaċṙa B.

[10] *Explore.* Lit. "without exploring it." Can teḋac, L., "without exploring." Gan iaṙṙad ocuṙ gan tochaiṫe, B., "without searching and without exploring."

[11] *They burned.* B. reads, gan inṙed ocuṙ gan loṙcaḋ; ocuṙ ro loiṙccṙiot Imḋeaċ Iubaiṙ, ocuṙ ro aiṙccṙiot na Deiṙi deiṙceṙt: "They left nothing from Limerick to Cork that they did not ravage and burn: and they burned Imleach Ibhair, and spoiled the southern Deisi." Na deṙi deiṙciṙt de muiṙ, L., "the southern Deisi from the sea."

[12] *Two years before.* Omitted in L. D. reads, Luċ for Luéṫ.

cairdear fin for la feraib Erenn. Ro cured iarum ár ar mac Ragnaill ocus ar Gallaib, la h-Aed mac Neill ic in fleid do fonad do mac Ragnaill Ath Cliath. Ro cuirfet fein cath etarro .i. Finngeinti ocus Dubgeinti, .i. Barith ocus mac Ragnaill du i droichair mac Ragnaill ocus fochaidi umi, ocus ro gonad Barith and. Ocus ro fonfat cath for feraib Alban, du idrochair Constantin mac Cinedo airdri Alban ocus focaidi umi. Is and sin da muig in talum fo feraib Alban.

A cessation of invasions for forty years, ending A.D. 916.

XXVI. Bai, imorro, arali cumrana deraib Erenn fri re .xl. bliadan can inred gall .i. o remir Maelfechlainn mic Mailruanaid cuirn mbliadain re nec Flainn mic Mailsechlainn, ocus co gabail rigi do Niall Glundub. Is and sin ro hathlinad Eriu do longfib gall. Is and dna tanic longfer la Hacond ocus la Corra Nara corgabrat ar Loch Dacaech ocus cor hinred Mumain leo. Ro brisedar, dna, Ciairgi cath forthu, du idrocair Tomar Cind Crete. Ro brisedar, dna, Ua Fathaig ocus O Oengusa cath ele forthu. Ro brisidar Connachta dna, for longfer Lumnig cath ele.

Hacon and Cossanara take Waterford.

Defeated by the Ciarraighe.

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[1] *These were also.* Da rocradar sain uile beos, L., "all these were killed together."

[2] *Were slaughtered.* Lit. "a slaughter was put upon Ragnall's son, &c." Ar mor, B., "a great slaughter." L. adds oc Athcliath, "at Ath Cliath," i.e., Dublin.

[3] *Aedh, son of Niall.* L. reads, "Aed Finnliath Mac Neill:" but B. has la hAedo ua Neill, "by Aedh O'Neill," which is clearly wrong.

[4] *Of Ath Cliath.* In Athcliath, L., "at Ath Cliath."

[5] *Barith.* The same person who is called *Baraid*, at the beginning of this chapter, and who appears to have been the Commander of the *Fair* Gentiles, as Ragnall's son was of the *Black* Gentiles.

[6] *Wounded.* L. adds, ocus ba bacach riam iarsain he, "and he was lame ever after that." Gur ba bacach iarum da esse, B., "so that he was lame ever after."

[7] *A battle.* L. reads "The black Gentiles after this were driven out of Erinn, and went to Alba (Scotland) where they gained a battle over the men of Alba, in which were slain Constantine, son of Cinaedh, chief king of Alba, and a great many with him." See the original, App. A. B. omits the clause, "in which fell Constantine, &c., and many with him."

[8] *Under the men.* Fo cosaib fer nAlbain, B., "under the feet of the men of Alba."

[9] *Forty years.* There is probably a mistake in this number. See Introduction.

[10] *Haconn.* This is the reading of L.

to Corcumruadh and Leim-Conchulainn. These were also[1] killed by the men of Erinn. After this Ragnall's son and the foreigners were slaughtered[2] by Aedh, son of Niall,[3] at the banquet that was made for Ragnall's son of Ath Cliath.[4] A battle was fought between themselves, viz., between the Fair Gentiles and the Black Gentiles, that is to say, between Barith[5] and Ragnall's son, in which fell Ragnall's son and many with him; but Barith was wounded[6] there. And they gained a battle[7] over the men of Alba, wherein fell Constantine, son of Cinaeth, chief king of Alba, and many with him. It was on that occasion that the earth burst open under the men[8] of Alba.

A cessation of invasions for forty years, ending A.D. 916.

XXVI. Now, however, there was some rest to the men of Erinn for a period of forty years,[9] without ravage of the foreigners: viz., from the reign of Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, to the year before the death of Flann, son of Maelseachlainn, and the accession to the throne of Niall Glundubh. It was then that Erinn became again filled with the fleets of the foreigners. It was then came a fleet under Haconn[10] and under Cossa-Nara,[11] and seized on Loch da Caech, and Mumhain was plundered by them. The Ciarraighe then defeated them in a battle, where fell Thomas Cinn Crete.[12] The Ui Fathaigh,[13] also, and the Ui Oenghusa defeated them in another battle. The men of Connacht also gained another battle over the fleet of

Hacon and Cossanara take Waterford.

Defeated by the Ciarraighe.

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and B. which has been adopted, instead of *Cond*, the reading of D.

[11] *Cossa-Nara.* Coɣanaṛṛa, B. The Annals, although they notice this invasion of Loch da Chaech, or Waterford harbour, do not give the names of the leaders.

[12] *Thomas Cinn Crete.* Dr. O'Donovan suggests, that Cenn Crede may be the place called *Credan head*, barony of Galtier, east of county Waterford, where the Danes had a settlement; and that Thomas of Cenn Crete was a Dane of that place, who seems from his name to have been a Christian. B. omits the whole passage, Ro bṛiɣeɗaṛ ɗna Ciaiṛgi [so in D., but read Ciaṛṛaiɡe] caṫ ꝼoṛṫu, 7c., to O Oenɡuɣa caṫ eʟe ꝼoṛṫu, inclusive; substituting only Ɗa b̈ṛiɣeṫṫaṛ uaṫaɗ caṫ ꝼoṛṛa, which is evidently wrong.

[13] *Ui Fathaigh.* The inhabitants of Iffa and Offa, county Tipperary. The Ui Oenghusa were the descendents of Oenghus Mac Nadfraidh, king of Munster, who was killed A.D. 489 (Four M., where see Dr. O'Donovan's note).

Ro bṛiṡeḋaṛ ḋna Ciaṛaigi ocuṡ Coṛcuuaiṡcin caṫ ele ḟoṛṛu ic Lemain, ḋu iḋṛoc̆aiṛ Rolt Puḋaṛill, ocuṡ tṛi ceṫ umi, ocuṡ Muṛaill.

The fleet of Dublin under the children of Ivor.

XXVII. Tanic iaṛṡin ṛig longeṡ aḋbul moṛ clainni Imaiṛ innAṫ Cliaṫ; ocuṡ ṛo hinṛeḋ uṛmoṛ Eṛenḋ uli leo, ocuṡ ṛo loteḋ leo am Aṛḋmac̆a; ocuṡ ṛo bṛiṡiḋaṛ caṫ ḟoṛ Flanḋ mac Mailṡeclainn ḋu i ḋṛoc̆aiṛ Aeḋ mac Concubaiṛ, ocuṡ Leṛgus mac Cṛonecan epṡcop Cilli Ḋaṛa, ocuṡ Ḋonc̆aḋ mac Mailḋuin abb Ḋelga;

Synchronisms of the war.

i. in bliaḋain ṛo maṛbaḋ Mailṡeclainn iṡ í bliaḋain; ocuṡ ṛo haiṛgeḋ ocuṡ ṛo loṡceḋ Laeṡ Moṛ la mac Imaiṛ, ocuṡ ṛo haiṛgeḋ Cluain Uama; ocuṡ ṛo maṛbaḋ Feṛgal mac Finac̆ta epṡcop ocuṡ abb Cluana, ocuṡ Uanan mac Ceṛin in ṡecnop. Iṡ ṡí ṡin ḟoṡ bliaḋain aṛ maṛbaḋ Ḋonnc̆aḋ mac Ḋuibḋaḃoṛenḋ ṛí Caṡṡil, ocuṡ Ṡitṛiuc ṛí gall, ocuṡ ḋa ṛonṡaṫ iṛgala imḋa ele ṛe laigniḃ iṡin bliaḋain. Ceṫṛi bliaḋna iaṛṡin ṛo ḟacṡaṫ gaill Eṛinḋ, ocuṡ loṫṫaṛ in Albain im Ṡitṛiuc mac Imaṛ.

The foreigners invade Scotland.

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[1] *Corcobhaiscinn*, now *Corkovascin*. A people in Thomond, south-west of the county Clare. Lemhain [pron. *Levan*] or Lanne, is a river falling into the Lower Lake of Killarney. B. reads, Ro b̆ṛiṡeṫṫaṛ Connac̆ta caṫ ḟoṛ loingeṡṡ Luimniġ, ocuṡ ḋo b̆ṛiṡeṫṫaṛ Ciaṛṛaiġe ocuṡ Coṛcab̆iaṡcinḋ caṫ ele ḟoṛṛae ag Lemain: "The Connaught men gained a battle over the fleet of Limerick, and the Kerry men and Corcobhaiscinn another battle over them at the Lemain." L. makes the victors in this battle to be the Eoghanachts [of Killarney], and the Corcoduibhne [now Corkaguinny, in Kerry], instead of the Ciarraighe and Corcobhaiscinn

[2] *Rolt Pudarill.* These names, as given in D., seem intended to denote a single chieftain. B. and L. speak evidently of more than one. B. gives their names Rot, Pudrall, and Smurall: ḋu i ṫṫoṛcoiṛ Rot Puḋṛall ocuṡ Smuṛall, ocuṡ tṛi ceḋ amaille ḟṛiu: "In which fell Rot Pudrall and Smurall, and 300 along with them." L. has Ascalt, Putrall, and Smurull. See Appendix A. These names do not occur in the Annals.

[3] *Pillaged.* B. reads ṛo loiṡcceaḋ, "was burned."

[4] *Son of Cronecan.* Lorgus Mac Cronegain, B. Lergus Mac Crundmael, L. Lergus Mac Cruinden, Four M. (A.D. 885). Lergus Mac Cruinnein, Ann. Ult. (A.D. 887).

[5] *Mac Maelduin.* Donnchadh Mael, L. Donnchadh Mac Maeleduin, B. and Four M., with the inflection or genitive, in both parts of the compound name. He is called Abbot of *Dun Delga* (abb Ḋuin Ḋelcca), in B., and of *Cill Delga*, in Four M. and Ult. The place intended is now Killdalkey, county Meath. After the word Ḋelcca,

Luimneach. Moreover, the Ciarraighe and the Corcobhaiscinn[1] gained another battle over them at Lemain; in which fell Rolt Pudarill,[2] and three hundred with him, and Muraill.

XXVII. After this came the prodigious royal fleet of the children of Imhar to Ath Cliath; and the greater part of all Erinn was plundered by them; Ard Macha, also, was pillaged[3] by them; and they gained a battle over Flann, son of Maelsechlainn, in which fell Aedh, son of Conchobhar, and Lergus, son of Cronecan,[4] bishop of Cill Dara, and Donchadh, son of Maelduin,[5] abbot of Delga; viz., the year in which Maelsechlainn[6] was killed was the year; and Lis-mor was plundered and burned by the son of Imhar, and Cluain Uamha plundered, and Fergal, son of Finachta, bishop and abbot of Cluain[7] killed, as well as Uanan, son of Cerin, the prior.[8] This was also the year in which were killed Donnchadh, son of Duibhdabhorenn, king of Cassel, and Sitriuc, king of the foreigners[9]; and they fought many other battles against the Laighen this year.[10] Four years after this[11] the foreigners left Erinn, and went to Alba under Sitriuc, son of Imhar.

The fleet of Dublin under the children of Ivor.

Synchronisms of the war.

The foreigners invade Scotland.

B. begins a new paragraph. In bliadain ro marbad Maelsechlainn isin sin in bliadain, &c.: "The year Maelsechlainn was killed was the same year in which Lismore," &c.

[6] *Maelsechlainn.* L. reads, "the year in which *this* Maelsechlain was killed." There is evidently some error which has caused a confusion in the Chronology—for Maelsechlainn died [and was not killed] on Tuesday, the 30th November, A.D. 863 (860 of the Four M. Comp. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 434), upwards of twenty years before the events here recorded. See App. A., and note.

[7] *Of Cluain.* B. omits Cluana. The Four M. (A.D. 885), call him abbot [not abbot and bishop] of *Cluain Uamha.* L. reads also Cluana uama, Cloyne, not Clonmacnois.

[8] *Prior.* Secnop [Secnap, B. Secnabb, L.], lit. "sub-abbot." The Four M. call him priúir, "prior," (A.D. 885.) His name is variously given Uanan Mac Cernin, B. Uanan Cerin, L. Uamanán Mac Cérén, Four M.

[9] *Sitriuc, King of the foreigners.* Sitriucc mac rig Gall, B., "son of the king of the foreigners." Siugrad mac Imair ri Gall, L. "Siugrad, son of Imar, king of the foreigners." The Annals of Ulster (A.D. 887), have "Sichfrith Mac Imair, rex Nordmannorum a fratre suo per dolum occisus est."

[10] *This year.* Isin bliadain ceona, B., "in the same year."

[11] *After this.* B. omits iarsin, "after this." L. omits altogether this clause, recording the invasion of Scotland.

Ragnall and Ottir land at Waterford Bay with innumerable hordes.

XXVIII. Tanic, imorro, iarsin tola mor diarmiṫi re Ragnall hua nImair, ocus re hOttir iarla cor gabsat ar Loč Dačaeich, ocus ro marbad leo Domnall mac Dunchada rigdomna Cassil, ocus ro hinrit Muscraigi ocus Ui Carpri, ocus ro roinset etorro itrí iarsin .i. a trian i Corcaig, ocus a trian i nInis na hEdnigi, ocus a trian ic Glais Lind, ocus ro hinred Mumain uli leo sin, gu na rabi teag na teni o lui fodes. In bliadain renec Flaind mic Mailseclainn sin. Is leis in longisin, dna, ro marbad Gebennač mac Aeda rig Ua Conaill, ocus rucsat a cend leo ar na marbad, conid de asbert in filid—

Mor in scel a Dé do nim,
A beiṫ ic muintir Tomair,
Fegaid uaib cend rig Gabra
Mind amra irṫair domain.

A.D. 916. IS leo sin ro marbad Anle mac Caṫail ri Uaṫni Fidbaig, ocus Longseač mac Setna ri Uaṫni Tiri.

For ṡacsat here, and in many other places, (see p. 24, lines 18, 19,) D. reads acsat, omitting the quiescent initial ṡ. So also deraib for dṡeraib (p. 26, line 7.)

[1] *Ragnall.* The arrival of a great fleet of foreigners at Loch dá Caech [Waterford], is recorded by the Four M., A.D. 912 (Ann. Ult. 913); and they are called "the foreigners of Loch dá Caech," Ann. Ult. 914, 915. The Four M. (A.D. 915), and Ann. Ult. (A.D. 916), speak of the fleet under Ragnall, as having come to reinforce a previously established settlement at Loch dá Caech. But neither of these authorities mention the Earl Ottir, who is called *Oifir* in B: le Raġnall ó nIoṁair ocus le hOifir iarla. D. spells the name httir, omitting o, probably by an error of the scribe. The Saxon Chron. mentions an Earl "*Ohter*," slain A.D. 910. For tola móṙ diarmite (tola móṙ diairṁe, B.) "innumerable hordes," L. reads móṙ cobłaċ, "a great fleet."

[2] *Domhnall, son of Donnchadh.* B. omits this name.

[3] *Afterwards.* A tri iad, B., "they separated into three." Ra scailset iarsain, L., "they separated afterwards."

[4] *Inis na hEdnighi.* Inis na hEiḋnigi, B. Inis na hEidaigi, L. This place is in the county Kerry, now called Iny.

[5] *From Lui.* O laoi, B. O lui, L. and D., meaning, no doubt, the river Lee.

[6] *The year.* B. reads in bliaḋain re nécc Floinn mic Maoiłeċłainn: "There was not a house or a hearth from the Lee southwards, in the year before the death of Flann, son of

XXVIII. Afterwards came innumerable hordes under Ragnall,[1] grandson of Imar, and the Earl Ottir, and they landed at Loch dá Caech; and Domhnall, son of Donnchadh,[2] heir apparent of Caisel, was killed by them: and they plundered Muscraighe and Ui Cairpre; and they afterwards[3] separated into three parties; one-third settled in Corcach, and one-third in Inis na hEdnighi,[4] and one-third in Glas-Linn; and the whole of Munster was ravaged by them, so that there was not a house or a hearth from Lui[5] southward. This was the year[6] before the death of Flann, son of Maelsechlainn. It was also by that fleet that Gebennach, son of Aedh, king of Ui Conaill,[7] was killed, and they carried away his head after killing him. Wherefore the poet[8] said— Ragnall and Ottir land at Waterford Bay with innumerable hordes.

> Great is the pity, O God of heaven,
> That the people of Tomar should have it!
> Behold the head of Gabhra's king is taken from you!
> Illustrious gem of the west of the world!

It was by them were killed Anle,[9] son of Cathal, king of Uaithne-Fidhbhaigh, and Loingsech, son of Setna, king of Uaithne-Thiri. A.D. 916.

Maelsechlainn." This clause is omitted in L.

[7] *King of Ui Conaill:* i.e., of the Ui Conaill Gabhra, or barony of Conelloe, west of county Limerick. The Four M. call him king of the Ui Fidhgeinte (A.D. 914), which is not a real difference. For the relation between the Ui Conaill Gabhra and the Ui Fidhgeinte, see Dr. O'Donovan's notes, *Leabhar na gCeart*, pp. 67, 76.

[8] *The poet.* B. omits, ιn ꝼιlιꝺ. In line 2 of the quatrain, B. reads Ꝺ bιꞇh ag; and L. Ꝺ beιꞇ oc Thomaιꝛ. Line 3 in L. is illegible, but in B. is thus given, Ꝼegaιꝺ lιḃ cenꝺ ꝛιg Ꝫaḃꝛa glaιn, "behold the head of bright Gabhra's king is taken from you." Ꝫaꝛba, D., for which Ꝫabꝛa is substituted from B. "Muinter Tomair;" the people or family of Tomar, a name given to the Danes of Dublin. See the Poem quoted by the Four M., A.D. 942; and Dr. O'Donovan's Pref. to the *Book of Rights*, p. xxxvi, *sq.* Line 4, ιaꝛꞇaιꝛ, B., which is more correct.

[9] *Anle.* B. reads, Ꝺιnꝺle mac Caꞇaιl ꝛí uaιꞇne tιꝛe, omitting the notice of Loingsech, by an error of transcription. Uaithne-Fidhbaigh, called also Uaithne-Cliach (now Owney beg), is a barony north-east of the county Limerick. Uaithne-Tire (now Owney), is an adjoining barony, county Tipperary. Anle, is called son of "*Cathan*, not *Cathal*, in L.; Four M. (A.D. 914), and Ann. Ult. (A.D. 915–16).

An extraordinary slaughter of the foreigners, at Dunmain, A.D. 869.

XXIX. Ro toglaḋ ḋna, Ḋun Main iniarṫur Erenḋ, ocus ro cureḋ ar ḋermair ḋiasnesi for Gallaib anḋ la Coinligan mac Mailcroin, ocus la hEoganaċt Laċa Lein, ocus re Flanḋabrat Ua nḊunaḋaig, ri Ua Connaill, ocus re Congalaċ mac Laċtna ri Ciaraigi, ocus la iartur Erenḋ ar cena. Is si sin bliaḋain idrocair Colṗin i Cinḋ Curraig, ocus ro baṫeḋ Baeṫbarr. Is si sin bliaḋain ro airg Amlaib mac rig Loċlann Laes Mor; ocus ro loisc Foenteran mac Ḋrogneaṅ, ocus Fir Mugi leis, longport Amlaib re naiḋċi inḋ, ocus ro mairb a braṫair fein iarsin .i. Osill, ocus ba mirbuli ḋo Muċuḋu sin. Is si sin bliaḋain, imorro, ro brir Conċubar mac Taiḋg ri Conaċt, ocus Aeḋ Finḋliaṫ mac Neill Cailli caṫ ele fortu .i. caṫ Cilli ua nḊaigri, ḋu idrocair .u. cet ḋo na Finḋgentib, ḋu inḋrocair mac Connaing ri Bremage aroen riu, ocus Ḋiarmait mac Eterscеoil ri Laċa Gabair .i. se bliaḋna iarnec Mailseclainḋ mic Mailruanaiḋ. Is ar sin ḋo rigni ingen Neill .i. siur Aeḋa ocus maṫair Flainḋ,

Battle of Cell Ua nDaighre, A.D. 869.

Surran, ḋurran, ḋegscel, ḋroċscel
Maiḋm caṫa ruaiḋ remaig,
Surran rig ḋo rigni failiḋ
Ḋurran ri forsar maig.

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[1] *Demolished.* B. reads, Ro toġlaḋ leo Ḋun Maine, "Dunmaine was demolished by them;" and for "west of Ireland," a marginal note suggests an iarṫar Muṁain, "west of Munster."

[2] *Indescribable.* B. omits ḋiasnesi, and reads, ár mór ḋermair, "a great, enormous slaughter."

[3] *Dunadhach.* D. reads, "Ua Dunardaigh:" an error which has been corrected from B. Comp. Four M., A.D. 833, 834; Ann. Ult. 834.

[4] *With him.* B. reads, Fir Muiġi mailli rir. This defeat of Amlaff and Oisill, at Lismore, seems to be the same that was mentioned above, chap. xxiv.; where mention is also made of the death of Colphin, and the drowning of Baethbarr.

[5] *Own brother*: i.e., Amhlaibh's own brother.

[6] *Mochuda.* St. Mochuda; the patron saint of Lismore. The victory is ascribed to his miraculous aid.

[7] *Connacht.* B. reads, Ciannachta, which is evidently wrong. See the Four M. (A.D. 866), and Dr. O'Donovan's notes.

[8] *Five hundred.* B. reads, .ix.c, "nine hundred." It appears from the account given by the Four M., that this was

XXIX. Dun Main, in the west of Erinn, was demolished,[1] and an extraordinary and indescribable[2] slaughter of the foreigners was effected there by Conligan, son of Maelcron, and the Eoganachts of Loch Lein, and by Flannabrat, grandson of Dunadach,[3] king of Ui Conaill; and by Congalach, son of Lachtna, king of Ciarraighe; and by the whole west of Erinn. This was the year in which Colphinn fell at Cenn Curraigh, and Baethbarr was drowned. This was the year in which Amlaibh, son of the king of Lochlainn plundered Leas Mor; and Foenteran, son of Drognean, and the Fir Muighi with him,[4] burned Amlaibh's camp before night in revenge, and he killed his own brother[5] after that, viz., Osill; and these were the miracles of Mochuda.[6] This was the year, also, in which Conchobhar, son of Tadhg, king of Connacht,[7] and Aedh Finnliath, son of Niall Caille, gained another battle over them, viz., the battle of Cell ua nDaighre, in which fell five hundred[8] of the fair Gentiles; where fell the son of Conang, king of Bregh-Magh, along with them, and Diarmait, son of Eidirscel, king of Loch Gabhair, six years after the death of Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh. It was upon it[9] that Niall's daughter,[10] i.e., the sister of Aedh, and mother of Flann, composed *these lines*:—

An extraordinary slaughter of the foreigners, at Dunmain, A.D. 869.

Battle of Cell Ua nDaighre, A.D. 869.

Joy! woe! good news! bad news!
The defeat of a bloody battle by him,
Joy to the king who won, let him rejoice!
Sorrow to the king who was defeated!

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really a battle between Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, and Flann, son of Conang, king or lord of Bregia; the Finngaill, or Fair Gentiles, acting as auxiliaries to the latter.

[9] *Upon it:* i.e., upon the battle.

[10] *Niall's daughter.* The mother of Flann, king of Bregh-magh, or Bregia, who fell in the battle, was the sister of Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, and daughter of Niall Caille; so that Flann was fighting against his uncle on the side of the Norsemen. The verses here quoted, as the composition of Flann's mother, are given in the Leabhar Gabhala of the O'Clerys (p. 204), and also in the Four M. From these copies we gather the following various readings: *Line* 2, Remaig) Roimid, B. Raenaig, Four M. and L. Gabh. *Line* 3, do figni failid) dia ndearna faoilid, Four M. and L. Gabh. *Line* 4, forfar maig) forf foemid, B., Four M. and L. Gabh.

Raghnall and Ottir slain in Scotland, A.D. 916.

Ro innarbait iarsin tra asin Mumain, ocus ḋacuatar in nAlbain, ocus tucsat cat̆ [do] Constantin mac Aeda .i. do rig Alban, ocus ro marbait aroen and, .i. Ragnall ocus Otir, ocus ár a muntiri leo.

Arrival of Sitriuc, grandson of Imar.

Battle of Cenn Fuait, A.D. 916.

XXX. In bliaḋain ro gab̆ Niall Glunub̆ riğe nErend sin, tanic, dna, longes ele la Sitriuc ua nImar cor gabsat i Cind Fuait, ocus ro hinrit Lagin leo, ocus ro rainset cat̆ for Ugairi mac Aillella .i. for ri Lagen, du indroc̆air baidein ocus Maelmorda mac Mureigean ri iart̆ir Lip̆e, ocus Mug[róin mac Ceinneittiğ ri Laiğse, ocus na tri Comann, ocus Cionaet̆ mac Tuat̆ail riğ O nEneclais, ocus Maelmaeḋoc mac Diarmata ab Glinne Uisen, ocus airdesprug Laiğen, ocus sai eccna na nGaoiḋel, ocus se c̆et araen riu, im caeccat riğ. Ro haircced Cell Dara leo ar sin, acus urm̆or cell nErenn.

Kildare plundered.

Sitriuc, the blind, takes Dublin.

XXXI. Tainic iarsin riğloinges adbal mor la Sitriucc, ocus la cloinn Im̆air, .i. la Sitriucc caec̆ ua nIom̆air, gur gabsat ar eiccin i nDuib̆linn At̆a Cliat̆, ocus do ronsat forbaisi ann. Do ronaḋ dna moirt̆ionól Leit̆e Cuinn la Niall Glundub̆ mac Aoḋa], co tuc cat̆ doib ic At̆ Cliat̆ du indrocair Niall baiside

The battle of Dublin, A.D. 919.

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[1] *Banished.* For ro innarbat iarsin tra asin Mumain, B. reads, do marbaḋ tra sin uile isin Muṁain, "they were all killed then in Mumhain," which is inconsistent with what follows, that they went into Scotland.

[2] *Into Albain.* L. omits the whole of this chapter except the concluding paragraph beginning with these words. See Appendix A. And it is evident that this paragraph is out of its place in the text, and ought to be read in continuation of the preceding chapter, for it was the fleet of Loch da Caech (Waterford bay), there mentioned, that went into Scotland under the command of Raghnall and Ottir, and were defeated by Constantine III., in or about A.D. 916. See Four M., *in anno*, and Keating, p. 623. B. transposes the words, In bliaḋain ro gab̆ Niall Glunub̆ [read, Glundub̆] riġi nErend sin, giving them after Sitriuc ua nImar. The meaning is the same.

[3] *A battle.* The Ann. Ult., Four M., and Keating, state distinctly that this battle was fought at Cenn Fuait: but Keating makes Imar (not the grandson of Imar), the leader of the foreigners on the occasion.

[4] *Western Life.* D. and Keating read, iart̆air Life, "western Liffey." But the Ann. Ult., Leab. Gabh., Four M., and B., read airt̆ir, "eastern," which is probably correct.

[5] *Mughron.* The remainder of this

They were afterwards banished[1] from Mumhain, and went into Albain[2]; and they gave battle to Constantine, son of Aedh, king of Albain, in which both were killed, viz., Raghnall and Otir, and their people slaughtered with them.

Raghnall and Ottir slain in Scotland, A.D. 916.

XXX. The same year in which Niall Glundubh became monarch of Erinn there came another fleet with Sitriuc, grandson of Imar, and they settled at Cenn Fuait; and Laighin was plundered by them, and they gained a battle[3] over Ugaire, son of Ailill, king of Laighin, in which he himself was killed, and Maelmordha, son of Muireigean, king of western Lifé,[4] and Mugh[roin,[5] son of Cenneidigh, king of Laighis and of the three Comanns, and Cionaeth, son of Tuathal, king of O nEnechlais, and Maelmaedhog, son of Diarmaid, abbot of Glenn Uisen and archbishop of Laighin, a learned sage of the Gaedhil, and six hundred with them, together with fifty kings. Cell Dara was then plundered by them, and the greater part of the churches of Erinn.

Arrival of Sitriuc, grandson of Imar.

Battle of Cenn Fuait, A.D. 916.

Kildare plundered.

XXXI. There came after that an immense royal fleet with Sitriuc and the children of Imar, i.e., Sitriuc, the blind,[6] grandson of Imar; and they forcibly landed[7] at Dubhlinn of Ath Cliath, and made an encampment there. The great muster of Leth Cuinn[8] was made by Niall Glundubh, son of Aedh,] and he gave them battle at Ath Cliath,[9] where Niall fell, who was[10] the monarch of Erinn, and

Sitriuc, the blind, takes Dublin.

The battle of Dublin, A.D. 919.

chapter, (after the first syllable of this word,) and the first five lines of the next, as marked by brackets in the text, are wanting in D., owing to the loss of a portion of a leaf in the MS. The deficiency is supplied from B.

[6] *Sitriuc, the blind.* Called Sitriuc Gále (ʒále) in the L. Gabh. (p. 210), and by the Four M. (A.D. 817). He is expressly called grandson of Imar, and therefore was probably the same as the Sitriuc, grandson of Imar, who settled at Cenn Fuait, as mentioned in the foregoing chapter.

[7] *Forcibly landed.* The Four M. give 836, as the date of the first occupation of Dublin by the foreigners. In the interval the Irish may have recovered possession.

[8] *Leth Cuinn.* See p. 8, note 7.

[9] *At Ath Cliath.* The Ann. Ult. (A.D. 918–19), and Four M. (917), tell us that this battle was fought on Wednesday, 17 Kal. Oct. [not 17 Oct., as Dr. O'Donovan has printed it], and that Easter fell that year on the 7 Kal. of May. These criteria, as O'Flaherty remarks (*Ogyg.* p. 434), determine the year to be 919.

[10] *Who was.* Ꝺuꝺeiꞅin aiꞃꝺꞃi Eꞃenn, B. a difference of spelling only.

Niall Glundubh, and twelve other kings slain.

ardri Erend, ocus da ri dec do rigaib Erend umi .i. Niall baden, ocus Concubar mac Mailseclaind, rigdomna Temrac̆, ocus Conaing mac Flaind ridomna Erend, ocus Flait̆bertac̆ mac Domnaill ri[domna] eile Erend, ocus Aed mac Eoc̆ada ri Ulad, ocus Mailmit̆ig mac Flannugan ri Breg, ocus Erimon mac Cendneitig flait̆ Ceneil Mani, ocus Congalac̆ mac Celi ri Ua Macuais, ocus Congalac̆ mac Dremain ri Crimt̆aine, Maelmuri mac Anbita ri Mugornd, ocus Deocan mac Domnaill ri Cianac̆ta, ocus Dunan mac Cerballan, ocus Brenan mac Fergusa, ocus urmor mat̆i Let̆i Cuind aroen riu sin, ocus sluag diairmit̆i ele.

Gothrin plunders Armagh, A.D. 921.

Defeat of the foreigners at Tigh-Mic-Deic-thig.

XXXII. Ro hinred, dna, tuascert Erend re Gothrin mac Imar iarsin, ocus ro hairged Ardmac̆a. Cid tra ac̆t taris forrt̆o son in cat̆ sin, fomam Tomais re cend mbliadna; daig ro bris Donc̆ad mac Mailseclaind cat̆ fort̆o som iarsin ic Tig Mic Deict̆ig, ocus

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[1] *Himself.* Fodein, B. The kings who fell with Niall in this battle are differently enumerated in the authorities; and, except in D., the number *twelve* is not retained. Conchobhar, son of Maelsechnaill (as in B., D., and Keat.) is termed *grandson* of Maelsechnaill, by the Ann. Ult., L. Gabh., and Four M. Aedh, son of Eochadh, is called son of Eochagan, by L. Gabh., Four M., and Keat. Eremhon, son of Cennedigh, is called *Cromman*, son of Cennedigh, in L. Gabh. and Four M.; but his name, with all that follow, is omitted in Ann. Ult. L. Gabh. and Four M. mention him, but omit all that follow him. B., although retaining the statement that *twelve* kings were slain, names *fifteen*, (see note [4],) agreeing in other respects with the text, except that Dunan, son of Cerbhallan, is called *Diman;* Conaing, son of Flann, is called *Conchobhair;* Congalach, son of Dreman, is called son of *Dremnan.*

[2] *Heir apparent.* B. adds ele, "another."

[3] *Erinn.* Om., B. D. reads, ri eile, "another king," instead of rigdomna eile, B., "another heir apparent."

[4] *King of Bregh.* After this name B. inserts, ocus Maeldub ri Airgiall, Maelcraibi mac Doilgein, ocus Ceallach mac Faġartaiġ ri deisceirt Breġ: "And Maeldubh, king of Airgiall" [Maelcroibhe Ua Dubhsionaigh, lord of Oirghiall, Leab. Gabh., Four M., and Keat. Maelcraibi Mac Dubhsionaigh king of Airghiall, Ann. Ult.] "Maelcrabi, son of Doilgen" [L. Gabh. and Four M. add, ri Tortan, king of Tortan], "and Ceallach, son of Faghartach, king of south Bregia." [Tigearna deisceirt Breg, "lord of south Bregia," L. Gabh., and Four M.]. This interpolation increases the list of slain kings to fifteen instead of twelve. It was probably taken by the transcriber from

twelve kings of the kings of Erinn along with him, viz., Niall himself[1]; and Conchobhar, son of Maelsechlainn, heir apparent of Temhair; and Conaing, son of Flann, heir apparent[2] of Erinn; and Flaithbhertach, son of Domhnall, another heir apparent of Erinn[3]; and Aedh, son of Eochaidh, king of Uladh; and Maelmithigh, son of Flannagan, king of Bregh[4]; and Eremhon, son of Cennedigh, chief[5] of Cenel Mani; and Congalach, son of Cele, king of Ua Macuais[6]; and Congalach, son of Dreman, king of Crimhthainn; Maelmuire, son of Ainbith, king of Mugornn;[7] and Deochan, son of Domhnall, king of Cianachta; and Dunan, son of Cerbhallan; and Brenan, son of Fergus; and the greater part of the nobles[8] of Leth Cuinn with them, and a countless army besides. Niall Glundubh, and twelve other kings slain.

XXXII. The north of Erinn, also, was plundered by Gothrin,[9] son of Imar after that, and Ard Macha was spoiled. Notwithstanding, however, that this battle was gained over them, Tomais[10] submitted before the end of a year; for Donnchadh, son of Maelsechlainn,[11] gained a battle over them at Tigh-Mic-Deicthig,[12] and it was im- Gothrin plunders Armagh, A.D. 921. Defeat of the foreigners at Tigh-Mic-Deicthig.

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the Leabhar Gabhala, and inserted without regard to the number.

[5] *Chief.* D. reads, 7 flaiṫ, "and the chief," but the 7, "and," is probably a mistake of the scribe for .i. "i.e."

[6] *King of Ua Macuais.* Flaiṫ o ua mac Cuais, B., "prince of [or from] the tribe of Mac Cuais."

[7] *Mugornn.* Muġoṙn, B., which is more correct.

[8] *Nobles.* B. omits maṫi, and reads, uṙṁoṙ Leiṫe Cuinn uile ar aen ṙiṙ, ocuṙ ṙluaġ oiṙiṁe aṙċena: "The greater part of all Leth Cuinn along with him, and an innumerable army likewise."

[9] *Gothrin.* B. reads, Goṙṙaiġ ua nImaṙ, "Gofraigh, grandson of Imar," which is confirmed by the Four M., who call him Goffraith, grandson of Imar, and date the spoiling of Armagh 919, "on Saturday, the day before St. Martin's festival" [not "the Saturday before," as Colgan and Dr. O'Donovan translate it]. It follows that 921 must have been the true year.

[10] *Tomais.* So in both MSS.; but it seems evident that *Tamar* or *Tomar*, the chieftain mentioned in the next chapter, was intended.

[11] *Son of Maelsechlainn.* So in both MSS.; but it ought to be *grandson*, for Donnchadh, king of Ireland, who succeeded Niall Glundubh, was son of Flann Sionna, and grandson of Maelsechlainn. The L. Gabh. and Four M. say, that the battle here described took place in the first year of Donnchadh's reign. If so, it must have been in 919, two years before the sacking of Armagh by Gothrin or Goffrey. There is, therefore, some confusion.

[12] *Tigh-Mic-Deicthig.* "In Cianachta Bregh, i.e., Tigh-Mic-nEathach," Four

ro femeɗ a airium anɗ ar marbaɗ ɗo gallaib. Ɗaig ni mo na lin inninsi scel ɗo cuaiɗ leo as ɗo gallaib.

Tamar, son of Elge, at Inis Sibhtonn, A.D. 922.

XXXIII. Tanic iarsin Tamar mac Elgi rig longes aɗbalmor; gor gab ar Inis Sibtonɗ [ar cuan Luimnig̃, ocus ro hinɗraɗ urm̃or Mum̃an leo ass eitir c̃ealla ocus tuat̃a. Lorcan mac Conligain ba ri Caisil an tan sin.

The churches of Loch Derg, the Shannon, and Lough Ree plundered, also west Meath and south Connacht, A.D. 922.

XXXIV. Tainic iarsin cob̃lac̃ ar Loc̃ Ɗergɗerc, gur airgettar Inis Celtra, ocus ro baiɗ̃siot a scrine, ocus a mionna, ocus a liub̃ra, ocus ro airccsiot ɗna Muicinis Riagaill, ocus cella Ɗerccɗerc; ocus ro airccsiot Tir ɗa glas, ocus Lot̃ra, ocus Cluain Fertae, ocus Cluain mic Nois, ocus Inis Clot̃rann, ocus Inis bo finne, ocus cella Loc̃a Rib̃ arc̃ena; ocus iart̃air Mid̃e, ocus ɗeiscеirt Connac̃t, ocus ro marbsat Ɗuach ri Aid̃ne, ocus soc̃aid̃e ele, ocus ro siac̃tattar slán aris co Luimnec̃, gan cat̃ ocus gan cliathaɗ.

Is iaɗ sin airɗgniom̃artha cloinne Elgi ocus loingsi Aet̃a Cliat̃ hi Leit̃ Cuinɗ, ocus hi Laig̃nib̃. A ccreac̃a imorro, ocus a niorg̃ala, ocus a ccliat̃c̃a, ni ḟuilit hi ccuim̃ne, ocus ni hairimter hi leabraib̃.

History of the Danes in Munster.

XXXV. Imtusa imorro na Mum̃an ocus cloinne Im̃air inister sunn co leicc, ɗóig ro foɗaimsiot a naenar let̃ ɗoc̃air ocus ɗoc̃raite re hErinn uile.

Tanic ɗna Oitir ɗub̃ iarla, luc̃t .c. long co Port

M. The L. Gabh. says, "in Cianachta Bregh," without mentioning Tigh-Mic-nEathach. See Reeves, Adamnan, p. 110, note [h]. B. reads, Ɗóig ro brir Ɗonnchaɗ mac Maeilec̃lainn cat̃ forrae i ttaig̃ meic Nec̃taig̃ ocus ni ro cumaingsiot airem̃ ar marbaɗ ɗo Gallaib̃ ann: "For Donnchad, son of Maelsechlainn, gained a battle over them at Tigh meic nEchtaigh" [house of the son of Eochadh], "and it was not possible to count the number of the foreigners that was killed there."

[1] *Landed at.* For gor gab ar Inis, B. reads, in Inis. Inis Sibhtonn (now King's Island), is called by the Four M., *Inis Ubhdain*, which is only another form of the name (A.D. 965 and 969), but they make no mention of Tamar's settlement there. The Ann. Ult. (921–2) mention the fleet of Limerick under the son of Ailche [Ailgi. Four M. 920], as having plundered Clonmacnois and the islands of Loch Ree. See O'Donovan's *Book of Rights*, Introd. p. xli. After the words Inis Sibtonɗ, there occurs a considerable defect in D., which has been supplied from B. It extends from this place to the seventh line of chapter xxxvii., as indicated by the brackets in the text.

possible to count the number that was there killed of the foreigners. For of the foreigners not more than enough to tell what had happened escaped.

Tamar, son of Elge, at Inis Sibhtonn, A.D. 922.

XXXIII. After that came Tamar, son of Elge, king of an immense fleet, and landed at[1] Inis Sibhtonn, [in the harbour of Luimnech; and the chief part of Mumhain was ravaged by them, both churches and chieftainries. Lorcan, son of Conligan, was king of Caisel at that time.

The churches of Loch Derg, the Shannon, and Lough Ree plundered, also west Meath and south Connacht, A.D. 922.

XXXIV. There came after that a fleet on Loch Dergderc, and they plundered Inis Celtra, and they drowned its shrines, and its relicks, and its books; and they plundered Muc-Inis of Riagall[2] and the churches of Dergderc; and they plundered Tir-da-glas, and Lothra, and Cluain-Ferta, and Cluain-mic-nois, and Inis Clothrann, and Inis-bo-finne, and the churches of Loch Ribh, in like manner; and the west of Midhe and the south of Connacht; and they killed Duach, king of Aidhne,[3] and numbers of others; and they arrived safely again at Luimnech, without battle or conflict.

These were the mighty deeds[4] of the sons of Elge, and of the ships of Ath Cliath, in Leth Cuinn and in Laighin. But their plunders, and their battles, and their conflicts, are not fully in recollection, and are not enumerated in books.

History of the Danes in Munster.

XXXV. We proceed now to relate here the history of the [men of] Mumhain and of the sons of Imar, for they[5] alone sustained half the troubles and oppressions of all Erinn.

The Earl, Oiter Dubh,[6] came with an hundred ships to

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[2] *Muc-Inis of Riaghall:* i.e., the Hog Island of St. Riaghall or Regulus. For a curious series of errors about this island, see Dr. O'Donovan's valuable note, Four M., A.D. 743, p. 345.

[3] *Duach, King of Aidhne.* This is probably the same person who is called by the Four M. "Maol mic Duaich, lord of Aidhne," and who they say was slain by the foreigners A.D. 920 [922].

[4] *The mighty deeds.* This summary marks the termination of a first part or division of the work, in which the author has collected whatever he could find recorded of the deeds of the pirates in all parts of Ireland. The remainder treats almost exclusively of their ravages in Munster.

[5] *For they:* i.e., the men of Mumhain or Munster.

[6] *Oiter Dubh*, Oiter or Otter, the Black. We have had mention in chapter xxviii., of the arrival of an Earl Otter, at Loch da Caech [Water-

Earl Otter the Black, arrives at Waterford.

Lairge, ocus ro hindraḋ leis airṫer Muman, ocus a deiscert, ocus ro ṫairḃir fo ċain, ocus fo ġeillsine gall uile iad, ocus ro ṫoccaiḃ a ċios rioġda forra. Do lionaḋ Muṁa uile do ṫola eradḃail, ocus do mur-bruċt diairmeisi long, ocus laiḋeng, ocus coḃlaċ, conaċ raiḃe cuan, na calaḋḟort, no dún, no daingen, no dingna i Muṁain uile gan loingeas Danmarccach ocus all-murach.

Names of the principal chieftains who invaded Munster.

XXXVI. Tainicc ann aṁ loinges Oiberd, ocus loinges Oduind, ocus loinges Griffin, ocus loinges Snuatgaire, ocus loinges Laġmuind, ocus loinges Eruilb, ocus loinges Sitriuċa, ocus loinges Buidnin, ocus loinges Birndin, ocus loinges Liagrislaċ, ocus loinges Toir-bearḋaiġ, ocus loinges Eoan Barun, ocus loinges Milid Buu, ocus loinges Suimin, ocus loinges Suainin, ocus loinges na hInġine Ruaiḋe fa ḋeoiġ. Cid tra aċt roraḋ nemni olc da ffuair Eire i naċfregaḋ uilc na feḋna sin.

The ravages committed by them in Munster.

Ro hindraḋ an Muṁu uile go coitcionn leo sin ar gaċ leṫ, ocus ro haircceḋ. Ocus ro sccaoilsiot fon Muṁain, ocus do ronaitt dúin, ocus daingne, ocus caladpuirt do Erinn uile, co na raiḃe ionad in Erinn gan loinges lionmar do ḋanmarccaċaiḃ, ocus dallmur-choiḃ ann; co ndernsat ferann creiċe, ocus cloidim, ocus forgaḃala go foirleṫan, ocus go coitċenn [di]; ocus ro airccsiot a tuaṫa, ocus a ccella cadais, ocus a neiṁeḋa, ocus ro sccaoilset a scrine, ocus a mionna, ocus a liubra. Ro dilaitriccsiot a ttemplu caeṁu cuṁdaċ-ta, doig ni raiḃe cadus, no onoir, no comairce, ag termonn, no anacal do ċill no do neiṁeḋ, do Dia, no

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ford harbour], who afterwards went to Scotland and was killed in battle there by Constantine III., A.D. 916 (chap. xxix., and note [2], p. 34). The Otter Dubh here mentioned settled at Port Lairge, another name for Waterford, and this naturally leads us to suspect that he is the same as the Earl Otter of chap. xxviii.

[1] *A Dún.* The words here used, *Dún*, *Daingen*, *Dingna*, all signify a fort or fortress. It is not easy to define the precise difference between them. *Dún*, is in Scotland *Doon;* in Wales, *Din;* in Gaulish, *dûnon;* Latinized, *dunum*, as in Lug-dunum, Augusto-dunum, &c.; in England, *ton*, *town*. It seems to signify a fortified hill or mound. *Daingen* (dungeon) is a walled fort or strong tower; hence *daingnigim*, I fortify.—*Dingna*, is apparently only another form of the same word. *Cf. Zeuss*, p. 30 n.

Port Lairge, and the east of Mumhain was plundered by him, and its south; and he put all under tribute and service to the foreigners; and he levied his royal rent upon them. The whole of Mumhain became filled with immense floods, and countless sea-vomitings of ships, and boats, and fleets, so that there was not a harbour, nor a landing-port, nor a Dún,[1] nor a fortress, nor a fastness, in all Mumhain, without fleets of Danes and pirates.[2]

Earl Otter the Black, arrives at Waterford.

XXXVI. There came there, also, the fleet of Oiberd, and the fleet of Oduinn, and the fleet of Griffin, and the fleet of Snuatgar, and the fleet of Lagmann, and the fleet of Erolf, and the fleet of Sitriuc, and the fleet of Buidnin, and the fleet of Birndin, and the fleet of Liagrislach, and the fleet of Toirberdach, and the fleet of Eoan Barun, and the fleet of Milid Buu, and the fleet of Suimin, and the fleet of Suainin, and lastly the fleet of the Inghen Ruaidh.[3] And assuredly the evil which Erinn had hitherto suffered was as nothing compared to the evil inflicted by these parties. The entire of Mumhain, without distinction, was plundered by them, on all sides, and devastated. And they spread themselves over Mumhain; and they built Dúns, and fortresses, and landing-ports, over all Erinn, so that there was no place in Erinn without numerous fleets of Danes and pirates; so that they made spoil-land, and sword-land, and conquered-land of her, throughout her breadth, and generally; and they ravaged her chieftainries, and her privileged churches, and her sanctuaries[4]; and they rent her shrines, and her reliquaries, and her books. They demolished her beautiful ornamented temples; for neither veneration, nor honour, nor mercy for Termonn,[5] nor protection for church, or for sanc-

Names of the principal chieftains who invaded Munster.

The ravages committed by them in Munster.

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[2] *Danes and pirates.* The words here used are Ɔanmaṙccach (Denmarkians), and allmuṙach, foreigners who come from beyond the sea, barbarians, pirates.

[3] *Inghen Ruaidh:* i.e., the red-haired maiden.

[4] *Sanctuaries.* Neimeɔ, a temple, a sanctuary (nemeɔ, *gl. sacellum.* Zeuss, p. 11, old Bret. nemet, *silva.* ib. p. 102, 186), glebe land. Gaulish, *nemeton.* See Petrie's *Eccles. Architect. of Ireland*, p. 58–64.

[5] *Termonn.* The Termonn lands were districts in connexion with the churches possessing the right of sanctuary and

do duine; ag an droing ghloinnmhir ghlifidigh geinntlidhe ainiarmartaigh ainiardha sin. Cidh tra acht go nairimthior gainemh mara, no fer for faithce,[1] no rettlanda nimhe, ni hursa a tuirioṁ, no a airemh, no a innisin, in ro fodhaimsiot gaoidhil uile co coitchionn; itir fioru, ocus mna, itir maca ocus ingena; ocus laocha ocus cleirchiu, etir saera ocus daera, etir sena ocus ócca; to thár ocus do tharchaissi, do dochar; ocus deccomhnart uaithibh. Cidh tra acht ro marbsat rioga, ocus taoisigh, rioghdamhna, ocus rioghflatha Erenn. Ro marbsat treoin, ocus treitill, ocus tren miledha; anraidh, ocus amsaigh, ocus oicctigeirn, ocus forccla lathgaile ocus gaisccidh na ngaoidhel uile; ocus ros tairbirsiot fo cháin, ocus fo gheillsine iad, ro daerait, ocus ro moghsanaigitt iatt. Mor tra do bhanntrachtaibh blaithe bithe, ocus dingenaibh maordha míne machdachta, ocus doccmnaibh suarca saera senga sulglasa, ocus do macaomaibh maerda morghlana; ocus do ghamhanraidh gharta ghníomhacha, ruccsat a ndocar, ocus i ndaire tar fairrge lethainglais leo. Uchán! ba hiomdha ocus ba minic gruadha glana glegarta go fliuch dersadhach dubhach doimhenmnach annsin, oc scarthain meic re hathair, ocus ingen le mathair, ocus brathar re cheile, ocus coibhnesta re a ccenel, ocus re a naicmi.

Victory of the Danes of Dublin, at the battle of Muine Broccain, A.D. 949.

XXXVII. IS re loingeas Atha Cliath fos, ocus cloinne Iomhair ro sraoineadh cath Muini Broccain,[2] du ittorchuir Ruaidri o Canandáin rí Tíre Conuill, ocus ri Erenn iar ffoirinn ele, ocus maithe in tuaisceirt leis .i. triocha bliadhain iar marbadh Neill Glundubh leó. Di bliadhain iar marbadh Lachtín mic Gofradha, ocus] a cetair imorro ar marbad Muircertaig mic Neill. Is si sin bliadain

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other privileges. The boundaries of these lands were marked by crosses or other conspicuous objects, and hence, no doubt, the name Termonn, *Terminus*. See Ussher "On the original of Corbes, Herenaches, and Termon Lands." *Works* by Elrington, vol. xi., p. 419, *seq.*

[1] *Field.* Faithce, lit. a fair-green, a common, or field for village sports. See *Irish Nennius*, p. 93, note [u].

[2] *Was gained.* The Ann. Ult., L. Gabh., Four M., and Keat., represent the Danes as having been defeated in this battle; and Keating makes Congalach, king of Ireland, the leader of the victorious party. As Congalach was certainly opposed to Ruaidhri O'Canan-

tuary, for God, or for man, was felt by this furious, ferocious, pagan, ruthless, wrathful people. In short, until the sand of the sea, or the grass of the field,[1] or the stars of heaven are counted, it will not be easy to recount, or to enumerate, or to relate what the Gaedhil all, without distinction, suffered from them: whether men or women, boys or girls, laics or clerics, freemen or serfs, old or young; —indignity, outrage, injury, and oppression. In a word, they killed the kings and the chieftains, the heirs to the crown, and the royal princes of Erinn. They killed the brave and the valiant; and the stout knights, champions, and soldiers, and young lords, and the greater part of the heroes and warriors of the entire Gaedhil; and they brought them under tribute and servitude; they reduced them to bondage and slavery. Many were the blooming, lively women; and the modest, mild, comely maidens; and the pleasant, noble, stately, blue-eyed young women; and the gentle, well brought up youths, and the intelligent, valiant champions, whom they carried off into oppression and bondage over the broad green sea. Alas! many and frequent were the bright and brilliant eyes that were suffused with tears, and dimmed with grief and despair, at the separation of son from father, and daughter from mother, and brother from brother, and relatives from their race and from their tribe.

Victory of the Danes of Dublin, at the battle of Muine Broccain, A.D. 949.

XXXVII. It was by the fleet of Ath Cliath, and of the sons of Imar, that the battle of Muine Broccain was gained[2]; in which were killed Ruaidri O'Canannan, king of Tir Conaill, and king of Erinn, according to other people, and the nobles of the North along with him; thirty years after Niall Glundubh was killed by them. Two years after Lachtín, son of Goffraidh, was killed]; and four after Muirchertach, son of Niall,[3] was killed. This was

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nan, and there were probably Danes or Norsemen on both sides—these statements may not be inconsistent.

[3] *Muirchertach, son of Niall.* Surnamed "of the leather cloaks," slain A.D. 945. See the "*Circuit of Ireland of Muirchertach Mac Neill*," edited with a Translation and notes, by Dr. O'Donovan, for the Irish Archæological Society.

ro hairgeset gaill Cenannus Coluim Cilli, ocus rucsat .x. cet do brait as. Is si sin bliadain ar marbad Cendetig mac Lorcan ri Tuad Muman ocus ridomna Caisil.

Death of Congalach, king of Ireland, A.D. 956.

XXXVIII. Is leo, dna, adrocair Congalac̆ mac Mailmitig ri Temrac̆ ocus Erend uli, ocus mat̆i fear Midi umi; di rabi ic forbaisi for Laignib, sec̆t bliadna ar marbad Ruadri; .xuii. iar Congalac̆ is leo do

Battle of Kilmoon, co. Meath, A.D. 973.

rained cat̆ Cilli Mona for Domnall mac Muircertaig for rig Temrac̆, du idrocair Ardul mac Maducan ri Ulad, ocus Dondcuan mac Maelmuiri ri Airgell, ocus Cinait̆ mac meic Cronghailli, ocus Maelbrigdi mac Garbit̆a ri Ua nEt̆ac̆, ocus Fergus Fial ri Codlaigi, ocus soc̆aidi mor oroen riu sin. Is leo, dna, ro marbad Muirc̆ertac̆ mac Domnaill ridomna Temrac̆ ocus Erend, ocus mac Domnaill mic Congalaig ridom-

Battle of Cathair Cuan.

na ele Erend .i. oc̆t mbliadna iarsin cat̆ remund. Is isin bliadain tucad cat̆ Cat̆rac̆ Cuan im Mumain ri Brian.

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[1] *Plundered.* Ar airgettar, B.

[2] *Ten hundred:* cet, B., "one hundred." This plundering of Cenannus, or Kells of Meath, is mentioned by the Four M., at 949, but the number of prisoners is perhaps exaggerated; the Ann. Ult. (A.D. 950, *al.* 951), say "ubi capta sunt tria milia hominum vel plus;" and the Four M. give the same number.

[3] *Cennedigh.* Ceinneittiġ mac Lorcain, B.

[4] *All Erinn.* Uile arcena, B., "all Ireland together."

[5] *Of Midhe.* Fer nErenn, B., "men of Ireland." The immediate followers of the supreme king of Ireland, when he was of the Southern Hy Neill, were called indifferently "men of Meath," and "men of Ireland."

[6] *After.* Iar, B. See ch. xxxvii.

[7] *Seventeen.* B. reads, Ocus .xuii., iar cCongalach do sraqineḋ [rained, D.] which makes "seventeen years after Congalach" to be the date of the battle of Cill Mona.

[8] *Cill Mona.* Muine Mona, B. Cill Monaḋ, Keat. Cill Mona, Four M. who give 976 (=978) as the date of this battle; this would be twenty-two years after the death of Congalach.

[9] *Ardul, son of Maducan.* Ardghal, son of Matudan, B. Son of Madudan, Four M. Son of Madagán, Keat.

[10] *Son of Maelmuire.* Om., B. Donaccán Mac Maoilmuire, Four M. and Keat.

[11] *Son of Cronghaille.* Cinead mac meic Roġilli, B., "son of the son of Roghill." "Cinaedh, son of Croinghille, lord of Conaille," Four M.

[12] *Ua nEthach.* Ua nEchdaċ Coḃa, B. Now Iveagh, county Down. See *Book of Rights*, p. 165, and Dr. O'Donovan's note [n].

the year in which the foreigners plundered[1] Cenannus of Colum Cille, and carried off from thence ten hundred[2] captives. This was the year in which was killed Cennedigh,[3] son of Lorcan, king of north Mumhain, and heir apparent of Caisel.

XXXVIII. It was by them, too, fell Congalach, son of Maelmithigh, king of Temhair, and of all Erinn,[4] and the nobles of the men of Midhe[5] with him, while he was making war on the men of Laighin; seven years after[6] Ruaidri was killed. Seventeen[7] years after Congalach the battle of Cill Mona[8] was gained by them over Domhnall, son of Muirchertach, king of Temhair, in which fell Ardul, son of Maducan,[9] king of Uladh, and Donncuan, son of Maelmuire,[10] king of Airghiall, and Cinaeth, son of the son of Cronghaille,[11] and Maelbrighde, son of Gairbith, king of Ua nEthach,[12] and Fergus Fial, king of Codlaighe,[13] and great numbers[14] along with them. It was by them, too, were killed Muirchertach, son of Domhnall, heir of Temhair and of Erinn; and the son of Domhnall,[15] son of Congalach, another heir of Erinn, eight years after the aforesaid battle. It was[16] in this year the battle of Cathair Cuan, in Mumhain, was fought by Brian.[17]

Death of Congalach, king of Ireland, A.D. 956.

Battle of Kilmoon, co. Meath, A.D. 973.

Battle of Cathair Cuan.

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[13] *Codlaighe.* Cuailgne, B., which is probably the true reading. *Codlaighe* is unknown.

[14] *Great numbers.* Soċaiḋe eile uime, B., "many others with them."

[15] *Son of Domhnall.* The Four M. record these deaths thus:—at the year 975 (which ought to be 977 or 978, as in Ann. Ult.) "Muirchertach, son of Domhnall Ua Neill, and Congalach, son of Domhnall, son of Congalach, two heirs of Ireland (da riogḋamna Erenn), were slain by Amlaoibh, son of Sitricc." B. reads instead of "and the son of Domhnall, son of Congalach, &c.," ocus mac Muircertaiġ mic Doṁnaill. Ocus oċt mbliadna iar sin tuccaḋ cath Feṁann: "and the son of Muirchertach, son of Domhnall. And eight years after this, the battle of Femhann was fought." The Four M. place the death of the two presumptive heirs of the crown in the year *before* the battle of Kilmoon; there is therefore some error. It seems probable that for caṫ remunn, "the aforesaid battle," in the text, we should read caṫ Feṁan, "the battle of Femhan." The plain of Femhann is in the county Tipperary. See *Book of Rights*, p. 18, n. Cathair Cuan is mentioned again, chap. lxiv.

[16] *It was.* Ar in bliaḋain sin, B.

[17] *By Brian.* Ria mBrian, B.

Battle of Bithlann, A.D. 978.

XXXIX. 18 leo, dna, ro hinred cat̆ ic bit̆laind i Muig Lagen, for Ugaire mac Tuat̆ail for ri Lagen du indrocair Ugaire fein ardri Lagen, ocus Muiredac̆ mac Riain ri Ua Cendselaig, ocus Congalac̆ mac Flaind ri Lege ocus Rec̆et. Is leo, dna, da roned cat̆ ele for Cenel Conaill isin bliadain cetna, du idrocair Niall Ua Canannain ri Ceneil Conaill, ocus mac meic Congalaig mic Mailmit̆ig ridomna Temrac̆, ocus mac mic Murc̆ada Glun-fri-lar ridomna Elig. Is leo, tra, da cured cat̆ Temrac̆ re Maelseclaind mac Domnaill re rig Erend i cind da bliadan iarsin. Ba fae do cec̆tar de comriac̆tain and, ac̆t ba messu do na gallaib; du i drocair Ragnall mac Amlaib ri gall and, ocus Conmael mac Gilli, ardri ele gall, ocus mat̆i gall At̆a Cliat̆ and uli, ocus co ndec̆aid Amlaib mac Sitriuga ardri gall i nailit̆ri co hí Coluim Cilli. Iarsin rob ecen do gallaib oslucud do Domnall Claen da rig Lagen, da bi bliadain illaim accu ar fellad d'Amlaib fair.

Victory over the Cenel Conaill, A.D. 978.

Battle of Tara, A.D. 980.

Liberation of Domhnall Claen, king of Leinster.

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[1] *Was given.* Do graineaḋ caṫ ag bioṫlann i Muigi Laigniḃ, B., a better reading.

[2] *King of Laighin.* Om., B.

[3] *Himself.* Budein .i. ri Laiġen, B.

[4] *And Rechet.* Om., B. The Ann. Ult. date this battle 977 or 978. The Four M. place it in 976, the same year in which they record the battle of Kilmoon.

[5] *Gained.* Ro graoineaḋ, B. The Four M. tell us (976), and Ann. Ult. (977, 978), that this battle was gained, not by the Norsemen of Dublin, but by the Airghialla (Oriel) over the Cinel Conaill; but it is probable that the Oriels had secured the aid of the Norsemen.

[6] *In the same year.* D. reads, is isin bliadain cetna. The reading of B. has been substituted.

[7] *Congalach.* B. has mac Conġalaiġ, "the son of Congalach."

[8] *Son of the son.* Mac Murċada, B., "son of Murchadh." The Four M. have the same reading.

[9] *Murchad Glun-fri-lar.* "Murchad of the Knee on the ground;" ġlunillar, Four M., which Dr. O'Conor translates as if it were Glun ṡiollair, *Genu aquilæ*, "Murchad of the Eagle Knee," *Rer. Hib. Script.* iii., p. 507; but this does not seem very intelligible.

[10] *Erinn.* Teṁraċ, B., "king of Tara."

[11] *Woe.* Ocus ba fi, B. Fi is evil, opposed to fo, good. Fae, Lat. *vae*, is woe.

[12] *There fell.* Dóig do ṫuit, B.

[13] *King.* Airdri, B., "chief king."

[14] *Conmael.* B. omits Mac Gilli ardri ele Gall.

[15] *Gille.* Gilli Aire, *Tigernach.* Gilliairri, *Four M.* Conamhal Mac Airrigall, *Ann Ult.* "Conamhal, son of

XXXIX. It was by them, also, that a defeat in battle was given[1] at Bithlann, in Magh-Laighen, to Ugaire, son of Tuathal, king of Laighin,[2] where fell Ugaire himself,[3] chief king of Laighin, and Muiredach, son of Rian, king of the Ua-Cennselaigh, and Congalach, son of Flann, king of Lege and Rechet.[4] It was by them, too, another battle was gained[5] over the Cenel Conaill in the same year,[6] in which fell Niall, grandson of Canannan, king of the Cenel Conaill, and the son of the son of Congalach,[7] son of Maelmithigh, heir of Temhair, and the son of the son[8] of Murchad Glun-fri-lar,[9] heir of Ailech. It was by them, too, was fought the battle of Temhair against Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall, king of Erinn,[10] two years after the above. It was woe[11] to each party to meet there; but it was worse for the foreigners; for there fell[12] Ragnall, son of Amlaibh, king[13] of the foreigners, and Conmael,[14] son of Gille,[15] another high king of the foreigners, and all[16] the nobles of the foreigners of Ath Cliath; and Amlaibh, son of Sitriuc, high king[17] of the foreigners, went on a pilgrimage to Hí of Colum Cille.[18] After this the foreigners were compelled to liberate Domhnall Claen, king of Laighin, who had been a year in their custody, after Amlaibh's treacherous conduct[19] towards him.

Battle of Bithlann, A.D. 978.

Victory over the Cenel Conaill, A.D. 978.

Battle of Tara, A.D. 980.

Liberation of Domhnall Claen, king of Leinster.

Arregal," or rather "son of the Air-ri [sub-king] of the foreigners." This latter reading is probably correct, and was easily corrupted into *Ardri gall*, "high king of foreigners." The names *Conmael* [the old Gaulish *Cunomaglos*] and *Gille* are decidedly Celtic.

[16] *All.* B. omits ann uli ocus.

[17] *High king.* B. omits airdri gall.

[18] *To Hí Colum Cille.* B. reads, co hi Coluim Cille iar sin; ocus dob éccin do gallaib, &c.: "To Hí Coluim Cille after that; and the foreigners were compelled," &c. In the margin of B. a hand coeval with the MS. has written "Amlaus peregrinatur ad insulam Hiensem." Keating (*Reign of Maelsechlainn*) represents Amlaff's retirement to Hy as the result of compulsion, not of religious penitence, which the word pilgrimage (ailithri) implies. The Four M. say, that he died at Hy "after penance and a good life;" and, so also says Tigernach, do dul co hi an aithrighe, "he went to Hy in penance," A.D. 980.

[19] *Treacherous conduct.* Ar fuill, B. The liberation of Domhnall Claen, king of Leinster, is dated by the Four M. the year after the battle of Temhair, or Tara; but Tigernach places it in the same year, 980.

The immense fleet of Imar, grandson of Imar, and his sons.

XL. Tanic iarsin rig longes adbul mor, bamurniċi na gaċ longes; uair ni ṫanic a hinnamail cosmailius in Erind riam, la hImar ua nImair ardri gall, ocus la tri maccaib .i. la Duḃcend ocus Cúallaid ocus Aralt meic Imair. Ro gab fossad ocus foslongport leosin in Inis Sibtond ar euan Lumnig. Ro creaċad, ocus ro hinred Mumu for gaċ leṫ uada sin, eter cella ocus tuaṫa, ocus gabais braigti, ocus etiri, de feraib Muman uli eter gall ocus goedel, ocus ro tairbir fo smaċt ocus fo geilsini díasneti do gallaib ocus do anmarcaib iarsin. Do ordaiċ, imorro, rigu ocus taiseċu, maeru ocus reaċtairedu, in caċ tir ocus in caċ ṫuaiṫ iarsin, ocus da ṫogaib in cis rigda. Ba he so, dna, truma canaċ ocus cisa nagall for Erind uli co forleṫan ocus co coitcend .i. ri for caċ tir uaṫib, ocus toeseaċ for caċ tuaiṫ, ocus abb for caċ cill, ocus maeir for caċ mḃali, ocus suartleaċ caċ tigi, conaċ rabi commus ic duni deraib Erend cet blegon a bó, na comeis lini oen ċirci dugaib do din, no do digrais da sinser no donamcairt, aċt a marṫain do maeir, no do

They encamp at Inis-Sibtonn.

The extent of their oppression.

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1 *Wonderful.* Ba murnige, B., "more numerous."

2 *Its likeness.* Oir ni ṫanic a ionnsaṁail no a cosmailes, B.

3 *Imar, grandson of Imar.* La hAṁlaiḃ mor ua nIomair, B., "with Amhlaibh the Great, grandson of Imar."

4 *With three sons.* La a tri macaiḃsein, B., "with his three sons."

5 *Dubhcend.* La Duiḃginn, ocus Cu-allaiġ, ocus Aralt, B.: "With Dubhginn [Black head], and Cu-allaigh [Wild dog], and Aralt [Harold]."

6 *Sons of Imar* Om., B.

7 *Landed.* Ro gaḃaḋ sosaḋ, B., "they took rest," or "stopped." It is remarkable that this great fleet is not mentioned in the Annals.

8 *Sibtond.* Siptond, B.

9 *Mumhain.* In tir leo, ocus Muṁa uile ar gaċ leṫ, B.: "The country was ravaged and plundered by them, and all Mumhain on every side." Uada sin. Om., B.

10 *Levied.* Ro gabsat eidireḋa fer Muṁain iter galla ocus gaideala, B.: "They took hostages from the men of Munster, whether Gaill or Gaedhil." Meaning by *Gaill* the foreigners who had previously settled in Munster, and had come to be regarded as "men of Munster," so that the new invaders did not distinguish between them and the native Irish. The next clause ocus ro tairbir . . . . iar sin, is omitted in B. Anmarcaiḃ, is for Danmarcaiḃ (the aspirated initial D omitted), Denmarkians or Danes.

11 *He ordained.* B. adds Amlaoibh, "Amlaff ordained." D. had made no mention of Amlaff, but of "Imar, grandson of Imar;" and, therefore, in the text, "he" must mean Imar, the leader of the expedition.

XL. There came after that an immensely great fleet, more wonderful[1] than all the other fleets, (for its equal or its likeness[2] never before came to Erinn,) with Imar, grandson of Imar,[3] chief king of the foreigners, and with three sons,[4] viz., Dubhcenn,[5] and Cu-allaidh, and Aralt, sons of Imar.[6] These landed[7] and encamped in Inis-Sibtond,[8] in the harbour of Luimnech. Mumhain[9] was plundered and ravaged on all sides by them, both churches and chieftainries, and they levied[10] pledges and hostages from all the men of Mumhain, both Gaill and Gaedhil; and they afterwards brought them under indescribable oppression and servitude to the foreigners and the Danes. Moreover, he ordained[11] kings and chiefs, stewards and bailiffs, in every territory, and in every chieftainry after that, and he levied the royal rent.[12] And such was[13] the oppressiveness of the tribute and rent of the foreigners over all Erinn at large, and generally, that there was a king from them[14] over every territory, and a chief over every chieftainry, and an abbot over every church, and a steward over every village,[15] and a soldier in every house, so that none of the men of Erinn had power[16] to give even the milk of his cow, nor as much as the clutch of eggs of one hen in succour or in kindness to an aged man, or to a friend, but *was forced* to preserve them for the foreign

The immense fleet of Imar, grandson of Imar, and his sons.

They encamp at Inis-Sibtond.

The extent of their oppression.

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[12] *Royal rent.* In caċ ṫuaiṫ, ocuṡ do ṫoccaib in cíoṡ ṛíoġḋa moġḋa, B., "the royal rent of slavery."

[13] *Such was.* Ocuṡ ba he ṡo tṛa na cioṡa ṡin, B.: "And this tax of the foreigners was over all Ireland," &c.

[14] *From them.* B. omits uaṫiḃ. But the word is necessary to the sense, for this was the gravamen, that a king, a chieftain, an abbot, &c., were appointed *from the race of the foreigners*, to supersede the lawful native king, chieftain, abbot, &c.

[15] *Over every village.* Maéṛ caċa baile, ocuṡ ṡuaiṫṛeċ, B.: "A steward of every village, and a soldier," &c.

[16] *Power.* B. reads Co naċ ṛaiḃe a comaṡ aġ aen duine ḋṡeṛaiḃ Eṛenn céḋ bleoġan a bó, no coiḃeiṡ líne aen ciṛce do uiġiḃ do tabhaiṛt da dioġṛaiṡ no da anmċaṛaiṫ, act a maṛtain uile don maeṛ, no don tṡuaiṫṛeċ Allmaṛḋa, B.: "So that not one of the men of Ireland had power to give even the milk of his cow, nor as much as the clutch of eggs of one hen from kindness or friendship, but [was compelled] to preserve all for the steward or for the soldier of the pirates."

ꝛeac̆taiꝛe, no do t̆uaꝛtleac̆ gaill. Ocuꝛ cid oen gamnac̆ no beit̆ iꝛon taig, noc̆o lemt̆a a blegon do naigin oen aidc̆i, no do duni galaiꝛ, ac̆t a maꝛt̆ain do maeiꝛ no do ꝛec̆taiꝛ no do ꝛuaꝛtleac̆ gaill. Cid ꝛata no beit̆ in ingnaiꝛ in taigi, ni lemt̆a aiꝛbeꝛnad aꝛ a cudic̆ no aꝛ a ꝛit̆olmu, cen co beit̆ iꝛtaig ac̆t oen bo, cen a maꝛbad ꝛꝛi cuit na hen aidc̆i, mini ꝛagt̆a acmaing a ꝛit̆olma cena. Ocuꝛ in duni ba hinict̆u don muintiꝛ dol a tuaꝛuꝛtul, in la no ꝛagad i coblac̆ maꝛoen ꝛe t̆igeꝛna, [ocuꝛ] a ꝛeꝛtul loin dó amail no beit̆ iꝛtaig. Ocuꝛ ungi daꝛgut ꝛindꝛuni cac̆a ꝛꝛona, ꝛan ciꝛ ꝛigda iaꝛꝛin cac̆a bliadain, ocuꝛ inti ica nac̆ bid acmaing a ica e ꝛein i ndaiꝛi and.

The oppression suffered by the Irish indescribable.

Cid tꝛa ac̆t, cid cet cend cadut comcꝛuaid iaꝛnaidi no beit̆ aꝛ oen bꝛagit, ocuꝛ cet tengad aig at̆lom innuaꝛ umaidi nemeꝛgdi in gac̆ cind, ocuꝛ cet gut̆ gloꝛtumlac̆a glanidi nemiꝛcꝛadac̆ o cac̆ oen tengaid, ni taiꝛeꝛad a t̆uꝛuim, no a aꝛneiꝛ, no a aꝛium, no a innisi [an] ꝛo odimꝛet gaedil uli co cotcend, eteꝛ ꝛiꝛu ocuꝛ mna, eteꝛ laecu ocuꝛ cleiꝛc̆iu, eteꝛ ꝛenu ocuꝛ ogu, eteꝛ ꝛaiꝛu ocuꝛ daiꝛu, du duad ocuꝛ du docaiꝛ ocuꝛ do anꝛoꝛꝛan in cac̆ taig, on dꝛoing angbaid anniaꝛt̆a allmaꝛda glaingentligi ꝛin. Ciꝛ ba moꝛ, tꝛa, in doc̆ꝛac̆i ocuꝛ in tan-

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[1] *And.* Om. B.

[2] *In the house.* Iꝛtiġ, ni léṁt̆a, B.

[3] *Must be kept.* Ac̆t a ċoiméꝛt don maeꝛ no don tꝛuaitꝛeaċ allmaꝛḋa, giḋ ꝛada no beit̆ in eccmaiꝛ a tiġe, B.: "But must be kept for the steward, or the soldier of the pirates, however long he may have been in absence from the house."

[4] *Lessened.* B. omits the words no aꝛ a ꝛit̆olmu, and for the words following has gion go mbeit̆ aꝛtiġ, (a mere difference of spelling).

[5] *It must.* Lit. without its being killed. The meaning is, that rather than diminish the foreigner's share, the only cow (even if there were but one) must be killed. B. omits cen.

[6] *The meal.* A ccuid, B. "his meal."

[7] *Otherwise procured.* Muna ꝛꝛagaiḃt̆e acꝛaing a ꝛꝛit̆ailme aꝛcena, B.

[8] *The most fit.* Ḃuḋ inic̆a, B.

[9] *The day.* In la no ꝛacaḋ i ccoblaċ aꝛ aen ꝛe a tigeꝛna, ocuꝛ a ꝛꝛeꝛtal, B.

[10] *At home.* Ḃeit̆ ꝛein iꝛtiġ, B.

[11] *Findruni.* No dꝛionndꝛuine, B. "of silver or white bronze." See *Battle of Magh Lena*, p. 113, *n.*

[12] *Every nose.* See next note.

[13] *Into slavery.* Ac̆uꝛ an duine ag naċ biod̆ a acꝛaing, a ḃeit̆ ꝛein i ndaiꝛe, no baꝛꝛ a ẏꝛóna do buain de, B.: "And the man who had not

steward, or bailiff, or soldier. And[1] though there were but one milk-giving cow in the house,[2] she durst not be milked for an infant of one night, nor for a sick person, but must be kept[3] for the steward, or bailiff, or soldier of the foreigners. And, however long he might be absent from the house, his share or his supply durst not be lessened,[4] although there was in the house but one cow, it must[5] be killed for the meal[6] of one night, if the means of a supply could not be otherwise procured.[7] And the most fit[8] person of the family was obliged to take wages, the day[9] on which he embarked on board ship with his lord, [and] he must be supplied with provision, as if he was at home.[10] And an ounce of silver Findruni[11] for every nose,[12] besides the royal tribute afterwards every year; and he who had not the means of paying it had himself to go into slavery[13] for it.

The oppression suffered by the Irish indescribable.

In a word, although there were an hundred hard[14] steeled iron heads on one neck,[15] and an hundred sharp, ready, cool,[16] never-rusting, brazen[17] tongues in each head, and an hundred garrulous,[18] loud, unceasing voices from each tongue, they could not recount, or narrate, or enumerate, or tell, what all the Gaedhil suffered in common, both men and women, laity and clergy, old and young, noble and ignoble, of hardship, and of injury, and of oppression,[19] in every house, from these valiant, wrathful, foreign, purely-pagan people.[20] Even[21] though great were this cruelty,

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the means of paying it, he was himself compelled to go into slavery, or else his nose was cut off."

[14] *Hard.* Cadat comdaingen comċruaiḋ, B.: "Hard, strong, steely."

[15] *On one neck.* Ar gaċ aen ḃrá-ġait, B., "on every neck."

[16] *Cool.* Innuar, for ḟinnḟuar, "very cold." Indḟuar, B.

[17] *Brazen.* B. omits nemergoi.

[18] *Garrulous.* B. reads Gleorḋa glaiṁḋe neimirċradaċ in gaċ aen tengaiḋ, ní tairsioḋ a tuirem no a ḟaisnéis [aisneis, D.], no a aireṁ, no a indisin in ro fo-ḋaiṁsiot [odimset, D.]

[19] *Oppression.* Danforrán ingantaċ, B.

[20] *Purely-pagan people.* For allmarda glain gentlisi sin, B. reads, allmarḋa sin. "From these foreign people."

[21] *Even.* Ger ṁór tra an doċraite sin, ocus an tanforrán, ocus an tanflaiṫius; gersat ile iomḋa ilclanda, B.

foran ocus in nanflaťi sin; ciassat ailimda a clanna ilbuadača na herend ilcenelaiǧťi; ciassat linmar a rig ocus rigflaťi ocus a rigdomna; ciassat imda a treit ocus tretil ocus a drenmilid, a laič gaili, ocus gaiscid, ocus gnimarťa; ni tard neč doibsin imanair furtačt no uaslaiǧťi no hossana, no in necomnert sin re sočaidečt ocus re linmairečt ocus re hangbaidečt [ocus] re hanniarračt in tsluaiǧ buirb badbaidi dicellid docoisc dočommaind o ro hindréd in tanborran sin, re febas a lurec laindersda lučtmara tredualač trom

Superiority of the Danish armour and arms.

trebraid taitnemač; ocus claidium cruaid comnert comčalma; ocus a sleag semneč sitlebur; ocus na narm naig naťlom etročt ecsamail arcena, ocus ar met a nanglond ocus ańgnimraid ańgaili ocus angaiscid, a neirt, ocus a nemi, ocus a mbadamlačt, re ro met a nitad ocus a noncobair mon tir tailc toreč tondtrebglain, eissaič, abnič, inberaič, morglain madreid minscotaič Erend.

Praises of the descendants of Lughaid.

XLI. Bai, imorro, arali ciniud suairc sairclannťa sočeneoil segaind in nErind naro odaim ecomnert na anforran no dočrati ingantaig o ciniud ele is in domun riam .i. clanna Luidech mic Oengusa Tirič, friarater Dail Cais Boruma, in dara huatni airečais, ocus in dara tegllač congbala sollamnais ocus

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[1] *Their kings.* Ciassat lir a rigflaṫa, ocus a riġa, ocus riḋaṁnaḋa, B.

[2] *Heroes.* A ttreóin, B.

[3] *Not one of them.* Ni tard neaċ diḃsein furtaċt no fuasluccaḋ na hanforrána sin, no an eccoṁnart sin le himad, ocus re linṁaireċt, ⁊c., B.

[4] *Wrath.* Re haindiarrḋaċt in tsloiġ buirb baḋḃḋa barbarḋa sin or himread an tanforrán, re feḃas, ⁊c., B.

[5] *Corslets.* A luireaċ laindearrḋa, ttreaḃraid, ttreḋualaċ, ttaitneamaċ, B.: "Their polished, trusty, treble-plaited, beautiful corslets." The Irish reader will remark the alliteration in the adjectives, which cannot of course be preserved in translation.

[6] *Ready, brilliant.* Nettroċt, necsaṁail, B.

[7] *Valour.* Náiṫ, B.

[8] *Ferocity.* A naimdeṁlaċt, B.

[9] *Their thirst and their hunger.* Ocus re méd a niotaḋ, ocus a naccoḃair, B.

[10] *Nobly-inhabited.* Tonntrebglain, omitted in B. B. has mon ttir ttailcc, ttoirṫiġ, easaiġ, aiḃniġ, inḃearaiġ, ṁórglain, maiġriġ, moingréidh, minscothaiġ sin inse iaṫgloine Erenn: "For that brave,

oppression, and tyranny; though numerous were the oft-victorious clans of the many-familied Erinn; though numerous their kings,[1] and their royal chiefs, and their princes; though numerous their heroes[2] and champions, and their brave soldiers, their chiefs of valour and renown, and deeds of arms; yet not one of them[3] was able to give relief, alleviation, or deliverance from that oppression and tyranny, from the numbers and multitudes, and the cruelty, and the wrath[4] of the brutal, ferocious, furious, untamed, implacable hordes, by whom that oppression was inflicted, because of the excellence of their polished, ample, treble, heavy, trusty, glittering corslets[5]; and their hard, strong, valiant swords; and their well-rivetted long spears; and their ready, brilliant[6] arms of valour[7] besides; and because of the greatness of their achievements and of their deeds, their bravery and their valour, their strength, and their venom, and their ferocity[8]; and because of the excess of their thirst and their hunger[9] for the brave, fruitful, nobly-inhabited,[10] full of cataracts, rivers, bays, pure, smooth-plained, sweet-grassy land of Erinn.

Superiority of the Danish armour and arms.

XLI. There was, however,[11] a certain gracious, noble, high-born, beautiful tribe in Erinn, who never submitted[12] to tyranny or oppression, or unwonted[13] injury, from any other tribe in the world, namely, the descendants of Lughaid,[14] son of Oengus Tirech, who are called Dal Cais Borumha, one of the two pillars[15] of the nobility, and one of the two houses[16] that always sustained

Praises of the descendants of Lughaid.

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fruitful, full of cascades, rivers, bays, the pure, salmon-abounding, smooth-plained, sweet-grassy country of the bright surfaced island of Erinn."

[11] *However.* B. omits ιmoꝛꝛo. The reader will observe that all the following pleonastic epithets begin with the letter *s* in the original. B. adds after ſeʒaιnɔ, "beautiful," ſoċumaιnn, ſaeꝛbeſaċ, "bountiful, accomplished."

[12] *Submitted.* Ro ḟoɔ̇oιṁ, eccoṁnaꝛt no ιomaꝛcꝛaιɔ, na anꝼoꝛꝛan, B.

[13] *Unwonted.* Inʒanɔaιʒ. *Om.* B.

[14] *Lughaid.* Luιġɔeċ, B. Luιɔeaċ, D., see p. 54, line 16. *Luighdech* is the gen. of *Lughaid*, a *c* stem. It has already been observed that D. frequently omits the aspirated letters ḟ, ġ, ṫ, ṙ, &c., as here *Luideach* for *Luighdech*.

[15] *The two pillars.* The Eoghanachts of Cashel being the other.

[16] *Houses.* Teʒlaċ, D. Teallaċ, B.

flat̆emnaiſ Erend ꝑiam; in tor taidleach tatnemnac̆ oſ cainlib togaidi in tromt̆alman, ocuſ in tobuꝛ aebda in teni laigt̆eac̆ oſ legaib lainderda logmaꝛ, ocuſ in gꝛian glanꝛuit̆nec̆ oſ aiꝛdꝛennac̆aib aeoiꝛ, ocuſ fiꝛmamintı in ciniud ſin oſ cac̆ ciniud in Erind.

Their prerogatives and privileges.

Ciniud ſin donac̆ dlegaꝛ ciſ no cain no tobac̆, no geill, no edipi, no iꝛꝛadaſ, deneoc̆ iſin domun ꝑiam̆, in trat̆ nac̆ biad Eꝛiu accufein, ac̆t atitiu nama, ocuſ coſc fogla, ocuſ ſocꝛaidi ſluaig fꝛi coſnum ſaiꝛdac̆ta Caiſil fꝛi Leit̆ Cuind. Toſeac̆ accu dul i tiꝛ namat, ocuſ dered ic toc̆t daꝛ aiſ, ocuſ comduc̆uſ ciꝛt Caſil cac̆ aꝛfec̆t doibſin iaꝛſin, .i. cac̆ ꝛe ꝛí i Caſiul. In tan nac̆ démta coꝛduſ doib umi ſin, ni dlig ꝛig Caiſil nac̆ ni dib. Comad aiꝛſin ꝛo c̆an in ꝛig filid, ocuſ in ſai ſenc̆aiſ .i. Coꝛmac mac Culennán:

Celebrated by Cormac, son of Culennan.

Dlegaꝛ do ſlóg Síl Luideac̆
Rémtuſ cat̆a ſluag Mumneac̆,
Ocuſ beit̆ illuꝛg fodeóid
Ic tiac̆tain a tiꝛ aneóil.
Ni heteꝛuſ dlegaꝛ de,
Ac̆t Caſel do ſaiꝛide
Ni cíſ, ni cáin, maꝛ at cloſ,
Ni haltꝛum, ni hiaꝛꝛat̆uiſ.

And by Cuan O'Lochan.

XLII. Iſ ma dala ſaiꝛdac̆ta in ciniꝺ ſin foſ ꝛocan in filid ocuſ intaꝛd ollum Erend ocuſ Alban .i. Cuan O Loc̆an:

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[1] *The shining.* B. omits the passage beginning in toꝛ taidleach, line 1, and ending ciniud ſin, line 5. Also the words no geill, no edipi, no iꝛꝛadaſ, lines 6, 7.

[2] *So long as.* Acuſ an trat̆, B. The meaning is, that they were bound as equals, not as subjects, to recognise the right of the existing sovereign, and to defend him from aggression. Atitiu is *recognition;* the modern Irish equivalent would be adm̆ail.

[3] *Not theirs:* i.e., when the supreme king of Ireland was not of their family. B. reads Acuſ an trát̆ nac̆ bía Eiꝛe aca féin, gán uat̆a ac̆t coſcc foğla, ocuſ ſoc̆ꝛaite ſlóig, 7c.

[4] *Returning.* Ag toc̆t eiſte taꝛaiſ, B.

[5] *Alternate right.* Comduṫc̆uſ ceiꝛt Caiſil gac̆ ꝛe fead̆t doib iaꝛſin ó ꝛíg Caiſil; ocuſ an tan nac̆ dém-t̆aꝛ, 7c., B.

[6] *It was of this.* Coniꝺ aiꝛe ſin, B.

[7] *Sage historian.* An tſaoi tſean-

the rule and sovereignty of Erinn; the shining[1] splendid tower above the choice lights of the ponderous earth; and the clear fountain, the sparkling fire, above the most brilliant precious gems; and the bright radiating sun, above the noble stars of the sky and the firmament, was this tribe above all other tribes in Erinn.

Their prerogatives and privileges.

This is a tribe from whom it was never lawful to levy rent or tribute, or pledge, or hostage, or fostership fee, by any one in the world ever, so long as[2] Erinn was not theirs[3]; but they were bound to give recognition only, and to check aggression, and supply numerous forces to maintain the freedom of Caisel against Leth Cuinn. To them belonged the lead in entering an enemy's country, and the rere on returning[4]; and besides this they had an equal alternate right[5] to Caisel, viz., an alternate king in Caisel. Whenever these conditions were not justly observed to them the king of Caisel had no legal claim to anything from them. And it was of this[6] the royal poet and sage historian[7] Cormac, son of Culennan, said:

Celebrated by Cormac, son of Culennan.

It is the privilege of the host of Lughaid's race,
To lead[8] the battalions of the hosts of Mumhain,
And afterwards to be[9] in the rere
In coming[10] from a hostile land.
It is not fealty[11] that is required of them,
But to preserve the freedom[12] of Caisel;
It is not[13] rent, it is not tribute, as hath been heard;
It is not fosterage nor fostership fees.

And by Cuan O'Lochan.

XLII. It was on[14] the noble career of that tribe also that the poet and chief sage of Erinn and Alba, Cuan O'Lochan, said:

ċuɒa, B. The first quatrain of the following verses is quoted by Keating, (p. 608, *Curry's MS.*), but they are not by him attributed to Cormac.

[8] *To lead.* Keating reads ɣɾeaṫ-nuġaḋ caṫ, "to array the battle."

[9] *And to be.* Ocuɣ a ḃeiṫ, B.

[10] *In coming.* Ꝛc toiḋeċt a tiɾ aineóiꞁ, B. Ꝛc cɾíoċaiḃ ana aineóiꞁ, K.

[11] *Fealty.* Lit. Hostageship.

[12] *Freedom.* Ꝺo ɣoċɾaitte, B.

[13] *It is not.* Nó cíɣ nó cáin, B.; and in the next verse also B. has nó for ni, "or" for "nor."

[14] *On.* For ma B. reads im.

A Dail Cais is calma sin
Robnais Banba comblaid
Dursand nab dir laċa lír
It becca fir ifair fail.
Fata tait icteċtad caiċ,
In leṫ seċtair ni bat reid,
Ocus ní genair fo gréin,
Naċ gebdaís geill aċt bangeill.
Cid in traṫ nar ṫanic flaiṫ
Uaib ar Erind arbriṫeich
Aċt na cind ceim dar ceirt
Noċo ċoemnacbair nert neich.

Cid dna aċ̆t, ní ba miad menman, ocus nir badas aicnid las indarmnaid dein diulaing direcra sin, ocus lasin gamanraid gerata gasta galaiḡ gnimaig gairgbeoda sin, memnaiḡ mor aigentaiḡ sin, nar odaim anforran no ecomnert ó rig do rigaib Erend, ocus ni nama on aċ̆t ní roadaim giallus no edireaċ̆t fodmaċ̆tain doeri docair ó danaraib, ocus ó dibergaib dolgi durcrideċ̆taib ar anneóin ni rodaimset.

Genealogy of Mathgamhain and Brian, sons of Cennedigh.

XLIII. Badar, dna, ic stiurad ocus ic follomnus in č̆inid sin, da tuir croda comnerta comcalma, da laeč̆ lonna letarraċ̆a luċ̆tmara, da comlaid caṫ̆a, da cleiṫ̆ ugra, da dos didin, da rind aga ocus urlaimi, enig ocus egnuma broṫ̆a ocus brigi bagi, ocus beo-

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[1] *Illustrious.* Lit. "with fame." Cona bloid, B. "Banba" was one of the poetical names of Ireland.

[2] *Pity.* Dursan nabdar lecca lir, B.

[3] *Your presence.* In bar ffail, B. First written fḟail, but altered by a recent hand to fail.

[4] *Long have they been.* Fada táid, B.

[5] *Under the sun.* Ocus nír genair fa grein, B.

[6] *Women hostages.* Naċ gebḋair géill aċt bar ngéill, B. "Except your hostages." This reading gives a better sense. This second quatrain, in the third person, appears to refer to the Hy Niall: the "distant district" (*leth*) is Leth Cuinn, the northern half of Ireland. The remaining four lines are omitted in B.

[7] *Therefore.* For dna B. reads tra. The rest of the sentence in B. is given thus, in a different spelling, which is instructive: nír bo miaḋ menmann no aigneaḋ leis an damraiḋ ndéin ndiḟulaing ndiḟrecra sin. Where it will be observed that the MS., D, from which the text is taken, omits the aspirated f, in the words diu-

O Dal Cais! This is brave!
You have bound Banba the illustrious[1]!
Pity[2] that your lakes are not seas!
Other men are small in your presence.[3]
Long have they been[4] subjugating all others,
The distant district, which is not smooth,
For there are none born under the sun,[5]
Whose hostages they would not take, except women hostages.[6]
And even when there is not a king
Out of you over Erinn of hosts,
Only that you would not infringe on right
No human power could prevail over you.

It was not, therefore,[7] honourable to the mind or to the courage, or to the nature of these vehement, insupportable, irresistible nobles, and of those sharp,[8] crafty, brave, active, fierce champions (those animated, high-minded ones, who never brooked[9] injustice or tyranny from any king of the kings of Erinn, and not only that, but who never gave them pledges or hostages in token of obedience),—to submit of their own accord to cruel slavery from Danars and from fierce, hard-hearted Pirates.

Genealogy of Mathgamhain and Brian, sons of Cennedigh.

XLIII. There were then governing and ruling this tribe two stout, able, valiant pillars,[10] two fierce, lacerating, magnificent heroes, two gates of battle, two poles of combat, two spreading trees of shelter, two spears of victory and readiness, of hospitality and munificence, of heart and strength, of friendship and liveliness, the most emi-

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ꞁaiꞃg, ꝺiꞃecꞃa, more correctly written in B. ꞃꝺiꝼꞃꞁaiꞃg, ꞃꝺiꝼꞃeccꞃa, with the transported ꞃ. The reader will also notice the alliteration, which is characteristic of the Irish bardic style, ꝺéiꞃ, ꝺiuꞁaiꞃg, ꝺiꞃecꞃa, all beginning with *d*, and agreeing with ꝺaꞃmꞃaiꝺ; and again the adjectives connected with ꝫamaꞃꞃaiꝺ̇, all begin with *g*, (the transported ꞃ occurs in B.)

[8] *Sharp.* B. reads ꞃgꞁaiꞃ, "bright."

[9] *Brooked.* There are here considerable differences between the two MSS. Immediately after the words ꝫaiꞃgbeoꝺa ꞃiꞃ, to the end of this chapter, B. reads, ꞃa ꞃo ꝼꞃꞁaiꞃg aꞃꞃoꞃꞃáꞃ ꞃo eccomꞃaꞃꞇ ó ꞃeoċ ꞃiaṁ, ocuꞃ ꞃí mo ꞃo ꞃaemꞃaꞇ ꝺaeiꞃe ꞃa ꝺoċaꞃ ó ꝺaꞃaꞃaiḃ ꝺuꞃa ꝺoiꞁge ꝺuꞃċꞃaiꝺ̇eaċa ꝺa ꞃaiꞃꝺeóiꞃ: "Who never would endure oppression or tyranny from any one; and who no more submitted to slavery or oppression from hard, fierce, hard-hearted Danars, against their will." It is evident that this is corrupt, and that the reading of the text is more correct.

[10] *Pillars.* Ꝺa ċuꞃ ċꞃóꝺ̇a ċom-

dac̆ta iartair Eorpa .i. Mathgamain ocus Brian, da meic Cendetiğ, mic Lorcan, mic Lac̆tna, mic Cuirc, mic Anluain, mic Mathgamna, mic Tairdelbaig, mic Cat̆ail, mic Aeda, mic Conaill, mic Et̆ac̆ Bailleirg, mic Cairt̆ind Find, mic Blait̆, mic Cais, mic Conaill Eac̆luait̆, mic Luideac̆ Mind, mic Oengusa Tirig, mic Fircorb, mic Moga Corb, mic Cais, mic Ailella Oloim, mic Moga Nuadat, ro roind Erind re Cond cet cathac̆. In darna tellac̆ congbala follamnais ocus flait̆iusa Erend sin, o re Eremon mic Mileḋ ocus Ebir a brat̆ar, ocus o tus domain.

Their confederacy against the foreigners.

XLIV. Ot concatar, dna, in dairsini ocus in tanforran, ocus in nanflat̆ius do himred for Mumain, ocus for feraib Erend co coitcend, isi comarli da ronsad a hingabail, ocus can a hodmac̆tain itir. Rucsat iarsin a muintera, ocus a fostala uli dar Sinaind siar, ocus ro scailset fo fotrib, ocus fo fedaib na tri macni itat. Ro gabsat ic fogail, ocus ic forguin for gallaib foc̆etoir iarsin. Ni ro t̆ermund na hanacul doibsium, dna, o gallaib, ac̆t ba fae docec̆ta de a comriac̆tain, ocus a comadces, do crec̆aib, ocus congalaib, ocus do cat̆aib, ocus do cliat̆c̆aib do foglaib, ocus do irgalaib ra cloemcloset eturu fri remis cian.

Mathgamhain makes a truce with the foreigners.

Ar toirsegud, dna, cectarnai diaraile, daronsat sit̆ ocus comsosud etoro fri hed .i. Mathgamain mac Cendetig rig Dailcaiss, ocus mat̆i gall Muman arcena.

ċalma, ċoimnearta, ocus da laeċ londa, 7c., B. This MS. also reads ocus da ċoṁla caṫa, ocus ḋa ċleiṫ ughrae, ocus dá ḋos díttin, ocus da rinn áġa, 7c.

[1] *Anluan.* All the remainder of this genealogy after Anluan is omitted in B.

[2] *Of the two.* See note 15, p. 53. Isin dara, B.

[3] *Sovereignty.* B. reads ocus flaiteṁnais Erenn ó ré Eremoin mic Mileaḋ, ocus Eiṁir a braṫar; omitting ocus o tus domain.

[4] *When these saw.* Ciḋ tra aċt ot conncatar an diar sin an daeiri, B., "when these two saw," &c.

[5] *Men of Erinn.* Ar ḟearaib Muṁan ocus Erenn, B. "On the men of Munster and of Erinn."

[6] *And not submit.* Ocus gan a faeṁad, B.

[7] *Their chattels.* Om. B.

[8] *Westwards.* Sair, B.

[9] *Tribes.* Na ttri nuaiṫne iad, ocus ro gabsat, B. "Of the three Uaithne that were there, and they began," &c.

[10] *After that.* Om. B.

nent of the west of Europe, viz., Mathgamhain and Brian, the two sons of Cennedigh, son of Lorcan, son of Lachtna, son of Corc, son of Anluan,[1] son of Mathgamhain, son of Tordhelbhach, son of Cathal, son of Aedh, son of Conall, son of Eochaidh Ball-derg, son of Cairthinn Finn, son of Blath, son of Cas, son of Conall Eachluaith, son of Lughaidh Menn, son of Oengus Tirech, son of Fercorb, son of Mogh Corb, son of Cas, son of Ailell Oloim, son of Mogh Nuadhat who divided Erinn with Conn of the hundred battles. This was one of the two[2] houses that sustained the rule and sovereignty[3] of Erinn, from the time of Eremon, son of Miledh, and Ebher, his brother, and from the beginning of the world.

Their confederacy against the foreigners.

XLIV. Now, when these saw[4] the bondage, and the oppression, and the misrule, that was inflicted on Mumhain, and on the men of Erinn[5] in general, the advice they acted on was to avoid it, and not submit[6] to it at all. They therefore carried off their people, and all their chattels,[7] over the Sinann westwards[8]; and they dispersed themselves among the forests and woods of the three tribes[9] that were there. They began to plunder and kill the foreigners immediately after that.[10] Neither had they[11] any termonn or protection[12] from the foreigners; but it was woe to either party[13] to meet the other, or come together, owing to the plunders, and conflicts, and battles, and skirmishes, and trespasses, and combats, that were interchanged between them during a long period. When at length,[14] each party of them became tired of the other, they made peace and truce between them for some time, viz., Mathgamhain, son of Cennedigh, king of the Dal Cais,[15] and the chieftains of the foreigners of Mumhain in general.

Mathgamhain makes a truce with the foreigners.

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[11] *Neither had they.* Ꞥiꞃo for niꞃ bo.

[12] *Protection.* Ocuꞅ niꞃ bo ꞇeꞃmonn, ocuꞅ niꞃ bo hanacaꞇ ꝺóibꞅium ó ġaꞇꞇaiḃ maꞃ an ceꝺna, B., omitting the next three lines of the text to ꝼꞃi ꞃemiꞅ cian, inclusive.

[13] *Either party.* Ꝺoceċꞇa D., for ꝺoceċꞇaꞃ.

[14] *When at length.* Ꞓꞃ ꞇꞇoiꞃꞃiuccaꝺ ceċꞇaꞃ ꝺe ꝺaꞃoiꞇe, B.

[15] *Dal Cais.* After this word B. inserts ocuꞅ maiꞇe Ꝺaꞇccaiꞅ, "and the chieftains of the Dal Cais."

Brian refuses all truce or peace with the foreigners.

XLV. Imtura, imorro, Briain mic Cennedig nir bail leisside sith re gallaib, or gi bec fogla do tigfad de ra gallaib, ba ferr leis na sith; cid cach no beith na tort ni he no biad. Da luid, imorro, iarsin Brian ocus glaslaith Dalcais leis i fothrib, ocus i fedaib ocus i fasaigib Tuadmuman darahais. Ro gab ic fogail, ocus ic forguin, ocus ic frithirecht for gallaib fo cetoir. In la nach denad olc re gallaib do niad sanaidchi bad nesu, ocus in nadaich nach digned do nid in la arnambarach. Do gnitis imorro fianbotha folachta forlongpuirt acci indairib, ocus in niamraib, ocus i ndithrumaib, ocus i ndiceltaib Ua Blait. Ro fasaiged leis o Deirc co Forgus, ocus o Echti co Tratraigi. Ro thimairgset, dna, gaill Tuadmuman uli im Tratraigi, ocus do ronad dunclad timchill Tratraigi acu, ocus ro thriallsat [en dúnárus do denam] do Tratraigi uli, ocus Tuadmumain ocus Ui Conaill do gabail aside, ocus do beith fria fodnum. Cid tra acht cid no feta, ni bad mo do airium, ni horsa a thurium ina innisin, ar marb Brian do gallaib dondorbasin .i. ina déssib, ocus ina triaraib, ocus ina cuiceraib, ocus ina fichtib, ocus ina cedaib, ocus an rochuir do congalaib, ocus do galaib mina menici friu. Mor, am, do duad ocus do docair ocus do drocuit ocus do drochlebaid, tuc sosum dosom,

His slaughter of the foreigners.

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[1] *But.* B. omits imorro.

[2] *Not willing.* Nir báil lesi, B. Lit. "Peace with the foreigners was not pleasing to him."

[3] *However small.* Acht gibe dfoghlaib do thicfadh de do dhéanamh ar ghallaib do bfearr leis ina sidh. Gidh iad cách ro biadh ina tort noch an é Brian no biadh, B.

[4] *However.* B. omits imorro.

[5] *Retaliate.* Frithbert, B.: "contradict."

[6] *And when.* B. omits from ocus in nadaich to la arnambarach.

[7] *Moreover they.* B. omits imorro, and for acci, reads in modern orthography, aca.

[8] *Solitudes and deserts.* Indiamraib ocus inditrebhaib, B.

[9] *Ui Blait.* O mBloid, B.

[10] *From Derc.* O Deirg Derc, B., [i. e., from Loch Derg].

[11] *Echti.* Echtge, B.; now Sliabh Echtghe, or Baughty, a mountainous district on the borders of the counties of Galway and Clare.

[12] *One garrison.* En arus do Tratraigi, D. En dúnárus do denam Tratraigi, B. From this latter MS. the words in brackets have been inserted.

XLV. But[1] as regards Brian, son of Cennedigh, he was not willing[2] to make peace with the foreigners, because however small[3] the injury he might be able to do to the foreigners, he preferred it to peace; and though all others were silent on that head he would not be so. Brian, however,[4] after that, and with him the young champions of the Dal Cais, went back again into the forests and woods and deserts of north Mumhain. He began then immediately to plunder and kill, and retaliate[5] on the foreigners. When he inflicted not evil on the foreigners in the day time, he was sure to do so in the next night; and when[6] he did it not in the night he was sure to do it on the following day. Moreover they,[7] with him, used to set up rude huts instead of encampments, in the woods and solitudes and deserts[8] and caves of Ui Blait.[9] The country was wasted by him from Derc[10] to the Forgus, and from Echti[11] to Tratraighe. Then the foreigners of all north Mumhain assembled around Tratraighe, and they raised a fortifying bank all round Tratraighe; and they proposed to render all Tratraighe one garrison,[12] and from it to conquer the whole of north Mumhain and Ui Conaill, and make them subject to them.[13] But although it is possible to count[14] a greater number, it is not easy to enumerate, or tell, all that Brian killed of the foreigners of that garrison[15] in twos,[16] and in threes, and in fives, and in scores, and in hundreds; or the number of conflicts and combats[17] that he frequently and constantly gave them. Great, on the other hand, were the hardship

Brian refuses all truce or peace with the foreigners.

His slaughter of the foreigners.

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[13] *Subject to them.* Do ꝫabaıl aꝛ, ocuꝛ ambeıṫ occ ꝼoġnaıṁ doıḃ, B.

[14] *To count.* B. has Cıḋ ṫra aċṫ ꝫe ro ꝼeṫa a maꝛbaḋ, nı huꝛuꝛȧ a ꝛıoṁ naċ a aıꝛeaṁ naċ a ınnıꝛın, 7c.: "although it was possible to kill, it is not easy to reckon or count, or tell," &c.

[15] *Garrison.* Oꝛbaꝛ for ꝼoꝛbaꝛ. Don ꝼoꝛbaıꝛ ꝛın, B., more correctly. Ꝼoꝛbaꝛ is, properly, a seige; a garrison for the purpose of a seige.

[16] *In twos.* Ina mbuıḋnıb, ocuꝛ ına ccuıꝛıḃ, ocuꝛ ına ꝼıċṫıḃ, ocuꝛ ına ccéḋaıḃ, ocuꝛ ına cceıṫeꝛnaıḃ, ocuꝛ aꝛ aꝛ cuıꝛ, 7c., B. "In companies, and in troops, and in scores, and in hundreds, and in quaternions."

[17] *Combats.* For ꝫaḷaıb mına meıncı ꝼꝛıu, B. reads cḷıaċṫaıḃ mıona mıoncа ꝛıú.

i fianbot̆aib fásaig forcruaid fremanaib corrac̆a fliuc̆ta, a tiri dut̆aigi fodein, ar marbad a muintiri, ocus aessa grada, ocus a comalta, co dub, domenmnac̆, truag, nemelac̆, torsec̆. Daig atberait na ḟenc̆aidi go ro dit̆aigset gaill a muintir cunac̆ rabi fodeoid na lenmain ac̆t .u. duni dec.

His followers cut off to fifteen.

XLVI. Ot cuala tra Mathgamain abeit̆ amlaid sin, faidis tec̆ta ar a cend, uair ba heccail les a t̆ot̆im fri gallaib in uati sluaig ocus socraidi. O rancatar, dna, oen inad Brian ocus Mathgaṁain, [atbert Mat̆gaṁain ag acaine re Brian an dit̆ fuair muinntir Briain, ocus adubairt an laidh :

Mathgamhain sends to condole with Brian.

His poetical lament on the occasion.

Uathaḋ sin a Briain Banba,
  Do ċuinnscléo ní héccalma,
  Ní líonṁar tángais dar tiġ,
  Cáit ar ḟaccḃais do muinntir.
Do ḟaccḃus iad ag gallaiḃ
  Iar na slaiḋe a Maṫgaṁain,
  Cruaiḋ romlensat tar gaċ lear,
  Ní hionann is do ṁuinntir.
Caidet na coṁraṁa a ḟir,
  Ag ar ḟáccḃais do ṁuinntir,
  Bar ngleó masa calma amuiġ,
  Ní héiccen toiḃéim oraiḃ.
Ro fáccḃus iad icCraic Léiṫ,
  I mbernaiḋ nar scoiltit sceiṫ,
  Birnd, ger doilig cloḋ an ḟir,
  Do ṫuiṫ araen re a ṁuinntir.
Ar ttres isin mBréintir mbuain
  Robaḋ treas calma coṁċruaid,

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[1] *Bad food.* More correctly in B. droċ ċuid.

[2] *Inflicted on him.* For tuc sosum dosom i fianbot̆aib, B. reads, tuccsattarsoṁ do Brian hi ffianboṫaiḃ: "Did they occasion to Brian in the wild huts," &c.

[3] *Country.* A tire dúiṫċe fein, B.

[4] *Dispirited.* Go duḃaċ deraċ doiṁenmmaċ toirrseaċ truaġ neṁeileaċ, B.

[5] *Historians.* Doiġ atád sen-chaiḋe ga raḋa gur ḋiṫaiġettar goill a ṁuintir conaċ raibe ina lenmain fodeóig aċt cúicc fir decc, B.: "But there are historians that say," &c.

[6] *Of his being.* Brian do beith

and the ruin, the bad food[1] and bad bedding which they inflicted on him[2] in the wild huts of the desert, on the hard knotty wet roots of his own native country[3]; whilst they killed his people and his trusty officers and his comrades; sorrowful, dispirited,[4] wretched, unpitied, weary. For historians[5] say that the foreigners cut off his people, so that he had at last no more than fifteen followers.

His followers cut off to fifteen.

XLVI. But when Mathgamhain heard of his being[6] in this condition, he sent a messenger to him, for he dreaded[7] his fall by the foreigners for want of troops and forces. When Brian and Mathgamhain met in one place,[8] [Mathgamhain condoled with Brian on the destruction which had befallen Brian's followers, and he spake this poem:—

Mathgamhain sends to condole with Brian.

His poetical lament on the occasion.

[M.] Alone art thou, O Brian of Banba!
Thy warfare was not without valour,
Not numerous hast thou come to our house,
Where hast thou left thy followers?
[B.] I have left them with the foreigners
After having been cut down, O Mathgamhain!
In hardship they followed me over every plain,
Not the same as thy people.
[M.] In what battles, O man,
Hast thou left thy people?
If your fighting was brave on the plain,
No reproach shall be cast upon you!
[B.] I have left them on Craig Liath,
In that breach where shields were cleft,
Birnn, (it was difficult to cut off the man),—
Fell there with his people.
Our combat in the everlasting Bréintir
Was a brave and exceedingly hard combat.

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isin uaite sluaiġ, ocus soċaiḋe sin, B., "of Brian being in this want of troops and of forces."

[7] *He dreaded.* Rop eccail lais, B.

[8] *In one place.* D. reads O rancatar [rangattar, B.] dna oen inad, [go haen inad, B.] Brian ocus Matġaṁain, ro bi Brían ica cursad, 7c., "when Brian and Mathgamhain met together, Brian reproached Mathgamhain," &c. (as in c. xlvii.), omitting the whole passage which is put within brackets in the text, including the poem. It will be seen that the poem is a dialogue between Mathgamhain (*pron.* Mahoun) and Brian; and to as-

Marbsam Eodond,—garb̆ a ġal,
Cona cetraċad trenfer,
Ar ngleó gun fforgus nir maeṫ,
Toirrseaċ sin de leṫ ar leṫ,
Ar ngleó sa tres níṙ tres lag.
Trioċa im Elius do tuitsiot,
Ced im Elgim—ní ṙád gó!
Garb̆ in tres—isin aen ló,
A Maṫgaṁain, as fir daṁ,
Noċa mín ar niomscarad̆.
Fuaramar mór ḋulc ar sin,
Do ġresaib̆ do ġretlaichib̆,
Ar séd noċar séd sad̆ail.
Is mór ccéd re a ccoṁáirim̆.
Ro ionnarbas, ní bréc so,
Goill ó Deircc-Deirc go Forgo,
Do ċuirsiom an luċt ele,
O Eċtge go Trattraiġe.
As iadsin ar sccela, a ḟir,
A ṁeic Ceinneittiġ cnisgil,
Meinic tuccsam sinn co beċt
Ḃail as nar doiġ linn imṫeċt.
Noċa bíad̆ Ceinneittiġ ar cṙád̆,
Noċa bíad̆ Lorcán líonṁar,
Ar gallaib̆ na ttoċt marsoin,
Mar ataóisi a Maṫgaṁain.
As ogla sin a Ḃriain bregh,
Noċa niarmartaċ taignead̆,
Ni ḟuil ṫaídh ná thinne hi ccrad̆,
Darlinne ge taoí go huaṫad̆.
uathadh.]

Brian reproaches Mathgamhain for his peace with the foreigners.

XLVII. Ro bi Ḃrian ica cursad Maṫ̆gamna co mór, ocus asbert frisc coba intlas menman, ocus corba laicci eċ̆tar ciniuda do siṫ̆ na comsossod do damṫ̆ain do gallaib, ocus siat for a ferund, ocus for a leisc

sist the reader, the Editor, in the translation, has prefixed the letters M. and B. to the words intended to be spoken by Mahoun and Brian, respectively.

[1] *Alone.* It is a custom of Irish scribes to repeat the first word of a poem at the end, as a mode of marking its conclusion; and it was a rule to make the poem begin and end with the same word or syllable.

We killed Edonn,—fierce his valour,
With his forty heroes.
Our fight at the Forgus was not soft;
Weary of it were we on both sides;
Our fight in the combat was no weak combat;
Thirty, with Elius fell.
An hundred with Elgim,—no falsehood!
Fierce was the combat,—in one day.
O! Mathgamhain, I speak but truth,
Not mild was our parting with them.
We suffered much of evil after that,
From the attacks of fierce champions,
Our path was not a path of ease.
Many were their hundreds when counted.
I banished—this is no falsehood—
The foreigners from Deirg-Deirc to the Forgus;
We drove the other party
From Echtge to Tradraighe.
These are our adventures, O man,
O son of Cennedigh, the fair-skinned;
Often did we deliver ourselves with success,
From positions in which we despaired of escape.
Cennedigh for wealth would not have been,
Nor would Lorcan, the fruitful, have been,
So quiescent towards the foreigners,
As thou art, O Mathgamhain!
[M.] This is pride, O brave Brian;
Thy mind is not considerate,
Thy care and thy thoughts are not on wealth,
Methinks, even though thou art alone!

ALONE.[1]]

XLVII. Brian reproached[2] Mathgamhain greatly, and he said that it was from cowardice[3] of mind, and from the weakness of a stranger tribe,[4] that he conceded[5] peace or truce to the foreigners while they occupied his terri- Brian reproaches Mathgamhain for his peace with the foreigners.

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[2] *Reproached.* Ag cursachad, B. Lit. was reproaching.

[3] *That it was cowardice.* Gur bo tlás ocus gur bo laicce dó, ris no comhorradh, &c., B.

[4] *Stranger tribe:* i.e., that had no fatherland to defend.

[5] *Conceded.* Dámhachtain, B.

Contrasts the conduct of his ancestors.

lama ḋuṫaig a aṫar, ocus a ṡenaṫar; ocus aṫbert fris ni baḋ é a ṡenaṫair, .i. Lorcan mac Laċtna ḋo genaḋ comsosaḋ amlid; intí naċ tuc ḋaḋitín na ḋaċill ḋo Maelseċlaind mac Mailruanaid .i. ḋo rig Erend, ocus ḋo .u. cuigeḋaib Erend, eḋ risanimreḋ oen cluċi ḋo fiḋċill for fagthi Maigi Aḋar; ocus inti nar leic ḋo na seċt caṫaib comóraib Aiṫ U Ḋogair ḋo Loscuḋ, fri ceṫri la ocus fri ceṫri aiḋċib. Aṫbert, ḋna, ni baḋ é Lugaid Mind, mac Oengussa Tirig, a ṡenaṫair ele, ḋo genaḋ innisin fos; inti ón nar leic essin mil maigi ḋo Sil Tlaman Tuaṫbil, tre ṫarcasin ḋo tri caṫaib comra Conaċta nocor brisesṫair seċt caṫa forṫu, ocus cor marb .uii. rigu ḋib, ocus cor sraen maḋma o Carnḋ Feraḋaiċ co hAṫ Lucait, ocus ni bai foranḋ no soċraidi aċt gillanḋraḋ, ocus macraid, ocus aes ḋimain arcena. Asbert ni mo baḋ é Corc inti ro ṫafaind gullu arḋus .i. Corc mac Cais mic Ailella Oluim, na oḋemaḋ tar na leṫetisin, inti on roċuir oċt caṫa ic cosnum sairi Muman, ocus a aṫarḋa arcena, ocus leṫi moga co cotcenḋ.

Mathgamhain's answer.

Aṫbert Mathgamain ba fir ḋo sin uli, ocus cíar ba fir nir bai aicisеom acmaing fresṫail gall, mar ro gab mét a soċraiti, ocus imaḋ a sloig, ocus ra mét a mileḋ, ocus febas allureaċ, ocus a claiḋium,

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[1] *Would never.* Náṙ bé, B.

[2] *Have made a truce.* Ḋo ḋenaḋ coṁossaḋ amlaiḋ .i. an tí naċ tucc ḋṡaiġiṫtin na ḋṡaiċill, B.

[3] *Magh Adhair.* Feḋb ris a nimereaḋ én ċluiṫċe fiṫcilli for faiṫċe Muiġe hAḋar, B.

[4] *Four days.* Fri ré tri la, 7 ceiṫeora aiḋhċe, B., "for three days and four nights."

[5] *He said, also.* 7 aṫbert nar bo he Luġaiḋ mac Aenġusa Tíriġ, B.

[6] *Have ever.* Ḋo ḋenaḋ in sin .i. an tí nar leicc éis anġiuilgennaiġ ḋo Síol aṫlamáin Tuaiṫbil, B.

[7] *Great.* Coṁmóra, B.

[8] *Seven battles.* No gur bris caṫ forra, B., "until he gained a battle over them."

[9] *Seven of their kings.* 7 gur marḃ a riġ, ocus cur ċuir a raen maḋma iaḋ, B., "and killed their king," &c.

[10] *He had.* 7 naċ raiḃe ní ba mó ḋe ṡoċraiṫṫe na giollanraiḋ, B.

[11] *He said:* i.e., Brian said—Aṫbert ni buḋ é Corc mac anṡir ro taṡonḋ goill ar túr, .i. Corc Caisil, ro ḋémaḋ tar na leiṫeiṫṫe sin, óir ḋo cuir oċt ccaṫa aġ cosnam na Muṁan, 7c., B.: "He said that Corc, the son of the man who first routed the foreigners, i.e., Corc of Caisel, would not have endured such an insult, for he

tory and his rightful inheritance, the patrimony of his father and of his grandfather; and he said to him that his grandfather Lorcan, son of Lachtna, would never[1] have made a truce[2] such as that; he who gave not submission or tribute to Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, king of Erinn, or to the five provinces of Erinn, for as much time as that in which he could have played one game of chess, on the green of Magh Adhair[3]; and he who would not permit the seven great battalions to burn Ath U Doghair for four days[4] and four nights. He said, also,[5] that neither would Lughaidh Menn, son of Aenghus Tirech, another of his ancestors, have ever[6] done such a thing. The man who never yielded even the leveret of a hare to the tribe of Tlaman Tuathbil through contempt of the three great[7] battalions of Connacht, until he had gained seven battles[8] over them, and killed seven of their kings,[9] and until he had pursued them in their retreat from Carnn Feradaich to Ath Lucait; and he had[10] no troops or followers, but only suttlers, and boys, and idlers. He said,[11] no more would Corc, the man who first routed the foreigners, viz., Corc, son of Cas, son of Ailioll Oluim, have been the man to brook such an insult; the man, also, who fought eight battles in defence of the freedom of Mumhain and of his patrimony, and of Leth Mogha in general.

Contrasts the conduct of his ancestors.

Mathgamhain said,[12] that all this[13] was true, and that although[14] it was true, he had not the power to meet the foreigners, because of the greatness of their followers, and the number of their army, and the greatness of their champions, and the excellence of their corslets, and of their

Mathgamhain's answer.

had fought eight battles in defence of Mumhain, &c." Corc, son of Anluan, grandfather of Lorcan, is evidently intended. See chap. xliii., p. 59; and "son" in the text may, perhaps, be used in the sense of "descendant."

[12] *Said.* Ocuſ aτbeſτ, B., "and Mathgamhain said."

[13] *All this.* Do ſoim ſin, B.

[14] *Although.* Ʒéſ bo ꝼiſ naċ ꝼaiḃe acꝼaing ʒall do ḟꝼeſtal aicce ꝼemeꝺ a miłeaꝺ ocuſ ꝼe ꝼeaḃuſ, 7c., B.: "Although it was true that he had no power to meet the foreigners, because of the number of their champions and the excellence of their corslets, and of their swords," &c.; omitting all that intervenes in the text.

ocur anarm arcena, ocur arbert dna nirbail leir Dailcair dacbail ina lurg, amail ro acrom urmor a muintiri.

Brian's reply.

Atbert, imorro, Brian nir bo coir dorom in ní rin [do raḋa], uair ba duṫaig doéc, ocur ba duṫaig do Dailcair uli, uair marb anaṫri, ocur a renaṫri, ocur bar aracend doib fein dágbail; ocur nirbo dual, imorro, ocur nirbo duṫaig doib tár nataracairin do gabail, uair nir gabrat anaṫri no ṡenaiṫri rin o neoč ar talmain. Arbert, dna, nir ba miad menman doib in ferand ro corainret anaṫri, ocur ṡenaṫri tre č̆aib ocur tre cliač̆aib re maṫib goedel, a lecun can caṫ can cliaṫaig do gallaib glara, ocur do gentib gorma gurmara.

Math-gamhain assembles the Dal Cais.

XLVIII. Ro timairgit iarrin an Dailcair uli, inait oentadach oenbali co Mathgamain, ocur ro himcomarc cia comarli bad ail doib do denaib .i. in riṫ no coccaḋ fri gallaib ocur fri danaraib. Arbertadar uli imorro, eter ren ocur oc, ba fearr leo bar, ocur éc ocur aeded ir imč̆im do agbail, iccornum rairi anatarda, ocur aceneoil, na fodmač̆tain forrana, ocur formait allmarač̆ no crič̆ no a ferand do dilregud doib, ocur ba guṫ cet ar bel oenṡir rin.

They decide on war;

and to expel the

Arbert Mathgamain, imorro, ba hi comarli ba coir

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[1] *He said.* Ocur atbert, omitting dna, B.

[2] *To leave.* Do ṡaccḃail, B.

[3] *Had left.* Ro ṡaccroṁ, B. The frequent omission of the aspirated ṡ in D., has often been noticed.

[4] *Brian said.* This speech is given somewhat differently in B., thus:—ocur atbert Brian nir bo cóir dóroṁ an ni rin do raḋa, uair do éccrat an aiṫre ocur a renaiṫre, ocur ba dúthaiġ dóib fein ecc do faġḃail, oir nir gabrataṙ a naiṫre, ocur a renaiṫre ó neaċ riaṁ ar talṁain doṁan écca: "And Brian said, that it was not right in him to say that thing, for their fathers and their grandfathers had died, and it was hereditary also to themselves to suffer death, for their fathers and their grandfathers never submitted to it [insult] from any person in the wide world."

[5] *He said.* B. reads, ocur atbert nar. It may be observed here, to avoid repetition, that for arbert, "he said," as it is written in D., the MS. B. always reads atbert.

[6] *To abandon.* A leġaḋ, B.

[7] *Defended.* Cornattar, B.

[8] *Battles.* For ċaib, which is wrong, B. reads, ċaṫaiḃ.

[9] *After this.* Arrin Dal cCair, B

[10] *Before Mathgamhain.* Ináit na-

swords, and their other arms in general. And he said[1] also that he would not like to leave[2] the Dal Cais *dead* in following him, as he [Brian] had left[3] the most of his people.

Brian said[4] that that was not a right thing for him [Mathgamhain] *to say*, because it was hereditary for him to die, and hereditary for all the Dal Cais, for their fathers and grandfathers had died, and death was certain to come upon themselves; but it was not natural or hereditary to them to submit to insult or contempt, because their fathers or their grandfathers submitted not to it from any one on earth. He said[5] also that it was no honour to their courage to abandon,[6] without battle or conflicts, to dark foreigners, and black grim Gentiles, the inheritance which their fathers and grandfathers had defended[7] in battles[8] and conflicts against the chiefs of the Gaedhil. Brian's reply.

XLVIII. After this[9] all the Dal Cais were assembled to one appointed place before Mathgamhain,[10] and he asked them what decision they wished to come to, namely, whether they would have peace or war with the foreigners, and with the Danars. Then[11] they all answered, both old and young, that they preferred[12] meeting death and destruction and annihilation and violence in defending the freedom[13] of their patrimony, and of their race, rather than submit to the tyranny and oppression[14] of the pirates, or abandon[15] their country and their lands to them. And this was the voice of hundreds,[16] as the voice of one man.[17] Mathgamhain assembles the Dal Cais. They decide on war;

Mathgamhain then said, that this was[18] the decision and to expel the

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ενταδαιġ ναενḃαιλε co Mαṫgαṁαιν, ocuγ co Ḃριαν, ocuγ ρο ιοmċomαιρc Mαṫgαṁαιν, ocuγ Ḃριαν διḃ cια comαιρλε δο δενδαοιγ, αν γίṫ, νο αν coccαδ ρε gαλλαιḃ, [omitting ocuγ ϝρι δαναραιḃ,] B.: "To one appointed place, before Mathgamhain and before Brian, and Mathgamhain and Brian asked them, what decision they would make, peace or war with the foreigners."

[11] *Then.* B. omits ιmoρρo.

[12] *Preferred.* Ꝛoḃαδ ϝερρ λεό écc ocuγ οιδεαδ δϝαgḃάιλ, B.

[13] *Freedom.* Ꝯαοιργι, B.

[14] *Tyranny and oppression.* Ϝoρράιν ocuγ ϝοιρneιρτ, B.

[15] *To abandon.* Ιnα ccρίċ, ocuγ ιnα ϝϝεροnn ϝέιν, ocuγ α ccρίoch δο διλγιύccαδ δόιḃ, B.

[16] *Hundreds:* .c. ταρ, B.

[17] *One man.* Ꝺoιṅϝιρ αcα, B.

[18] *This was.* For ιmoρρo ba hι, B. reads, ιγι.

Danes from the Eoghanacht country, and from Cashel.

δoib δo δenaib .i. teač̆t i Caγiul na γiȝ ocuγ innEoȝanač̆t aγcena, uaiγ ba he γin pγimpoγt Muman, ocuγ pγimt̆eȝlač̆ claiinni Aelella; δeȝbiγ on aγ ba he Aeleač̆ Muman, ocuγ Temaiγ Let̆i Moȝa. Ba he δna a munaδuγ ocuγ a γenδucuγ baδein. Aγbeγt ba feaγγ a fíγ cat̆a ocuγ comlaind γin innanδut̆aiȝ̆, ocuγ imma leiγclama bunaid innaγ im an feγand foγȝabala ocuγ claiδim, ocuγ cid δuaδ no δocaiγ foȝabδaiγ ic coγnum γaiγi pγimt̆eȝllaiȝ Muman, ocuγ im δa uatni conȝbala follamnaiγ ocuγ flat̆amnaiγ Eγend; iγe ba coγu γaiγγi δo coγnum ocuγ iaγγaid and.

Invasion of the Eoghanacht country and Cashel, then in the power of the Danes, A.D. 964.

XLIX. Ro δelliȝ, δna, foγγin comaγli γin acco, ocuγ aγbeγtaδaγ uli ba comaγli coiγ, ba hat̆iuγc faȝbala, [ocuγ] ba buaid aiγlabγa. Δo lotaγ iaγγin innEoȝanač̆t, ocuγ γo linγat Eoȝanač̆t, ocuγ Muγcγaiȝi acco o Δún na Sciath co Beluč̆ Accailli. Δa luid, imoγγo, Mathȝamain iaγγin i Caγelnaγiȝ, ocuγ γo ȝabaδ γoγγaδ, ocuγ lonȝpoγt acci i nΔún Cuiγc in bliaδain iaγ néc Δonč̆aδa mic Cellač̆an γi Caiγil. Δo γonaδ, imoγγo, cγeč̆a moγa ocuγ aiγȝni, ocuγ iγȝala uat̆ib aγ cač̆ let̆ fo Mumain δu i γabaδaγ ȝaill ocuγ a muinteγa.

Imar, of Limerick, musters his vassals.

O γo cuala, imoγγo, Imaγ ua hImaiγ aγδγi ȝall Muman ocuγ ȝoeδel in tan γin, in meiγneač̆ moγ

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[1] *For that was.* Oiγ ba he, B. The meaning is the same. "For that [viz., Cashel] was the chief [royal] residence of Mumhain, [or Munster], and the Eoghanacht, [viz., the country around Killarney] was the principal seat of the descendants of Ailioll, [or Oilioll Oluim.]" For pγim t̆eȝlaċ, B. reads, pγiṁteallaċaiγeachaiγ, "the principal seat of the supremacy of the descendants of Oilioll."

[2] *For it was.* Δóiȝ ba he, B. The meaning is, that Cashel was to Munster, what Ailech [the old royal seat of the O'Neills] was to the north of Ireland; and to Legh Mogha or the southern half of Ireland, what Tara [the royal seat of the chief king] was to the whole kingdom.

[3] *Their origin.* B. omits a munaδuγ [which in correct orthography ought to be a mbunaδuγ], and reads, ocuγ ba he a γen nδut̆ċaγ buδéin.

[4] *And combat.* B. omits ocuγ comlaind γin.

[5] *For their inheritance.* B. reads, imo δuthaiȝ̆ 7 ma cγich bunaiδ, ináγ ma feγonn: "For their inheritance and for their native country, than for land acquired," &c.

[6] *Freedom.* B. omits γaiγi.

[7] *Pillars.* An δaγa huaitne, B.

that it was right for them to come to, to go to Caisel of the kings, and to the Eoghanacht also, for that was[1] the chief residence of Mumhain, and the principal seat of the descendants of Ailioll; very properly too, for it was[2] the Ailech of Mumhain and the Temhair of Leth Mogha. It was also the place of their origin[3] and their ancient birthright. He said that it was better and more righteous to do battle and combat[4] for their inheritance,[5] and for their native right, than for land acquired by conquest and the sword; and that though they must necessarily sustain labour or loss in defence of the freedom[6] of the chief seat of Mumhain, and the two sustaining pillars[7] of the government[8] and sovereignty of Erinn, it was for that[9] they ought to contend and seek.

Danes from the Eoghanacht country, and from Cashel.

XLIX. Accordingly this advice[10] was adopted; and they all said that it was prudent advice, and that it was gifted[11] counsel, and a victory of eloquence. They marched then into the *country of the* Eoghanacht, and the Eoghanacht and the *people of* Muscraighe gathered unto them[12] from Dún na Sciath[13] to Belach Accailli. Mathgamhain went[14] after this to Caisel of the kings; and he halted and encamped[15] at Dún Cuirc, the year after the death of Donnchadh, son of Cellachan, king of Caisel. Great plunders[16] and ravages and conflicts were effected by them on all sides throughout Mumhain, wherever the foreigners and their people were settled.

Invasion of the Eoghanacht country and Cashel, then in the power of the Danes, A.D. 964.

But when Imar, grandson of Imar, chief king of the foreigners of Mumhain, and of the Gaedhil at that time,

Imar, of Limerick, musters his vassals.

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8 *Government.* B. omits ꝼoꝺꝺamnaiꞅ.

9 *It was for that.* Aꞅ ꞅe ba cóꞃa ꝺo ċoꞅnaṁ ꞃe ꝺanaꞃaiḃ, B., "this was what they ought to defend from the Danars."

10 *This advice.* B. gives this passage thus: Ro aenꝛaiġꞅiot uiꝺe an coṁaiꞃꝺi ꞅin, ocuꞅ aꝛbeꞃꝛaꝛaꞃ ba cóiꞃ í, ocuꞅ ba haiꝛ̇eꞅcc ꝼaꞅbaꝺa, ocuꞅ ba buaiꝺ̇ nuꞃꝺaḃꞃa ꞃo ċan. Ꝺo ꝺoꝛaꞃ uiꝺe in Ꝺoꞅanaċꝛ iaꞃꞅin.

11 *Gifted.* Aiꝛ̇eꞅcc, B. Aꝛ̇iuꞅꞅ ꝼaꞅbaꝺa, "a message communicated or inspired by God or the Saints."

12 *Unto them.* Accco, om. B.

13 *Dún na Sciath*, so B. Dún naslath, D.

14 *Mathgamhain went.* Ꝺo ꝺuiꝺ Maꝛ̇ꞅaṁain co Caiꞅioꝺ na ꞃíoġ, B.

15 *Encamped.* B. omits accı.

16 *Great plunders.* B. omits ımoꞃꞃo.

adbul, ocus in menmanrad mirbulda daronsatar meic Cendetig ocus Dailcais arcena, ba rec̆t acnid leo sin, ba ferg fir feoc̆air, ocus ba gal cridi, ar tabairt iarum na Muman dosom uli fo cain, ocus fo geillsini gall; is amar bas bic a nim. Do ronnestar cocad, ocus cendabac̆ do denam a cuil bic don Mumain ris iarsin. Dognit̆er, dna, mort̆inol ocus morslúaged fer Muman uli cucci, etir gall ocus goedel, co hait oentadac̆ oenbali, dinred ocus do delargud Dailcais, cunac̆ beit̆ fer congbala cind capaill dar fet̆i, dab na dafoprat̆met, fo cec̆tar aird na Muman can marbad ocus can asagud, no dat̆abairt fo cain, ocus fo geilsini do gallaib amail cac̆.

A muster of Danes and Irish to ravage Dal Cais.

L. Batar imorro sin Mumain flat̆i firenac̆a, ocus srut̆i soc̆enelac̆a dar narbail in sluaged sin. Luc̆t iatside nac̆ rabi daneon fo mamus gall, ocus donarsat baidbaib bunaid Dailcais .i. Faelan mac Cormaic ri nanDesi, ocus Flat̆ri mac Allamaran ri Ressad, ocus Sidecad mac Segni ri Titill. Ocus romarbait tra in triar sin la h-Imar Lumnig ocus re gallaib arcena, uair dabatar ic tairmesc in sluagaid; ocus ro fes ort̆u co bad fearr leo beit̆ ac Mathgamain oldas beit̆ ic gallaib ocus ic mac Brain. Badar dna drong ele isin Mumain, ocus cen cob ar daig gall, ba

Three Munster chieftains refuse to join Imar, and are murdered.

Others join the foreigners from enmity to the Dal Cais.

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[1] *Tremendous.* Adbal sin, B.

[2] *To him.* Ba rec̆t aiccnead̆ leosom̆ sin, ocus ba fercc f̆irf̆eóc̆air, B.

[3] *His having made.* Ar ttabairt Mum̆an uile fo cáin, ocus fo geillsine gall, coccad̆ ocus comf̆uac̆ad̆ do dénum̆ hi ccúil b̆icc don Mhum̆ain frisss, B. The transcriber most probably omitted a line.

[4] *Spite.* A nim, "his venom," or "poison." The words is amar bas bic a nim are omitted in B.

[5] *Muster.* Do gnít̆er mór f̆luaiğead̆ ocus mór t̆ionól, B.

[6] *To one appointed place.* Co háit náenbaile, B.

[7] *Depopulate.* Dit̆lait̆riuccad̆, B.

[8] *Should not be.* Cona beit̆ fer congm̆ala cind capaill tar feith fo ceit̆re hairdib̆ na Mum̆an uile, gan marbad̆ ocus gan básuccad, no a ttabairt fó c̆áin, ocus fo geillsine gall, B.: "That there should not be a man to guide a horse's head over a channel, within the four points of Munster, who should not be killed and put to death, or made to give tribute and hostages to the foreigners." The words "a man to guide a horse's head over a channel," were probably proverbial.

[9] *Righteous.* Firbeart̆ac̆a, B.

[10] *Did not approve.* Lit., "to whom

heard of the great, tremendous[1] courage, and the marvellous determination which the sons of Cennedigh displayed, and the Dal Cais also, it was to him[2] frenzy of mind, and raging fury, and aching of heart, after his having made[3] all Mumhain to be tributary and bound to give hostages to the foreigners. His spite[4] was little short of death *to him.* He then determined on making a small angle of Mumhain the seat of war and conflict; and the great muster[5] and great hosting of all the men of Mumhain was accordingly made unto him, both of Gaill, and Gaedhil, to one appointed place,[6] to ravage and depopulate[7] Dal Cais, so that there should not be[8] *left of them* a man to guide a horse's head over a channel, an abbot, or venerable person, within the four points of Mumhain, who should not be murdered or put to death, or brought under tribute and subjection to the foreigners like all others.

A muster of Danes and Irish to ravage Dal Cais.

L. But there were in Mumhain righteous[9] princes, and noble chiefs, who did not approve[10] of this hosting. These were people who were not in voluntary subjection to the foreigners, and who were not the natural foes of the Dal Cais, viz., Faelan, son of Cormac, king of the Desi, and Flathri, son of Allamaran,[11] king of Ressad, and Sidechad,[12] son of Segni, king of Titill. And these three were killed[13] by Imar of Luimnech and the foreigners who were with him, because[14] they were endeavouring to hinder the expedition; and it was known of them[15] that they preferred being allied to Mathgamhain rather than to the foreigners and the son of Bran. There were others also in Mumhain, and, although it was not for the sake[16] of the foreigners, they were ready to go and plunder Dal Cais,

Three Munster chieftains refuse to join Imar, and are murdered.

Others join the foreigners from enmity to the Dal Cais.

this expedition was not pleasing." Ꝺanaꞃ ḃáıl an ꞅluaıʒeaꝺ ꞅın ꝺo ꝺenaṁ .ı. luċt ıaꝺꞅıꝺe naċ ꞃaıḃe ꝺa nꝺeóın ꞅo ꞅmaċt ʒall, ocuꞅ ꝺanaꞃ bıoꝺbaꝺa ıꝺıꞃ ꝺál cCaıꞅ, B.

[11] *Allamaran.* Son of Allmoran, king of Resad, B.

[12] *Sidechad.* Sidichan, son of Segin, king of Ticcill, or Tigill, B.

[13] *Were killed.* B. omits tꞃa.

[14] *Because.* Le ʒallaıb aꞃċena ó ꞃoḃatteaꞃ acc toıꞃmeꞅcc an tꞅluaıʒıꝺ, B.

[15] *Of them.* Ocuꞅ onlo ꞃo ꞅeꞅ ꞅoꞃꞃu ʒuꞃ bo ꞅeꞃꞃ leó beıth aʒ Maṫʒaṁaın ına beıꝺ aʒ mac Ꝺꞃaın, ocuꞅ aʒ ʒallaıḃ, B.

[16] *Not for the sake.* Ocuꞅ ʒıon ʒuḃ aꞃ ꝺaıġ ʒall, B., a difference of spelling only.

hescaid leo tec̆t dinriud Dalcais ,i. Moelmuad mac Brain ri Desmuman, ocus Donnaban mac Cat̆ail rig Ua Carbri. Ar marbad na mat̆i sin dna, amail ro raidsiumar, daluid Imar Lumnig co sluag Muman umi eter gall ocus goedel da insaigi Dailcais.

A council of war of the chiefs of the Dal Cais summoned.

LI. Ro siac̆t in scel sin co Brian ocus co Mathgamain, ocus co mat̆ib Dailcais arc̆ena, ait irrabadar i Casel na rig. Ro docuirit imorro Dailcais uli cucu co sogain. Ro imcomarc Mathgamain cid do gentais na curaid. Asberdar, imorro, na tretil ocus trenmilid ba comarli leo toc̆t co Cnamc̆aill in nadaid na sluag, ocus na socraidi, co faigtis tus in bad inc̆at̆a doib iat, ocus meinbad ed cotucdais amus caillea, ocus foraigec̆ta fort̆o in Cnamc̆aill. Ocus is andsin do roc̆t Cat̆al mac Feradaig do Delbna Moir, cet fer narmac̆ imcomlaind, do neoc̆ forsa rabi sciat̆ mor miletа ar cli cac̆ oen ṡir, i furtac̆t ocus i forit̆iu Dailcais tria connailbi, ocus tri fial cardius ar ba do sil Luideac̆ mic Oengusa na .u. Delbna. Ba he in Cat̆al sin, tra, ri amsac̆ ocus gaiscedac̆ Erend ina remis in amsir fodein. Cac̆ du i rabi gaiscedac̆ no amsac̆ do Dailcais fo Erind etir Maelseclaind ocus Aed Ua Neill, da roc̆tar uli do regra na bagi sin, ocus in nanforran, ocus do tabairt a fedma cat̆a ocus comluind leo. Uair siac̆tadar sin uli oen inad isi comarli daronta leo tec̆t in adaig na gall

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[1] *King of Desmumhain.* Ri Muṁan, B., "king of Munster," a mistake. Maolmuad, or Molloy, son of Bran, was king or lord of Desmumhain, (south Munster, now Desmond).

[2] *Killed.* After marbad, B. inserts tra, and omits dna after mat̆i sin.

[3] *Related.* A dub̆ramar roṁainn, B., "as we have said above."

[4] *Army.* Go sluaġaib̆, B., "armies."

[5] *To meet.* Dionnsaiḋe, B.

[6] *As well as.* B. omits sin and arc̆ena.

[7] *Summoned.* Ro toċuiritt, B.

[8] *Before them.* Dal cCais uile in aen ionad, B., "all the Dal Cais into one place."

[9] *Asked.* Here B. exhibits a different text. Ocus ro aṫcoṁairc Maṫġaṁain dib̆ cidh do ḋendais. Atbertatter rob í a ccoṁairle toċt go Cnaṁċoill na naġaiḋ dus co faicdís iad, ocus inbuḋ ionċaṫa dóib̆ iad iarrttain, ocus munbud edh co ttuccdaís amass coilledh forra hi cCnáṁċoill: "And Mathgamhain asked them what they would do. They answered, that their advice

viz., Maelmuadh, son of Bran, king of Desmumhain,[1] and Donnabhan, son of Cathal, king of Ui Cairbri. After having killed[2] those nobles, as we have related,[3] Imar of Luimnech marched, attended by the army[4] of Mumhain, both Gaill and Gaedhil, to meet[5] the Dal Cais.

A council of war of the chiefs of the Dal Cais summoned.

LI. This news reached Brian and Mathgamhain, as well as[6] the chiefs of the Dal Cais, when they were at Caisel of the kings; they summoned[7] immediately all the Dal Cais before them.[8] Mathgamhain asked[9] what the heroes wished to do. The chieftains and brave soldiers now said that their advice was to march to Cnamchoill against the army and its followers, that they might ascertain if they were able to give them battle; and if not, to make a wood and camp assault on them at Cnamchoill. And it was at that time came[10] Cathal, son of Feradach[11] of Delbna-mór, with an hundred armed men fit for battle,[12] (each man of them having a large warrior's shield at his side,[13]) to the assistance and relief[14] of the Dal Cais, through affection and generous friendship, because the five Delbhnas[15] are of the race of Lugaidh, son of Oengus. Now this Cathal[16] was the king-soldier and champion of Erinn during his career, in his own time.[17] Wherever there was a soldier, or champion of the Dal Cais throughout Erinn, whether *in the service of* Maelsechlainn[18] or of Aedh O'Neill, they all came to answer[19] *the summons to* that conflict and unequal warfare, and to give them their help in battle and combat. When these all had arrived at one place,

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was to go to Cnamhchoill, to reconnoitre them, and, if they were able, to give them battle there, and if not to make an assault upon them from the wood in Cnamhchoill."

[10] *Came.* Ro ꝼıaċt, B.

[11] *Son of Feradach.* Mac Faġaꝛtaiġ, B., "son of Fagartach."

[12] *Fit for battle.* Nıon ċoṁlaınn, B.

[13] *At his side.* Foꝛ cli, B.

[14] *Relief.* Hı ꝼꝼuꝛtaċt, ocuꝛ hı ꝼꝼoıꝛıthın, B.

[15] *The five Delbhnas.* See Introd., p. cxvii., n. [4], Table III., No. 9, p. 247.

[16] *This Cathal.* Ocuꝛ ba Caṫal ꝼın, B.

[17] *In his own time.* In a ꝛe, ocuꝛ ına aımꝼıꝛ. Cıd tꝛa aċt ꝫaċ du hı ꝛaıbe, 7c., B.

[18] *Maelsechlainn.* Maelꝼeċlaınn móꝛ, B.

[19] *To answer.* Do ꝛıaċtatteꝛ uıle do ꝼꝛeccꝛa na báġa ꝼın, ocuꝛ na ꝼoꝛꝛana, ocuꝛ do ṫabaıꝛt a ꝼꝼeḋma caṫa, ocuꝛ comlaınn leó. O ꝛo ꝼıaċtadaꝛ ꝼın uıle co haoın ıonaḋ,

co Sulcoit, ocus cat̆ fic̆a forneirt feramail do tabairt do ʒallaib fo reid in muiʒi. Oɗad̆catar ɗaraile.

Battle of Sulcoit. A.D. 968.

LII. O ɗa ʒiac̆tatar ɗna, Ɗailcais co Sulcoit ɗa roc̆tatar ʒaill na conni, ocus na comɗail, ocus ro ferad cat̆ fic̆ɗa, fuileac̆, forɗerʒ, anmin, aʒarb, aniarmartac̆, escarɗemail, etorro. Ɗatar o trat̆ eirʒi co meɗan lai ic immualaɗ, ocus ic imesarcain etorro.

The foreigners defeated.

Romaiɗ, imorro, for ʒallaib iarsin, ocus roscalit fo c̆laɗaib, ocus fo ʒlentaiʒib, ocus fo ɗiamraib in macairi moir minscot̆aiʒ̆ sin iarsin. Ro lenait, imorro, leosom co hait̆ atlum immeɗrum fiarlait in maiʒi moir; ro marbit ocus ro ɗicennait o sin co hiarnoin.

Poetical dialogue between Mathgamhain and Brian.

[Ocus ɗo bai Mat̆ʒamain oc fiarfaiɗ̆e scél ɗo Ɗrian, ocus ɗo bi Ɗrian acc innisin scél ɗó, ocus a ɗubairt in laiɗ̆:

Cionnas sin a Ɗriain ʒo mbloiɗ,
  A ṁeic Ceinneittiʒ, cosccraiʒ?
  An ruccsaɗ̆air ruat̆ar tenn
  Ar ʒallaiɗ̆ innsi Erenn?
Ɗo cuamar ó Caisiol ċain,
  Ʒo Cnaṁċoill a Mat̆ʒaṁain,
  Co ttarla nar ccenn ann sin
  Cat̆ marcslualʒ̆ co lúireaċuiɗ̆.
Cionnas ar sin bar sccaraiɗ,
  A Ɗriain ʒus in láiṁ at̆laiṁ?
  Caiɗe ɗ̆ar sccart̆ain na ɗiaiɗ,
  Insi ɗúinn a ɗeiʒ̆ Ɗriain.

B. The words in italics in the translation are added to complete the sense.

[1] *Against.* In acchaiɗ, B.

[2] *Fierce.* Cat̆ fíoċɗa, fuileaċ, fearaṁail, forɗ̆earcc, ainmin easccairɗeaṁail ɗo t̆aɗ̆airt etorra, B., omitting all between. This is evidently the conclusion of the next sentence (line 3 of ch. lii.), caught up from the similarity of the words.

[3] *Mid-day.* Miɗ̆meɗón lái occ iommbualaɗ̆, B.

[4] *Each other.* B. omits etorro.

[5] *Were routed.* Ocus romuiɗ forsr na ʒallaib iarsin, B.

[6] *Valleys.* Fo ʒ̆leannɗaiɗ̆, B.

[7] *Afterwards.* For sin iarsin, B. reads, iaɗ.

[8] *Great plain.* An ṁaiʒ̆e ṁóir iaɗ, B.

[9] *From that time.* Ro marɗ̆ait ocus ro ɗíċennait iaɗ co haɗ̆bul otá sin ʒo hiarnona, B., "they killed and beheaded them prodigiously from that time until evening."

the counsel they followed was to go against[1] the foreigners to Sulcoit, and to give the foreigners a fierce,[2] crushing, manly battle on the open part of the plain. *And in this* they agreed unanimously.

LII. When the Dal Cais, however, arrived at Sulcoit, the foreigners came against, and to meet them; and there was a fierce, bloody, crimsoned, violent, rough, unsparing, implacable battle fought between them. They were from sun-rise till mid-day[3] striking and slaughtering each other.[4] However, the foreigners were at length routed,[5] and they fled to the ditches, and to the valleys,[6] and to the solitudes of that great sweet-flowery plain afterwards.[7] They were followed, however, by the others quickly and rapidly throughout the great plain,[8] who killed and beheaded from that time[9] until evening.

Battle of Sulcoit, A.D. 968.

The foreigners defeated.

[And Mathgamhain[10] asked Brian for an account *of the battle*, and Brian related the story to him; and he spoke this poem:

Poetical dialogue between Mathgamhain and Brian.

[M.] How is this,[11] O Brian, the renowned,
Thou son of Cennedigh, the victorious?
Did you give a mighty rout
Unto the Gaill of the Isle of Erinn?
[B.] We went forth from Caisel the fair
To Cnam-choill, O Mathgamhain!
Until there came against us there
A battalion of horsemen in corslets.
[M.] How upon that did you part,
O Brian of the ready hand?
How did you separate afterwards?
Tell us, O noble Brian!

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[10] *Then Mathgamhain.* The passage within brackets from these words to the end of the following poem, is found only in B., and not in the older MS. It is evidently an interpolation; but its insertion is a curious evidence of the antiquity of the original work. For the poem was apparently written while the feelings necessarily generated by the fame of Mathgamhain and his brother, Brian, were still recent; although O'Clery, the transcriber of B., has modernized the spelling, and perhaps also the language.

[11] *How is this.* This poem is in the form of a dialogue between Mathgamhain and Brian. The Editor has taken the liberty of marking the words attributed to each speaker by prefixing the initials [M.] and [B].

Inneoſat ſcél buſ maiṫ liḃ
A ṁeic Ceinneittiġ coſccraigh,
Becc nar benſamar céd cend
Do ġallaiḃ indſi hErend.
Iſ maiṫ ċoſnaiḋ a Briain do báiḋ,
A ṁeic Ceinneittiġ cneaſbáin,
Ni ſeaſ an maiṫ ticſa aſ,
Noċa nſedamar cionduſ.

CIONNAS.]

Victory over the foreigners at Limerick, A.D. 968.

LIII. O drocradar oen inad leo a hatli coſcair, ocuſ comaidmi ro imigſet innaidchi co matin. Ocuſ roſ marbſat etir aidč̆i ocuſ la, co ndeč̆tatar iſin dún. Ro lenait beoſ iſin dún, ocuſ ro marbait ar na ſraṫ̆aib, ocuſ iſna taigib. Do drocratar and ſin, tra, Carran Laigneač̆, ocuſ Stabball mac Sigmaill, ocuſ Etlla Tretel, ocuſ Ruamand, ocuſ Somarlid, ocuſ Manuſ Lumnig, ocuſ Tolbarb, ocuſ Inſuit, ocuſ ſič̆i cet leo. Ro hinred ocuſ ro harged in dún leo iarſin. Tucſait a ſeoit, ocuſ a degmaini iſ a ṡadlaici alli allmarda, a or iſ a arget, a ḥetaigi ſetca ſiralli cač̆a daṫ̆a, ocuſ cač̆a ceneoil, aſſicir ſrol ſita ſainemail ſuač̆nid, iter ſcarloit iſ uani, ocuſ cač̆ hedaič̆ arč̆ena. Tuccait aningena mini maccač̆tda etroč̆ta ecſamla, a hócmna blaṫ̆i brecſrola, ocuſ a maccaimi

Names of the foreign chieftains slain.

Plunder of Limerick.

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[1] *The fort:* i.e., until the foreigners had entered the fort of Luimnech, [Limerick], which then belonged to the Scandinavians. B. gives this passage thus: Tangatter iarſin co mbuaiḋ ccoſcair, ocuſ ccomſaidſe. Ro imṫiġſeat an oidċe co maidin rompa, ocuſ ro leanſat na goill co maidin, ro marbſat etir oiḋċe ocuſ lá iad, co ndeaċatar iſin dún rompa, ocuſ ro leanait ſoſ iſin dún iad, ocuſ do ro marbaḋ ar na ſráidib ocuſ iſ na tigiḃ iad: "They came afterwards with the victory of slaughter and exultation. They marched onwards that night until morning, and they pursued the foreigners until morning; they killed them both night and day until they entered the fort before them; and they pursued them also into the fort, and killed them in the streets, and in the houses."

[2] *These.* B. reads, torcratter annſin maiṫe na ngall .i., "there were slaughtered there these chiefs of the foreigners, viz."

[3] *Carran Laighnech:* i.e., Carran of Leinster. The names of these chieftains do not occur in the Annals. B. gives them thus: "Carran Laighnech, and Stabaill, son of Sigmall, and Eda Treteall [i.e., the hero], and Ruadhmond [i.e., Redmond], and Somarligh, and

[B.] I shall relate news that will please you,
O son of Cennedigh, the victorious!
Little less took we than an hundred heads
From the Gaill of the Island of Erinn.
[M.] Well hast thou, O Brian, maintained thy battle,
O son of Cennedigh, of the fair skin;
It is not known if good will come of it,
Nor do we know how.
How.]

LIII. When they came together after victory and exultation, they marched that night until morning; and they killed *them* both night and day, until they had entered the fort.[1] They followed them also into the fort, and slaughtered them on the streets and in the houses. These[2] were killed by them there, viz., Carran Laighnech,[3] Stabball son of Sigmall, and Etlla Tretel, and Ruamand, and Somarlid, and Manus of Luimnech, and Tolbarb, and Infuit, and twenty hundred; and the fort was sacked by them after that.[4] They carried off their jewels and their best property, and their saddles beautiful and foreign; their gold[5] and their silver; their beautifully woven cloth of all colours and of all kinds; their satins and silken cloth, pleasing and variegated, both scarlet and green, and all sorts of cloth in like manner. They carried away their soft, youthful, bright, matchless, girls; their blooming silk-clad young women; and their active, large, and well-

Victory over the foreigners at Limerick, A.D. 968.

Names of the foreign chieftains slain.

Plunder of Limerick.

Magnus of Luimnech, and Tobairinfuit." In the poem which follows (chap. liv.) the names of the slain chieftains are given thus: Carran, Stabball, Eda, Tretill Tuaidh [? of the North], Magnus Berna, Toralbh, Ruadhmand of Limerick. This reading makes Eda and Tretill two distinct persons—whereas both D. and B. in this place read Etalla, (or Etla), Tretill, D., and Eda Tretill, B.

[4] *After that.* B. omits ιαρϛιn, and reads, ocuϛ τucϛαιτ, without any stop.

[5] *Their gold.* B. omits the words ιϛ α ϛαϑlαιcι αllι αllmαρϑα, and reads, α nóρ ocuϛ α nαιρccετ, ocuϛ α néϑαιġe αιllе αllmαρϑα ϛαċα ϑαċα ετιρ ϛρól ocuϛ ϛíoϑα, ocuϛ ϛιριc, ocuϛ ϛιnϛnáċ. Τuϛαιττ α mnϛeαnα mínе mαcϑαċτα, ocuϛ α nóϛmnα blαιċe bαnϑα, ocuϛ α mαcαιṁ meαρα muιρneαcα. The reader will observe that B. has modernized the spelling throughout. But to notice every variation of orthography would swell these notes to an inconvenient bulk.

mer morglana. Tuccad in dún, ocus in degbali fo dluim diad ocus is dergtened iarsin. Rot̆inoil uli in brait sin co cnocanaib Sangail, ro marbait cac̆ oen rob inéc̆ta dib, ocus ro dairait cac̆ oen rob indairt̆a.

Poem in celebration of the victory.

LIV. [Ocus do roine an file an laid̆ aga foirgell:

A Mat̆gam̆ain is mait̆ sin,
A meic Cinneittiğ Caisil,
Tugais na gulla fa ruaig,
Don turassa go Sulcuaid.
Do ċuiris ar gall go ngoil,
San ccat̆ mórsa a Mat̆gam̆ain,
Ni scél bréige, ac̆t is scél bec̆t,
Da ċéd dég, ann do t̆uitsat.
Do t̆uit Carran dot laim̆ luinn,
A Briain! a ċind a comluinn!
Is Staball do tuit arsin,
Le Cat̆al mac Fağartaig.
Do t̆uit Eda is Treitill tuaid̆,
Is Mağnas Berna borbcruaid̆,
Is ba mór anár arsin,
Torolb̆ is Ruad̆mand Luimniğ.
Ro hinnrad̆ Luimneac̆ go léir leat;
Ruccais a nór sa naircceat,
Ro airgis a ndún re head̆,
Tugais é fa mur tinead̆.
Do ċosnais Mum̆ain co mait̆,
A Mat̆gamain! a mórflait̆!
Tuccais a rí, ruat̆ar teand,
Goill dionnarba a hErind.
Rí Muman is tu dar leam,
Airdri Caisil na cceimend,
Tiodlaic ór do luċt lagaid̆,
Robsat mór a Mat̆gamain.

A MATGAMAIN.]

[1] *The fort.* An dúnaid, B.

[2] *Afterwards.* B. omits iarsin, and reads, fo dluim̆ diad̆, ocus deathaid̆, ocus deirgteinid̆.

[3] *Fit for war.* Gac̆ aon rob ion-m̆arbt̆a ann, B., "every one that was fit for being killed."

[4] *The poet.* This poem occurs only in B. It seems to be a dialogue between Brian and Mathgamhain; and the Editor has added the letters [B.] and [M.], in the translation, to mark this.

[5] *Fogartach.* See above, chap. li., where D. calls him son of Feradach; but B. has there also Fogartach.

formed boys. The fort[1] and the good town they reduced to a cloud of smoke and to red fire afterwards.[2] The whole of the captives were collected on the hills of Saingel. Every one of them that was fit for war[3] was killed, and every one that was fit for a slave was enslaved.

LIV. [And the poet[4] made this poem to celebrate *the event:* Poem in celebration of the victory.

[B.] O Mathgamhain! that is well!
O son of Cennedigh of Caisel,
Thou hast put the foreigners to rout,
By this march to Sulcoit.
Thou hast brought slaughter on the foreigners, with valour,
In this great battle, O Mathgamhain!
Not false the tale! 'tis a tale of truth!
Twelve hundred! there they fell.
[M.] Carran fell by thy impetuous hand,
O Brian! thou chief in the combat!
And Staball fell after that
By Cathal, son of Fogartach.[5]
Eda and Tretill fell in the north,[6]
And Magnus Berna, fierce and hardy,
And great was the slaughter of them after that,
Torolbh and Ruadhmand of Luimnech.
Luimnech was totally ravaged by thee;
Thou didst carry away their gold and their silver;
Thou didst plunder their fort at the time;
Thou didst surround it by a wall of fire.
[B.] For Mumhain hast thou well contended
O Mathgamhain! thou great chief!
Thou hast given, O king, a stern defeat,
To banish the foreigners from Erinn.
King of Mumhain, methinks thou art,
High king of Caisel, renowned,
Bestow gold on those who merit,
They are many, O Mathgamhain!
O MATHGAMHAIN!]

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[6] *In the north:* i.e., in north Munster, or Thomond, see last line of p. 95. In B. is the following marginal note "*Eda Treateall, supra,*" which calls attention to the fact that in the foregoing chapter Eda or Etla Tretill is spoken of as one man, whereas here we have two, Eda and Tretell. *Tretell* or *Tretill* signi-

Division of the spoil.

LV. Ro ordaiġ, dna, Mathgam̃ain a cuit coir comadaiſ, ar dainib iſ ar dligedaib, ar beſaib, ar caeneſtib, ar gail, iſ ar gaiſced, do gac̃ duni mar dudlig. Iſ and, tra, do ronta graſaing mic Feradaic̃, accu .i. lini mór do gailſec̃aib nangall i cnocanaib Sangail imacuart, ocuſ ſiat croma, ocuſ a lama ar lar, ocuſ gilli na ſluag ga maireſcud inandegaid, do rait anma nangall ro marbait iſin cat̃.

Races of the son of Feradach.

Mathgamhain plunders Munster.

LVI. Da ronait, tra, creca ocuſ airgni ocuſ inreda mora ſo Mum̃ain o Mathgam̃ain. Da roned creic moir leiſ ſor u Enna Ani, ocuſ iſ diſide ro marbad Cat̃al mac Feradaic̃ rig amſac̃ Erend. Ro gab, imorro, giallu ocuſ bragti do ſeraib Mum̃an coleir, ro gab bragti Moelmuad̃ mic Brain ar na gabail ſein ardus. Ro gab bragti Donnubán mic Cat̃ail ri Ua Fidġenti. Ro marb ſuartletu gall aſ cac̃ tir, ocuſ ro rain .uii. madmand ar gallaib doneoc̃ iſ cured derg ár gall .i. maidim Sengualand, ocuſ maidim in laig i Tratraigi, ocuſ maidim ar Macairi mór, dinaſderſat gaill Puirt Largi, ocuſ gaill Lumnig ait comdail dinrud Mum̃an, dar airgſet Imlig, ocuſ dá lá i ſoſlongpuirt inti; ro marb, imorro, Math-

Cathal, son of Feradach, killed, A.D. 968.

Mathgamhain's seven victories over the foreigners.

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fies a hero. See pp. 52, line 4, and 84, line 12. Keating calls this chieftain Tretill trein miled, "Tretill the stout champion."

[1] *Ordered.* B. reads, a haitle na laide ſin, ro ordaiġ, 7c., "in accordance with this poem Mathgamhain ordered, &c."

[2] *Persons.* B. omits ar dainib iſ.

[3] *Fair performances.* Ocuſ ar caem̃aeſaib ocuſ ar com̃aiſtib, B.

[4] *Son of Feradach*, i.e., Cathal, son of Feradach, (or of Fogartach, as he is called in B.,) chief of Delbhna mór, (now the barony of Delvin, co. Westmeath,) who distinguished himself in the battle as an auxiliary to Mathgamhain. See chap. li., p. 75. B. reads, graſaing mór aca, "a great race," making no mention of the son of Feradach.

[5] *Women.* The word gailſec̃ here used signifies a foreign woman, so that do gailſec̃aib na ngall, "the foreign women of the foreigners," is tautology.

[6] *On the ground.* B. adds, ocuſ a ndernanna ſuta, "and the palms of their hands under them."

[7] *Horse-boys.* Lit., *gillies.* B. reads, ocuſ gilleada an tſluaiġ, 7c., leaving the sentence unfinished and omitting what follows in the text.

[8] *Ui Enna of Ane.* B. reads, ſor u nEnda Aidne: "Ui Enna of Aidhne," but Aine, now Knockany, in the county Limerick, is the place intended.

LV. Mathgamhain then ordered[1] to every one as he deserved, his proper and befitting share, according to persons[2] and rights, according to accomplishments and fair performances,[3] according to bravery and valour. It was then they celebrated also the races of the son of Feradach,[4] viz., a great line of the women[5] of the foreigners was placed on the hills of Saingel in a circle, and they were stooped with their hands on the ground,[6] and marshalled by the horseboys[7] of the army behind them, for the good of the souls of the foreigners who were killed in the battle.

Division of the spoil.

Races of the son of Feradach.

LVI. Great spoils and plunders and ravages were now committed by Mathgamhain in Mumhain. By him great spoils were taken from the Ui Enna of Ane,[8] and there it was that Cathal, son of Feradach,[9] the king-soldier of Erinn, was killed. He took the pledges and hostages of all the men[10] of Mumhain; he took the hostages of Maelmuadh, son of Bran, having captured[11] himself first; he took the hostages of Donnabhán, son of Cathal, king of Ui Fidhgenti[12]; he killed the billetted soldiers[13] of the foreigners on every territory; and he gave seven defeats to the foreigners, in which[14] he made a red slaughter of the foreigners, viz., the defeat of Sen-gualainn, and the defeat of the Laegh in Tratraighe, and a defeat on Machaire-mór, when the foreigners of Port Lairge[15] and the foreigners of Luimnech united in ravaging Mumhain, when they plundered Imlech and encamped two days there; but Math-

Mathgamhain plunders Munster.

Cathal, son of Feradach, killed, A.D. 968.

Mathgamhain's seven victories over the foreigners.

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9 *Feradach.* B. calls this chieftain everywhere "the son of Fogartach;" and he is also so called in the Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, where his death is recorded, A.D. 952, as Dr. O'Conor gives the date, but really 968.

10 *Of all the men.* B. reads bṛaiġde ꝼeaṛ Mumain uile, ocuṛ do ġaḃ, &c.

11 *Having captured.* B. omits aṛ na ġaḃail ꝼein aṛduṛ.

12 *Ui Fidhgenti.* Ua Ꝼiṅġenti, D. Ua Ꝼiġeinte, B. Ua Ꝼiḋġeinte, Four M., more correctly.

13 *Billetted soldiers.* See chap. xl., p. 49, and chap. lvii., p. 85.

14 *In which.* Do neoċ in cuiṛeḋ, B.

15 *Of Port Lairge.* B. gives this passage thus: dia ndeaṛnṛat ġoill Puiṛt Laiṛġe comdál ocuṛ ġoill Luimniġ, ocuṛ do aiṛccṛet Imleċ, ocuṛ dá lá a ꝼoṛlonġpoṛt innte doiḃ: "when the foreigners of Port Lairge [Waterford] and of Luimnech [Limerick] made an union, and plundered Imleach [Emly], and had their camp there two days."

The Danes driven from Limerick attempt the conquest of Wales, but return, A.D. 969.

ʒᴀm̄ᴀın, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ʀᴏ mᴜᴅᴀıʒ ᴏᴄᴜʃ ʀᴏ lᴏıʃᴄ lᴜmnᴇc̆ ꝼᴏ ᴅó, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ʀᴏ ınnᴀʀb ımᴀʀ lᴜmnıʒ ᴅᴀʀ mᴜıʀ ᴄᴏ ʀᴀbı blıᴀᴅᴀın t̆ᴀıʀ, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ᴀmlᴀıb mᴀᴄ ᴀmlᴀıb; ᴏᴄᴜʃ ʀᴏ tʀıᴀllʃᴀt ʀıʒı Bʀᴇtᴀn ᴅᴏ c̆ᴏʃnᴜm, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ʀᴏ mᴀʀbᴀᴅ tʀᴀ ᴀmlᴀıb lᴀ ʀıʒ Bʀᴇtᴀn, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ᴅᴀ ʀᴏc̆t ımᴀʀ ᴏᴄᴜʃ lᴏnʒᴇʃ mᴏʀ lᴇıʃ ᴅᴏʀıʃı, ᴄᴏʀ ʒᴀb ᴀʀ ᴄᴜᴀn ıᴀʀt̆ᴀʀᴀc̆ lᴜmnıʒ, [ᴏᴄᴜʃ] ʀᴏ mᴀʀbᴀᴅ lᴇᴏ Bᴇᴏlᴀn lıtıll ᴏᴄᴜʃ ᴀ mᴀᴄ. [Ʀᴏ ᴀıttʀᴇᴀb̆ ᴀʀ ʃın ᴀʀ ᴄᴜᴀn ıᴀʀt̆ᴀʀᴀc̆ lᴜımnıʒ̆, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ᴅᴏ ʀᴏnᴛᴀ ᴄʀᴇᴀc̆ᴀ ᴏᴄᴜʃ ıʀʒᴀlᴀ ᴜᴀᴅ̆ᴀ ᴀʃ.

Mathgamhain's sovereignty of Munster.

LVII. Ʀᴏ ʒᴀb̆ ımᴏʀʀᴏ Mᴀt̆ʒᴀm̄ᴀın ʀıʒ̆ᴇ Mᴜm̄ᴀn ᴄᴏ ꝼᴏʀtʀᴇn ꝼᴇʀʀᴅ̆ᴀ ꝼᴇʀᴀmᴀıl, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ʀᴏ mᴀʀbᴀᴅ̆ ʀıʒh ᴏᴄᴜʃ tᴀᴏıʃıʒ̆, tʀᴇıtıll ᴏᴄᴜʃ tʀᴇnmılıᴅ̆ nᴀ nʒᴀll ᴜılᴇ lᴇıʃ. Ʀᴏ ᴅᴀᴇʀᴀıt ımᴏʀʀᴏ ᴀ mᴀᴇıʀ ᴏᴄᴜʃ ᴀ ʀᴇᴄtᴀıʀᴇᴅ̆ᴀ, ᴀ ʃᴜᴀıtʀıʒ̆, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ᴀ nᴀm̄ʃᴀıʒ̆; ᴏᴄᴜʃ ʀᴏ bᴀı ʃé blıᴀᴅ̆nᴀ hı lᴀ́ınʀıʒ̆ı Mᴜm̄ᴀn.

Conspiracy formed against him.

Cıᴅ tʀᴀ ᴀc̆t ᴏt ᴄᴏnᴀıʀᴄ ᴅᴏnᴅᴀb̆ᴀ́n mᴀᴄ Cᴀt̆ᴀıl ʀí Uᴀ Ꝼꝼıᴅ̆ʒᴇınnᴛᴇ, ᴏᴄᴜʃ Mᴀᴇlmᴜᴀᴅ̆ mᴀᴄ Bʀᴀın ʀı ᴅᴇʃm̄ᴜm̄ᴀn ᴀn ꝼᴏʀbᴀıʀt ᴏᴄᴜʃ ᴀn ꝼıʀb̆ıʃᴇᴀc̆ mᴏ́ʀ bᴀí ꝼᴏʀ ꝼlᴀıt̆ᴇʃ Mᴀt̆ʒᴀm̄nᴀ, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ᴅᴀılᴄᴄᴀıʃ ᴀʀc̆ᴇnᴀ, ʀᴏ ʒᴀb̆ ꝼíᴏc̆, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ꝼᴏʀmᴀt mᴏ́ʀ ıᴀᴅ, ᴏᴄᴜʃ bᴀ hᴇᴄᴄᴀl lᴀ Clᴏınn Cᴜıʀᴄ, ᴏᴄᴜʃ lᴀ hΘᴏʒᴀnᴀc̆t ᴀʀᴄᴇnᴀ ın ꝼlᴀıt̆ᴇʃ, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ın ꝼᴏʀlᴀ́m̄ᴜʃ, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ᴀn ʀıʒ̆ı ᴅᴏ tᴏc̆t ᴄᴏ ᴅᴀılᴄᴄᴀıʃ, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ᴄᴏ Clᴀnnᴀıb lᴜʒ̆ᴅᴀᴄh ᴀm̄ᴀıl bᴏı hı ꝼꝼíᴏʒ̆ᴀıʀ ᴏᴄᴜʃ hı ꝼꝼᴀıʃtınᴇ ᴅ̆óıb̆. Ʀᴏ t̆ᴀıʀnʒıʀʃıᴏt ıᴀʀᴀm̄ nᴀᴇım̄ ᴏᴄᴜʃ ꝼıʀᴇᴏın ʒᴏmᴀᴅ̆ lᴀ ᴄlᴏınn Cᴏʀbmᴀıᴄ Cᴀıʃ ᴀn ꝼlᴀıt̆ᴇʃ, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ın ꝼᴏllᴀm̄nᴀʃ ᴄᴏ bʀᴀ́th, ᴀm̄ᴀıl ᴀʃbᴇʀt ᴀn ᴄʀᴇᴅ̆ᴀl, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ın ꝼᴀıᴅ̆ ᴏᴄᴜʃ ın ꝼılı .ı. Colmᴀn mᴀᴄ lᴇının:

Prophecy of St. Colman, son of Lenin.

Clᴀnn Cᴏʀbmᴀıᴄ Cᴀıʃ, ᴄᴏ nıᴏlᴀʀ nʒlᴏnn
Bıᴅ̇ lᴇᴏ ᴀn ꝼlᴀıṫᴇʃ ꝼıᴀl,
ᴀċt tʀıᴀʀ, ᴄᴏ tí Ꝼlᴀnn.

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[1] *However.* For ımᴏʀʀᴏ, B. reads, tʀᴀ.

[2] *Them.* The text of D. requires this word, but B. supplies the want by reading, ʀᴏʃmᴜıʒıᴅ̇ ʒᴏıll lᴜımnıʒ̇, "slew the men of Limerick."

[3] *In the east:* i.e., in Wales.

[4] *They attempted.* This passage is thus given in B.: ᴏᴄᴜʃ tʀıᴀllʃᴀtᴀʀ ʀıʒ̇ᴇ Bʀᴇᴀtᴀın ᴅᴏ ʒᴀbᴀıl, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ᴅᴏ ʀᴜᴀċt ımhᴀʀ ᴏᴄᴜʃ lᴏınʒᴇʃ mᴏ́ʀ lᴇıʃ ᴅᴏ ʀıᴅ̇ıʃı ᴏᴄᴜʃ ʀᴏ ʒᴀb̆ ᴀʀ ᴄᴜᴀn ıᴀʀtᴀʀᴀċ lᴜımnıʒ̇, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ʀᴏ mᴀʀbᴀᴅ̇ lᴇıʃ Bᴇᴏllᴀn lıtıll, ᴏᴄᴜʃ ᴀ mᴀᴄ: "and they attempted to conquer the kingdom of Britain [i.e., Wales]; and Imar, accompanied by a great fleet, arrived again, and entered

gamhain,[1] killed and slew them[2]; and he burned Luimnech twice, and he banished Imar of Luimnech over the sea, so that he was a year in the east,[3] and Amlaibh, son of Amlaibh; and they attempted[4] the conquest of the kingdom of Britain; and Amlaibh, in the meantime, was killed by the king of Britain; and Imar, accompanied by a great fleet, arrived again in the western harbour of Luimnech, and Beolan Littill and his son were killed by them. [He then[5] fixed his residence on the western harbour of Luimnech, from whence he made many spoils and battles.

The Danes driven from Limerick attempt the conquest of Wales, but return, A.D. 969.

LVII. Mathgamhain now assumed the sovereignty of Mumhain bravely, valiantly, and manfully; and the king, and chiefs, and champions, and brave soldiers of all the foreigners were slain by him. Their stewards and bailiffs, too, and their billetted soldiers and mercenaries were enslaved by him; and he continued six years in the full sovereignty of Mumhain. When Donnabhán, however, son of Cathal, king of Ui Fidhgenti, and Maelmuadh, son of Bran, king of Desmumhain, saw the prosperity and the great increase that followed the reign of Mathgamhain, and of the Dal Cais in like manner, great fury and envy seized them; and the Clann Cuirc, and the Eoghanacht also became alarmed at the supremacy and the government and the sovereignty having passed to the Dal Cais, and to the Clann Lughdach, as was foretold and prophesied for them. Verily saints and righteous men had prophesied, that to the race of Cormac Cas should belong the supremacy and the government for ever, as was said by the religious, the prophet, and poet, viz., Colman, son of Lenin:

Math-gamhain's sovereignty of Munster.

Conspiracy formed against him.

Prophecy of St. Colman, son of Lenin.

> The Clann of Cormac Cas, of many deeds,
> To them shall belong the noble sovereignty,
> Except three, until Flann comes.

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the western harbour of Luimnech, and Beollan Litill and his son were killed by him."

[5] *He then.* From these words to line 5, ch. lxi. p. 92, *infra*, a defect, occasioned by the loss of some leaves in

.i. Flann Cithach a Durlas, ticfa re bruinne bratha. Ba heccal tra la hua Cairpre flaither DalcCais for forbairt, ar ferann cloinne Corbmaic fuil fuithib .i. Caille Corbmaic ó hOclan go Luimneach, ocus ó Cnamhchoill go Luachair. Is ar na fathaibhsin tra ro ruidhrium sin.

LVIII. Do ronsat aon cobhlach Maelmuadh mac Brain, ocus Donnabhán mac Cathail, ocus Imar Luimnigh, ocus Duibhgenn, ocus ro iompaidhsiot ar Mathgamhain; ocus

Maelmuadh's call to battle.

is aire sin do rinne Maelmuadh an laoidhsi acc tiomsuccadh an chobhlaigh:

Tionoiltear fir Muman lib,
 A laochraidh líonmhar Luimnigh,
 Toircidh sunn, ar bar naghaidh,
 Co druim nurard nEoghabail.
Toccbaigh cuccainn lucht bar ttreb
 Ittir gallaib is gaoidhealaib,
 Co ccuirem DalcCais na ccell
 A hiathaib ána Erenn.
Comardadh fobraid na fir,
 Riumsa is re laochraidh Luimnigh,
 Ni gabaitt uaim adhradh,
 Bid aithrech leó accomhardadh.
As mór an monar fobraid,
 Bidh aithrech leó an triall toccbaitt
 Gidh mór a ngredan is a nglór,
 Leó bidh aithrech a ttionól.

Treachery of Donnabhán, son of Cathal.

LIX. Ocus ro feall Donnabhán mac Cathail ar Mathgamhain ina tigh féin, mar do furáil Imar Luimnigh fair, ocus do thionnlaic do Maolmuadh mac Brain é,

D., has been supplied from B. The more modern orthography will be apparent to the Irish reader.

[1] *Because they:* sc., the Ui Cairpre, of whom Donnabhán or Donovan was the chieftain.

[2] *The men:* i.e., the men of the Dal Cais; Mathgamhain and his followers.

[3] *Assembling.* The reader will observe that this poem begins with the verb tionoiltear, and ends with the

i.e., Flann Cithach from Durlus, who will appear immediately before the day of judgment. The Ui Cairpre, however, became alarmed at the increase of the sovereignty of the Dal Cais, because they[1] were in occupation of the territory of the race of Cormac, to wit, Caille Cormaic, from Oclan to Luimnech, and from Cnam-coill to Luachair. It was for these causes therefore they felt so.

LVIII. Then Maelmuadh, son of Bran, and Donnabhán, son of Cathal, and Imar of Luimnech, and Duibhgenn, united into one host, and revolted against Mathgamhain; and it was on that occasion Maelmuadh made this poem when collecting the host: Maelmuadh's call to battle.

Let the men of Mumhain be assembled by you,
O heroes of populous Luimnech!
Come forward now right a head
To the very high hill of Eoghabhail.
Raise around us the people of your households,
Both Gaill and Gaedhil,
Until we drive the Dal Cais of the churches
From the noble lands of Erinn.
The men[2] attempt competition
With me and with the heroes of Luimnech,
They will yield me no reverence,
They shall repent their competition.
Great is the work they attempt;
They shall repent the effort they make,
Though great their uproar and their noise,
They shall repent their assembling[3].

LIX. And Donnabhán, son of Cathal, in his own house, betrayed Mathgamhain, having been instigated to it by Imar of Luimnech; and he delivered him to Maelmuadh, son of Bran, and to Imar, in violation of[4] Treachery of Donnabhán, son of Cathal.

noun ꞇıonoıꞇ; thus fulfilling the law of Irish poetry, which requires a bardic composition of this sort to begin and end with the same word. It is probable that the poems here inserted were not to be found in the older MS. D.

[4] *In violation of:* i.e., in sacrilegious opposition to the wishes and influence of the saints and clergy. The word ꝛaꝛuꞅaꝺ is always used in the sense of a *sacrilegious* violation of some sacred place, thing, compact, &c.

ocus do Iṁar, tar sarugaḋ naeṁ ocus sruiṫe Muṁan uile. Is í coṁairle do ronaḋ ann, do tionnlaiceḋ ó Donnaḃán Maṫgaṁain do Mhaolmuaḋ mac Brain ocus do gallaiḃ, ocus sé ar comairce Coluim mic Ciaragáin coṁarba Bairri ar ná marḃṫa, ocus ar ná dallta é. Do ruaċtatar dna muinntir coṁarba Bairri, ocus muinntir Maolmuaḋ in aġaiḋ Maṫgaṁna co Cnoc an reḃraiḋ ar sleiḃ [Caein], ocus ro bai Maolmuaḋ ocus coṁarba Bairri oc Raiṫin móir hi fFearaibh Muiġi. Ro aṫain imorro Maolmuaḋ da ṁuintir an tan no raġaḋ Maṫgaṁain na laiṁ, a marbaḋ fo ċetoir. Ciḋ tra aċt ro marbaḋ Maṫgaṁain ag Maelmuaḋ, ocus ba ferr dó ná dernaḋ, oir ba gníoṁ docair móir dó é.

Murder of Mathgamhain, at the instigation of Maelmuadh, A.D. 976.

Ocus rainicc siss an sccéoil sin co Brían ocus co DalcCais, ocus do ḃatar aga a caine co mór. Ocus a dubairt Brian an marḃna ḃeccso ann:

Brian's lament.

Bás Maṫgaṁna as doiliġ lem,
  Airdri Caisil na cceimenn,
  A ṫuitim—as mór an gníoṁ,
  Muna ttuiteḋ le hairdriġ.
Truaġ lem naċ hi ccaṫ no hi ccleiṫ
  Do fáccbaḋ é, ar sccáṫ ascceiṫ,
  Suil do beraḋ taoḃ daḃaiḋ
  Le droċbreiṫir nDonnabáin.
Do ṫioḋlaic Donnabán donn
  Maṫgaṁain ba cruaiḋ coṁlann,
  Do Maolmuaḋ ba becc ablaḋ,
  Airdri Caisil do marḃadh.
Do Mhaolmuaḋ nír gníoṁ cóir
  A ṁarḃaḋ an riġ ro móir,
  A milleḋ leis ro ba lainn,
  Ní raċaḋ leis da ffedainn.

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[1] *Comharba of Barri:* i.e., bishop of Cork. *Comharba* signifies a successor in any episcopal or abbatial See. All bishops of Cork are termed *Comharbs*, or successors of Barri, the founder of the See of Cork (7th

the saints and clergy of all Mumhain. This was the counsel that was acted on there: Mathgamhain was delivered up by Donnabhán to Maelmuadh, son of Bran, and to the foreigners, although he was under the protection of Columb, son of Ciaragán, Comharba of Barri,[1] that he should not be killed or blinded. The people of the Comharba of Barri, and the people of Maelmuadh came to meet Mathgamhain to Cnoc-an-Rebhraidh on Sliabh [Caein]; and Maelmuadh and the Comharba of Barri were at Raithin mór, in Fir Muighi. But Maelmuadh instructed his people, when Mathgamhain should come into their hands, to kill him forthwith. Mathgamhain, therefore, was killed by Maelmuadh; and it would have been better for him that he had not done so, for it proved to be a deed of great ruin to him.

Murder of Mathgamhain, at the instigation of Maelmuadh, A.D. 976.

And the knowledge of this fact reached Brian and the Dal Cais, and they greatly lamented him; and Brian uttered this short elegy on the occasion:

Brian's lament.

The death of Mathgamhain to me is grievous,
The high king of Caisel the renowned[2];
His fall—great the deed,—
Unless he had fallen by a high king.
Woe is me! that it was not in battle or combat
He was left *dead*, under cover of his shield,
Before he had trusted in friendship
To the treacherous word of Donnabhán.
Donnabhán, the brown-haired, delivered up
Mathgamhain of brave combat
To Maelmuadh; small was the renown,
The high king of Caisel to murder.
For Maelmuadh it was no righteous deed
To murder the very great king;
To destroy him was his delight;
He shall not escape vengeance, if I can.

---

cent.) *Ware, Bishops* (ed. Harris) p. 556.

[2] *Renowned.* Lit. "Caisel (i.e., Cashel,) of the degrees;" ceim (*plur.* ceimenn,) is a step, a degree of rank or nobility.

Ṡeċt maḋma móra ar Ġallaiḃ
Do bris go maiṫ Maṫgaṁain,
Maiḋm Aine, cruaiḋ a lainde,
Maiḋm in laiġ i tTrattraiġe.
Maiḋm in Maċairre Buiḋe
Ar sluaġ an dá ḋeaġ ḋuine,
Ro ṫiomaircc ocus ro meath,
Co ro loiscc orra Luimneach.
Mebaiḋ mo ċroiḋesi at cíḋ
Muna ḋíoġlarsa an tairdriġ;
Do ġeḃsa moidiġ gan tlás,
No do ġeḃason dian bás.

bas.

Date and circumstances of Mathgamhain's murder, A.D. 976.

LX. Do marbaḋ Maṫgaṁain mac Ceinneittiġ le Donnaḃán mac Caṫail, ocus le Maolmuaḋ mac Brain aṁlaiḋ sin. Naoi mbliaḋna tar éis caṫa Sulcoide sin, ocus an tres bliaḋain .x. ar nécc Donnchaiḋ mic Cellaċain rí Caisil, ocus in toċtṁaḋ bliaḋain sescat ar marbaḋ Corbmaic mic Cuilennáin, ocus an fichetṁaḋ bliaḋain ar marbaḋ Congalaiġ mic Maoilmiṫiġ rí Teṁraċ, ocus an ceṫraṁaḋ bliaḋain ré ccaṫ Teṁraċ sin.

Mathgamhain throws the Gospel to the clergy.

An tan tra at connairc Maṫgaṁain an cloideaṁ noċt ċuicce da ḃualaḋ, is amlaiḋ ro bai, ocus soiscela Bairri aigi ara uċt oca comairce, do ḋiuḃraic urċor de do ċum muintire Coluim mic Ciaragáin, ar dáiġ na ríseḋ an fuil é, co ttarla an soiscel in uċt traccairt do muinntir Coluim mic Ciaragáin. Foircclit an luċt as eolaċ ann co fuil urċor soiġde ann ón cnoc co roile.

Maelmuadh's taunt.

At connairc imorro Maolmuaḋ taiḋle an cloideaṁ noċt ag bualaḋ Maṫgaṁna, ocus eḋ raḋairc etorra, ticc aiṫne fair, ocus ro eiriġ arsin, ocus ro gabaḋ a eiċ dó do imṫeċt. Fiarfaiḋis an cléireċ cíḋ do ḋénaḋ; atbert Maolmuaḋ, Lesaiġ an fer utt da ttí ċuccat.

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[1] *The Laigh:* see p. 83, line 23. But the MS. gives also the reading, maiḋm Rilaiġ, "a defeat at Rilach," which place is not known to the editor.

Seven great defeats to the Gaill
Mathgamhain gave well;
The defeat at Aine—by the hardness of his lance—
The defeat at the Laigh[1] in Tratraighe;
The defeat of Machaire Buidhe
Over the army of the two brave men:
They assembled [their troops] but failed,
For he burned Luimnech over them.
My heart will burst, I feel,
If I avenge not the high king;
I shall receive my death without flinching,
Or he[2] shall receive a sudden death.

THE DEATH

Date and circumstances of Mathgamhain's murder, A.D. 976.

LX. Mathgamhain, son of Cennedigh, was killed by Donnobhán, son of Cathal, and by Maelmuadh, son of Bran, in this manner. This was nine years after the battle of Sulcoit, and the thirteenth year after the death of Donnchadh, son of Ceallachan, king of Caisel, and the sixty-eighth year after the killing of Cormac, son of Cuillennán, and the twentieth year after the killing of Congalach, son of Maelmithigh, king of Temhair, and that was the fourth year before the battle of Temhair.

Mathgamhain throws the Gospel to the clergy.

And now, when Mathgamhain saw the naked sword about to strike him, having the Gospel of Barri on his breast to protect him, he threw it towards the people of Columb, son of Ciaragán, with the intent that the blood should not touch it, and the Gospel fell into the breast of a priest of the people of Columb, son of Ciaragán. It is declared by those who are acquainted with the place that the hills are the full flight of an arrow asunder.

Maelmuadh's taunt.

Maelmuadh, however, saw the flashing of the naked sword striking Mathgamhain, although they were as far asunder as the eye could see; and he knew it, and arose then, and his horses were yoked for him to depart. The clerk asked him what he was to do; Maelmuadh answered, "Cure yonder man[3] if he should come to thee."

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[2] *Or he*: i.e., Maelmuadh, or Molloy.

[3] *Yonder man*. Meaning Mathgamhain. This was, of course, said in irony and insult.

He is cursed by the clergy, and a prophecy uttered of his death.

Imt̆igiſ Maolmuad̆ uait̆ib̆, ocuſ ticc an cleṙec̆ ait̆ne ꝼaiṙ. Ꝼeṙccaiḡtep é, ocuſ eaſccaínid̆ go dioc̆ṙa Maolmuad̆. Iſ am̆laid̆ ṙo bai ag denam na ꝼaiſtine, ocuſ é acc eaſccaíne Maolmuad̆, conebeṙt:

Iſ Aedh ṙott muiṙꝼi, ꝼeṙ imill Aiꝼi,
Ra tuaid na gṙéine, la cṙuaid na gaithe,
In gníom̆ do ṙonaiſ bid̆ duit a méla,
In ní mo ndeṙnaiſ ní tú ṙoſ mela,
Bid̆ buán a doc̆aṙ taethſat do maicne,
Ꝼaid̆ꝼit do ſcéla, bid̆ daeṙa t̆aicme,
Bid̆ laeġ bo baidi taethaiſ do aendail.
Ni tu ṙoſ maidꝼe, ṙod maiṙꝼe Aed̆an.

18 aedh.

Fulfilment of this prediction.

LXI. Ocuſ ṙo com̆ailled̆ tṙa an ꝼ̇aiſtine ſin amail ṙo t̆aiṙngiṙ in cleṙec̆, doiḡ iſ é Aod̆ mac Gebennaiḡ don Déiſi b̆icc ṙo m̆aṙb̆ Maolmuad̆ ag Ath Bealaiḡ lec̆ta, aṙ na ꝼaḡbail i mbot̆án ꝼ̇eṙna, do aṙ mbṙeit̆ a ſúl uad̆ tṙe eſccaíne an cleṙiḡ, do ḡuid̆, umoṙṙo] in comdi comád imaguſ allec̆ta iman cnoc. Da comailled in niſin ꝼoſ, daig iſand ita lec̆t Mathgam̆na allaneſ do cnuc, ocuſ lec̆t Mailmuad̆ allat̆uaid, ocuſ ni t̆aitnend gṙian ꝼaiṙ co bṙat̆, am̆ail ṙo tiṙcan in cleṙeac̆, ocuſ in cṙedal. Do lotaṙ in da ſagaṙt iaṙſin co Colum, ocuſ inniſit do, ocuſ do beṙait in ſoſcela ina uc̆t. Iſ amlaid dabi in ſoſcela, ocuſ bṙaengal ꝼola Mathgam̆na ꝼaiṙ, ocuſ caiiſ in cleṙec̆ cṙedal co dicṙa, ocuſ do ṙigni in taiṙcetal ꝼat̆ac̆ta and, ocuſ aſbeṙt in laid ſea:

The Gospel restored to the bishop.

The clerk's claim to the legal fines for the murder.

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[1] *One meeting:* i.e., one encounter or hostile meeting.

[2] *Alder hut:* i.e., a hut built of the alder tree.

[3] *The Lord.* Here we return to the text of D., and, as the reader will observe, to the more ancient orthography. B. omits in comdi, "the Lord," and reads, gomad̆ imꝼ̇occuſ [imaguſ, D., omitting the aspirated ꝼ,] a lec̆t mon ccnoc; a difference of spelling only.

[4] *South side.* Allaneſ [for allandeſ], D. Allat̆eſ, B.

[5] *The two priests.* B. reads, do

Maelmuadh went from them, and the clerk recognised him, and became angered, and fervently cursed Maelmuadh; and uttered a prophecy thus, while he was cursing Maelmuadh, and said:

He is cursed by the clergy and a prophecy uttered of his death.

It is Aedh that shall kill thee, a man from the border of Aifi,
On the north of the sun, with the harshness of the wind;
The deed thou hast done shall be to thee a regret,
That for which thou hast done it, thou shalt not enjoy.
Perpetual shall be its misfortune, thy posterity shall pass away,
Thy history shall be forgotten, thy tribe shall be in bondage,
The calf of a pet cow shall overthrow thee at one meeting[1];
Thou shalt not conquer it—Aedhan shall slay thee.

It is Aedh.

LXI. And this prediction, as it was foretold by the clerk, was fulfilled; for it was Aedh, the son of Gebennach of the Deisi-Beg, that slew Maelmuadh at the ford of Belach Lechta, having found him in an alder hut,[2] after being deprived of his eyes through the curse of the clerk, who had also prayed] the Lord[3] that his grave should be near that hill. That was likewise verified; for Mathgamhain's grave is on the south side[4] of the hill, and Maelmuadh's grave on the north side, and the sun never shines on it, as the clerk, the religious, had foretold. The two priests[5] then went to Columb, and they told him, and they placed the Gospel in his breast. And so the Gospel was, and the blood of Mathgamhain was sprinkled on it; and the religious[6] clerk wept bitterly, and he composed there a prophetic prediction, and uttered this poem:

Fulfilment of this prediction.

The Gospel restored to the bishop.

The clerk's claim to the legal fines for the murder.

ċuatταρ, ιmoρρo na ϝaccaιρτ aρ ϝιn co Colum mac Cιaρaϛáιn, ocuϝ ιnnιϝιτ dó Maṫϛaṁaιn do maρb̈aḋ: "The priests went after this to Columb, son of Ciaragán, and told him that Mathgamhain was killed."

[6] *Religious.* Or "faithful," "believing." B. reads, ocuϝ cíιϝ an cléρeċ ac taιρccetaḋ na ϝaιϝτιne, conιḋ ann aτbeρτ: "and the cleric wept whilst composing the prophecy, and then he said."

Berδar ind trí cumala
Itir bec [is] mór
Ungi δargut findruni
Bo ocus ungi δór.
Cuit in cét fir carmaitni,
Ungi δargut gil,
Nuċu ċunig ní asmo,
Ni heccail δó a ċin.
Cuit in δegfir tanaisi,
Nuċu beir aċt bo,
Biaiδ δo met a fergi
Δu cunig aδó.
Ungi δon ór orlaspaċ
Cuit in tres fir,
Beriδ and anabar,
Δligiδ and asber.

ber.

Math-gamhain's victories.

Ba mor tra in scel sin; δaig is ésin ro scris arδus gallu anlarmumain. Ro bris, am, in laeč sin cet̆ri cat̆a fort̆u, coniδ ar sin ro č̆an Mac Liac:

Ocus na ceṫri caṫa
For gallaib Glinni Δaṫa
Ro bris Mathgaṁain met ngal
Tuaiδ i tulaig Tuaδmuman.

---

[1] *Cumhals.* "Cumhal" is a Brehon law term, signifying a fine or forfeit of three cows; but the word is used generally for any fine, without reference to the value. B. reads, berδar na tri cuṁala, "let the three cumhals be paid."

[2] *Great.* The reading of B. is mór, "and great," which seems necessary to the sense, has been adopted, within brackets in the text.

[3] *Findruni:* see above, p. 50. This word is very difficult, and is left untranslated. It seems to mean here *bright, shining:* gil, in the next stanza, being evidently given as its equivalent.

[4] *He demands.* Cuniġ here and in the last line of the next quatrain is for cunδiġ, ("asks," "demands,") omitting, as usual in this MS., the eclipsed or assimilated medial letter. B. reads here, Gin go ccuinniġ, and in the next place (line 12 of the poem), co ccuinniġ a δó, a mere difference of spelling.

[5] *Glitter.* Lit., "of the golden flame;" oirloisci, B.

[6] *Share.* Cuinδiġ, B., "liability:" which is wrong. The last two lines are given thus in B:

Beriδ̇ mur ros ber
Δligiδ̇ mur ros δligh.

Let three cumhals[1] be paid for it,
Both small and great[2];
An ounce of silver Findruni,[3]
A cow, and an ounce of gold.
The share of the first man whom we love,
An ounce of white silver,
He demands[4] no more,
He need not fear for its guilt.
The share of the second good man,
He shall take but a cow,
Great will be his anger,
He demands two.
An ounce of gold, of golden glitter[5],
Is the share[6] of the third man;
He takes what I say,
He is entitled to what he takes.

LET BE PAID.

This was, indeed, a great event[7]; for it was he who first swept the foreigners out of Iar-Mumhain; and moreover, this hero had gained four battles over them, of which Mac Liac sang: Math-gamhain's victories.

And the four battles
Over the foreigners of Glenn Datha
Mathgamhain gained—great valour,—
On the north, in the hills of Tuadh-Mumhain.

But this reading would violate the law of Irish poetry alluded to above, p. 86, note 3. Perhaps beρ and ɒliġh should be transposed, and then these two lines may be rendered—

"Pay for him what is lawful.
What is lawful is what I state:"

But the reading in the text is more correct.

[7] *Event.* B. gives this clause, with some variations, thus: Ƀa móρ τρα ın ƒaγτıne γın ocuγ ba móρ ın γcel, ɒoıġ ıγé an Maċġamaın γın ρo γcρıoγ goıll a Mumaın aρ τúγ, amaıl ρo caın Mac Lıag,

Ocuγ na ceıṫρe caṫa
Aρ gallaıb Glınne Daṫa:

"Great was this prophecy, and great the event; for it was this Mathgamhain who first swept the foreigners out of Munster, as Mac Liag sang:

And the four battles
Over the foreigners of Glenn Datha,"

omitting the other two lines given in the text; which, however, are necessary to complete the sense. The poem which follows, within brackets, chap. lxii., ending on page 101, is found only in B.

The blind bard's elegy.

LXII. [Conid̆ ann do rinne dall Mat̆gam̆na in marb̆na so:

Ard anıu an nuar gáirguıl grednaiġ
Fuıl a ttír O tToirḋealb̆aiġ,
Biaıḋ, ıs ní gáır gan dam̆na
Ar ndíṫ an máıl Maṫgam̆na.
Maṫgam̆aın! mınd muıġe fáıl,
Mac Cınneıttıġ mıc Lorcáın,
Ba lán ıarṫar dom̆aın dé,
Do rí bruṫmar Boroım̆e.
Maṫgam̆aın! mıaḋaċ an geın,
Mac curata Cınneıttıġ,
Suaırc don ríġ don roıgne an beḋg,
Goıll do ḋıocar na ndoıbeḋg.
Noċa taırnend ar Dhalccaıs
Laeċ mar laeċ Luımnıġ lınnglaıs,
Muna fellta for an rıġ,
Ar daescaıreċt no ar dımbrıġ.
Da ttug gab̆aır nguırm don graıġ
Do b̆ı ag Tadg mac Maılċellaıġ,
Dar lınd nı ragaḋ a clí
Gombeıṫ ar Erınd daén rıġ.
Cıḋ fo cerdmaıs ní dé,
Lám̆ do cur re faıstıne,
Ro eırıġ leısıum̆ ré lá
Uġra gaċa harecta.
A Aılb̆e Imlıġ áın,
Ocus a deoċaın Neasáın,
Bıḋ maıṫ díl Maṫgam̆na dé,
Da cur ar b̆ar ccomaırcce.
O do dechaıḋ, réım co raṫ,
Go Dún Gaıfı gonfaḋaċ,
Noċar ṡeċmaıḋ Brıan re báıḋ
Da ṫoısc ı ttec̆ nDonnab̆áın.

---

[1] *Loud to-day.* The metre of this first line is wrong. Perhaps we should read, Ard anıu an gáır grednaiġ, or Ard anıu gáırguıl grednaiġ, "Loud to-day a clamorous shout of woe;" the other words being mere expletives, which were perhaps originally intended as a gloss. Annuar

LXII. [And it was on that occasion that Mathgamhain's blind *bard* made this elegy: The blind bard's elegy.

Loud to-day[1] the piercing wail of woe
Throughout the land of Ui Toirdhelbhaigh;
It shall be—and it is a wail not without cause,
For the loss of the hero Mathgamhain.
Mathgamhain! the gem of Magh Fáil,
Son of Cennedigh, son of Lorcán,
The western world was full of his fame—
The fiery king of Boromha.
Mathgamhain! noble the offspring!
Heroic son of Cennedigh!
Delightful to the king was the shock he caused,
In banishing the foreigners for their misdeeds.
Never appeared amongst the Dal Cais,
A hero like the hero of Luimnech, of the green pool,
Had not the king met treachery,
From baseness or from weakness.
When he carried off a black steed of the stud,
Which belonged to Tadhg, son of Maelcellaigh,
We thought that he would not have left his body
Until he had become sole king of Erinn.
Why should we cast away any of it,
To raise our hand against prophecy;
By him were gained in his day
The battles of every engagement.
O Ailbhe! of noble Imleach,
And, O thou deacon Neasan—
Good was Mathgamhain's fate in this
That he was put under your protection.
When he went in his prosperous career
To Dún Gaifi the wound-giving,
It was not in friendship he shunned Brian,
By going to the house of Donnabhán.

---

[1] is probably for an ṡuaiṙ, "the shout," or "the sound;" which is expletive and unnecessary; but if the word annuaṙ (for an ṡuaiṙ) be retained, the line may be literally rendered, "Loud to-day, the sound of clamorous woe-shout."

Muna ttístea a Bhriain ille
  Chuccaind ar cend comairle,
  Geibsi ríġe feiḃ adcuas,
  Na ccuig ccuiccid co ccomcruas.
Cein ro ḃáḃair maille
  Ro bo maiṫ ḃar mbraṫairse,
  Aċt ro fágbaḋ tolaiḃ gal,
  Anḟod éiti don trinnsear.
Buḋ laeġ bo deactaiġe dóiḃ,
  Ni bia Dal cCais na ccrand cóir,
  Co taeḋ an rí tuir Tuaiḋe,
  Is ri Ulaḋ indḟuaire.
Maḋm Muiġe Morgain don muiġ
  Do ċur Brian is Maṫgaṁain,
  Nir beiccean cennaċ ar gall
  Sís ar sliġe Seangualand.
Ota Aṫ na neċ an airm,
  Is and ro muiġ an mór maiḋm,
  Ni rangatar gaill a ngné
  Co haṫ tairrṫeċ toradcle.
An ní ma ttangadar ille,
  Na gaill ocus Tradraiġe,
  Ro fágsat mór sciaṫ is ngae
  Ac Aṫ Cliaṫ na ccoṁraṁ.
Nír cóir do gallaiḃ garḃa
  Toiḋeċt i ndáil Maṫgaṁna,
  Ní gan náire do ċuadar uaḋ,
  Sund tres an saile serbruaḋ.
Ní dingnem táinsiuṁ na ngall,
  Ar mo dile le Duiḃgenn,
  Do rad mór dulc dóiḃ re ré
  Fer gus tucsat coṁairle.
Rug uaiṫiḃ mór do cánaḋ,
  Ní huras a ccoṁáireṁ,
  Naċ meḃal dóiḃ féin an cuairt,
  Annso ċarit ar Sulcuaid?

---

[1] *Countenances:* i.e., the marks of fear continued on their countenances. This is a difficult passage; no such place as Ath Toradcle is known. Dr. O'Donovan suggests that we should read, co hAth tarrteċ torad Cle, "to the fruitful Ath-Cle of troops," Ath-Cle being another way of spelling *Ath Cliath*, or Dublin, which is mentioned in the next stanza as the place

Since he would not come, O Brian, hither
Unto us to take counsel,
Take thou the sovereignty, as was foretold,
Of the five provinces with high valour.
As long as you were together
Good was your brotherhood,
But there was left—mighty deed—
Injustice to the junior by the senior.
A poem should be made for them,
The Dal Cais will not be in their true fate
Until the king the tower of Tuaidhe falls,
And the king of cold Uladh.
The defeat of Magh Morgain, in the plain,
Was given by Brian and Mathgamhain;
It was not necessary to purchase a foreigner
Down on the road of Seangualainn.
From Ath-na-nech, of the armour,
'Twas there the great defeat was given;
The foreigners did not recover their countenances,[1]
Until they had reached the stout Ath Toradcle.
When they had come hither,
The foreigners and the Tradraighe,
They had left many shields and spears
At Ath Cliath of the victories.
It was not right in the rough foreigners
To come against Mathgamhain;
Not without shame did they escape from him,
From hence through the bitter salt water.
I shall not revile the foreigners,
Because of my friendship with Dubhgenn;
Much of evil did he inflict on them in his time,
The man to whom they gave counsel.
He took from them many tributes—
It is not easy to reckon them.
Did not the march prove disgraceful[2] to themselves—
Which they make here upon Sulcoit?

---

where they took refuge. But it is possible that there may have been some ford called Ath Toradcle, in the Dal Cais country.

[2] *Disgraceful.* For meḃaḋ, "disgraceful," perhaps we should read meḃar, "Do they not remember the march?"

Níṙ cóiṙ ḋo leṫ Cuinn cain,
Ge ḋo niaḋ a ccoṁmaiḋiṁ,
Tugṙam a mbangṙaiġ ḋon band,
Anuaṙ ḋo cṙanḋgail Cloṫṙanḋ.
Cuṁain le Ḋál cCaiṙ céḋ cell
Maṙ ḋo cuamaṙ aṙ Gaeṫ Gleann,
Iṙ aṙ ṙcéiṫ Feaṙgail aṁṙa
Ḋo fuineḋ lón Maṫgaṁna,
Ro ṙáiḋ Maṫgaṁain ḋon muiġ
Bṙeiṫiṙ iṙ coṁaillíḋ,
Go fuicfeaḋ leċt fiṙ ṙoṙ maṙḃ
San tíṙ aiṁṙeiḋ aiteannġaṙḃ.
Noċaṙ ḋuthaiġ ḋo mac Bṙain
Miḋlaċaṙ aṙ Maṫgaṁain,
Ba ḋúċa ḋó taċaṙ giall
Ḋo ṙí Ḋall cCaiṙ na ccṙuaḋṙciaṫ.
Gion go léigtea laoiġ go buaiḃ
Ag caoineaḋ Maṫgaṁna muaiḋ,
Ḋo feṙaḋ móṙ ḋulc ṙé lá
Ḋon luċt fuil hi bṙuṙt aṙḋa.

ARD.]

The reign of Brian in Munster.

LXIII. Rogab, imoṙṙo, Bṙian mac Cheneḋig ic Ḋailcaiṙ acetoiṙ aṙ maṙbaḋ Mathgamna; ocuṙ niṙ bo cloč ininaḋ ugi ṙen, ocuṙ niṙ bo ṙop ininaḋ laṙgi, ačt ba tṙen ininaḋ tṙein, ocuṙ ba tenḋ iaṙ tenḋ. Ḋaṙonaḋ, imoṙṙo, cocaḋ ṙaegtech ṙetṙeč ṙiḃlač ṙuabṙeač nemlac nemeṙtneč leṙiḋe, ocuṙ ṙo ḋegḋiglaḋ a bṙaťaiṙ leiṙ. Robi in ṙigi caťač coccach congalač inṙiḋač aiṙgneač eṙaḋal, toṙeač na ṙigi ṙin. Robi, imoṙṙo, in ṙigi ṙbeṙač ṙaḋal ṙomemnač ṙiťemail ṙona ṙomaineač ṙaiḋbiṙ fleḋač fuiṙigech foťamail foḋeoiḋ a ḋeṙeḋ. Ní ḋa ṙcelaib ṙeic coleic iṙin niṙti.

[1] *Then Brian.* Here we return to the text of D.

[2] *Undertook.* Ro ṙíogaḋ, B. Imoṙṙo, *om.* B.

[3] *Redress.* Acc, B.

[4] *And.* Ocuṙ, *om.* B.

[5] *An egg.* Uige ṙin, B.

[6] *But he was.* Aċt maḋ tṙén aṙ ṫṙéoiṙ, ocuṙ tṙen in ionaḋ tṙéoiṙ, B. The meaning is, that the enemy found themselves to have gained nothing by the murder of Mathgamhain. Brian was as great a warrior and as valiant a champion as his brother had been.

[7] *War.* Coccaḋ ṙiuḃlaċ ṙeitṙech neiṁneċ neiṁmeiṙtneċ leiṙium, B.

[8] *His reign.* This passage is given

The comely *people of* Leth Cuinn ought not
(Altho' they do so,) to boast,
We brought their fair studs from the Bann,
Down to the ships of Clothrann.
The Dal Cais, of the hundred churches, remember
How we over ran Gaeth-Glenn,
When upon the illustrious Fergal's shield,
Mathgamhain's meal was cooked.
Mathgamhain uttered on the plain
A threat which was fulfilled,
That he would leave there the tomb of a man he killed,
In the uneven rough-furzed country.
It was not natural for the son of Bran
To act cowardly towards Mathgamhain;
It would have been more natural for him to send hostages
To the king of Dal Cais, of the hard shields.
Although calves are not suffered to go to the cows,
In lamentation for the noble Mathgambain:
There was inflicted much evil in his day
By those who are in Port-Arda.

LOUD.]

The reign of Brian in Munster.

LXIII. Then Brian,[1] son of Cennedigh, undertook[2] the redress[3] of the Dal Cais forthwith, after the murder of Mathgamhain; and[4] he was not a stone in the place of an egg[5]; and he was not a wisp in the place of a club; but he was[6] a hero in place of a hero; and he was valour after valour. He then made an invading, defying, rapid, subjugating, ruthless, untiring war,[7] in which he fully avenged his brother. His reign,[8] at the beginning of his reign, was one full of battles, wars, combats, plundering, ravaging, unquiet. But at its conclusion, this reign at length became bright, placid, happy, peaceful, prosperous, wealthy, rich, festive, giving of banquets, laying foundations. Some of his adventures are here shortly related.

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thus in B.—Rob í sin an ríġe cocc-ṫach, conġalaċ, airgneċ, iorġalaċ, eassaḋal, a tosaċ na ríġe sin. Robí imorro, an ríġe súbaċ, saḋal, soinenmaċ, síoḋaṁail, sona, saiḋbir, somaoineaċ, fleḋach, fuirecach a deireḋ. Ní da sccélaib innister sunn co leicc. This description must be understood as referring to the reign of Brian in Munster only: not to his reign as king of Ireland.

Plunder of the islands of the Shannon, A.D. 977.

LXIV. Romarbad, tra, Imar ocus a da meic la Brian; Dubcend ocus Cuallaid la huib Domnaill Corcobaiscind inninis moir, ocus ininis da Drumand, ocus inseda uli in cuain iarsin; .i. caċ du irabadar mna, ocus macama ocus bantraċta na ngall. Da friṫ tra or, ocus arget imda maini, ocus maṫiusa imda ecsamla isna hindsib sin ocus is na portaib.

Donnabhán unites with Harold, Danish king of Munster.

They are both slain by Brian, A.D. 978.

Ro cuiresttair, tra, Donnubán Aralt mac Imair-ċuigi ar marbad a atar, ocus ro rigsat gaill Muman e. Ro ċuaid iarsin ar creiċ innuib Findgenti, ocus ro gabsat buar diairmiṫi, ocus ro airgsat Caṫraig Cuan, ocus ro marbsat a dani, ocus ro marbsat Donnubán mac Caṫail, in teċt inbaig, ri Ua Findgenti, ocus ro marbsat Aralt mac Imair ri gall, ocus ro cuirset ár dimor ar gallaib, ocus tucsat buar diairmiti leo. In dara bliadain ar marbad Mathgamna sín.

Brian's message to Maelmuadh to demand Eric.

LXV. [Is annsin ro ċuir Brian teċta co Maelmuaḋ mac Brain diarraiḋ erca aḃraṫar .i. Maṫgaṁna mac Ceinneitiġ, .i. Cogaran giolla graḃa do Brian eisein, ocus atbert Brian an laidh:—

His poetical address to the messenger.

Eirigh a Choccaráin ċais,
Co Maelmuaḋ an ruisc rindglais,
Go macaiḃ Brain as buan raṫ,
Is co macaiḃ ua nEaċdaċ.

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[1] *By Brian.* B. omits the words a da meic la Brian, and consequently represents Imar, Dubhcenn, and Cualladh, [Iṁar ocus Duibgend ocus Cuallaḋ, B.] as having been killed by the Hua Domhnaill of Corcobhaiscinn.

[2] *Inis-mór*, or "Big island." It seems as if a line had been omitted here in D.; for B. reads la Hua nDomnaill Chorcobaiscind in inis Cathaiġ bliaḋain iar marbaḋ Maṫgamna. Ro hairceḋ leo Find inis, ocus inis moir, ocus inis da Dromand ocus innseḋa an ċuain uile arċena. "By Hua Domhnaill of Corcobhaiscinn in Inis Cathaigh, the year after the murder of Mathgamhain. Finn Inis and Inis Mór, and Inis Da Dromann were plundered by them, and the islands of the whole harbour likewise."

[3] *Harbour:* viz., the Harbour of Limerick, or mouth of the Shannon. It is evident from these words, and those that follow, that the text is defective; for it is impossible that two men could have been killed in more islands than two. We are, therefore, under the necessity of preferring the text of B, as given in note [2].

[4] *Silver.* B. reads, Do frith ór

LXIV. Imar and his two sons had been killed by Brian[1]; Dubhcenn and Cuallaid by the Ui Domhnaill, of Corcobhaiscinn in Inis-mór,[2] and in Inis-da-Drumand, and in the other islands of the harbour,[3] afterwards; namely, every place in which the wives and children and women of the foreigners were. There were found gold and silver[4] in abundance, much of wealth and various goods in those islands and in the fortresses.

Plunder of the islands of the Shannon, A.D. 977.

Then Donnabhán invited Aralt, the son of Imar, unto him, after his father had been killed, and the foreigners of Mumhain made him king. He [Brian[5]] went afterwards on a foray into Ui Fidhgenti, and they took cattle innumerable; and they plundered Cathair Cuan,[6] and they killed its people; and they killed Donnabhán, son of Cathal, the ripe culprit,[7] the king of Ui Fidhgenti; and they killed[8] Aralt, son of Imar, king of the foreigners, and they made a prodigious[9] slaughter of the foreigners, and they carried away with them cattle innumerable. This was the second year after[10] the killing of Mathgamhain.

Donnabhán unites with Harold, Danish king of Munster.

They are both slain by Brian, A.D. 978.

LXV. [Then Brian sent a messenger to Maelmuadh, the son of Bran, to demand from him the Eric[11] of his brother, Mathgamhain, son of Cennedigh, viz., Cogarán, who was the confidential officer of Brian. And Brian spake this poem:—

Brian's message to Maelmuadh to demand Eric.

His poetical address to the messenger.

Go, O Cogarán, the intelligent,
Unto Maelmuadh of the piercing blue eye,
To the sons of Bran of enduring prosperity,
And to the sons of the Ui Eachdach.

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ocuſ maiṫeſa iomda eḷe iſ na hinnſiḃ, ocuſ iſ na poṛtaib ſin: "There were found gold and many other goods in the islands, and in those fortresses."

[5] *He* [*Brian*]. B reads, Do cuaid iaṛſin Bṛian. "Brian went afterwards," which interprets the text of D.

[6] *Cathair Cuan.* Caṫṛaiḡ Cuan, D. Caṫaiṛ Cuan, B.

[7] *Culprit.* B. omits the words, in teċt inbaiḡ.

[8] *Killed.* Ro ḡabſat, B., "They took."

[9] *Prodigious.* Aṛ móṛ, B., "A great slaughter."

[10] *After.* Iaṛ, B. The following chapter is an interpolation which occurs only in B.

[11] *Eric.* That is, the fine payable by the Brehon Law for the murder of Mathgamhain.

Fiarfaid dioḃ gus na fáṫaiḃ
Cid mar marbsat mo braṫair,
Cid mar marḃsatar na fir,
Maṫgaṁain mac Ceinneiṫṫiġ.
Mairg do marḃ luċt aneidiġ;
Mairg do marḃ mac Ceinneiṫṫiġ;
Mór an míoraṫ gurbferr de
Beiṫ ac Iṁar ana aige.
Gid misi do maiṫeḋ sin,
Tescaḋ taiḃ mic Ceinneiṫṫiġ,
Ni maiṫfeḋ DalcCais calma,
Tescaḋ taiḃ aṫṫiġerna.
Ni maiṫfeḋ Longarán lán,
Na Eċtigern, na Occán,
Na Conaing cruaiḋ na ccreċ,
Na Ceinneiṫṫiġ caoṁ cuimneaċ.
Iseaḋ dearait na fir,
Dal cCais rú ar uainiḃ,
Go mberat ruaṫar go raṫ,
Gomba huathaiḋ hui Eaċdaċ.
Clanna Corbmaic iccéin,
Na bid do ċriċ clainne Neill,
[I ttír coiccriċ biḋ] gaċ dream,
Manbaḋ leó deiscert Erenn.
Lá tug mac Brain mic Cein
Cuṁal mo bratair daṁ féin,
Noċa geiḃ uaḋ geill no graiġ,
Acṫ é féin ina ċinaiḋ.
Geallaid Murchaḋ mór mac Briain,
Maolmuaḋ do ċosc sa ċéd gliaiḋ,
Ocus ni fairbriġ a ġeall,
O aḋḃar airdriġ Erenn.
Ráiḋ le mac Brain naċ badhaḋ
Cert ċaictiġis ó maireaċ,
Teċt go Belaċ Leċta ille
Lín a ṙloiġ sa ṙoċraide.

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[1] *I had forgiven.* The meaning is, "Although I had forgiven the murder of my brother, the tribe of the Dal Cais would never forgive the slaughter of their chieftain."

[2] *Longarán*, read Lonargán.

[3] *In a stranger province.* The words within brackets are supplied by Mr. Curry from conjecture; a blank is left in the original. The

Ask them what were the reasons
Why they killed my brother;
Why did the men kill
Mathgamhain, son of Cennedigh?
Woe! to have killed unarmed people—
Woe! to have killed the son of Cennedigh;
Great the misfortune, that they thought it better
To be on Imar's side than on his.
Though I had forgiven[1] that,—
The cutting open the side of Cennedigh's son;
The brave Dal Cais would not forgive
The cutting open the side of their lord.
Longarán,[2] the opulent, would not forgive,
Nor Echtighern, nor Ogán,
Nor hardy Conaing of the plunders,
Nor Cennedigh the comely, the mindful.
This is what the men now say—
The Dal Cais—unto them, on fit occasions,
That they will make a victorious march
By which the Ui Eachdach will be reduced to a few.
The Clann Cormaic afar
Let them not be from the Clann Neill country,
[In a stranger province[3] be] every tribe,
If theirs be not the south of Erinn.
Whenever[4] the son of Bran, son of Cian, shall offer
The Cumhal[5] of my brother unto myself,
I will not accept from him hostages or studs,
But only himself in atonement for his guilt.
Murchadh the great, the son of Brian, promises
To check Maelmuadh in the first combat,
And his pledge will not be forfeited
By the heir of the chief king of Erinn.
Say unto the son of Bran that he fail not,
After a full fortnight from to-morrow,
To come to Belach Lechta hither
With the full muster of his army and his followers.

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meaning is, "Let the Clan Cormaic (or Dal Cais), and all its tribes live in exile, and retire to the country of the O'Neills (i.e., the North of Ireland), rather than yield to others the sovereignty of the South, i.e., of Munster."

[4] *Whenever.* Literally, "The day on which."

[5] *Cumhal.* See above, p. 94, note [5].

Aċt muna tiſen andeſ
Co belaċ leaċta langlaſ,
Fritaileḋ aige ga ṫiġ
Dal cCaiſ iſ mac Ceinneittiġ.
Noċa gebṫar uaṫa ann
Or na airget no fearaṅd,
Na geill, na indili, a fir,
Indiſi doiḃ iſ eiriġ.

eirig.]

Battle of Belach Lechta, and death of Maolmuadh, A.D. 978.

LXVI. Andſein do cuir Brian caṫ belaig leċta, du idrocair Moelmuaid mac Brain rí Muman, ocuſ da .c. déc umi etir gall ocuſ goedel, ocuſ ro gab bragti Muman co fargi.

Battle of Fan Conrach, A.D. 979.

Aſ a athli ſin tuc Brian caṫ Fain Conraċ for gallaib; ocuſ ro briſ ocuſ ro airgeſtair na Deſi co Port Largi, ocuſ ro inarb inti ro ſaig in cacad air .i. Domnaill mac Faelán a Purt Largi, ocuſ ro gab bragti Muman uli ar tarud a lama mar ſin, ocuſ ro gab bragti airdcell Muman na fagbaitiſ merliġ, na foglaigi adin ſna cellaib.

Brian invades Ossory,

Da ronad iarſin ſluaged fer Muman uli la Brian in nOſſraigib, ocuſ ro cuibriged leiſ Gillapadraic mac Donċada, ocuſ ro gab a giallu .i. ri Oſſraigi.

and Leinster.

Da ċuaid iarſin co mag nAillbi co tancadar da ri Lagen na ṫeaċ, .i. Domnall Cloen, ocuſ Tuaṫal ri iarṫair Liṗi, ocuſ ro ġab a mbraigti icind

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[1] *Brian.* We have here again the text of D. B reads, Iſ annſin do ċuir Brian caṫ fri ri Muṁan .i. Maolmuaḋ, ocuſ atberat aroile ro marbaḋ da ċéd déc ann do gallaiḃ ocuſ gaoiḋealeaḃ, ocuſ ro marḃaḋ Maolmuad féin: "Then Brian gave battle to the king of Munster, i.e., Maolmuadh, and some say there were killed there 1,200 of the foreigners and of the Irish, and Maolmuadh himself was killed." And then in a new paragraph, Ro gabaḋ braiġde na Muṁan co ſairge aſ a haiṫle, ocuſ tuc Brian, &c.: "He took the hostages of Mumhain as far as the sea afterwards, and Brian gave battle," &c.

[2] *Fan Conrach.* Dúin fáinconnrach, B., "Dún Fain Connrach" [or the Fort of Fan Connrach, (*i.e.*, of the Church of Conrad.)] A ḃfan mic Connraḋ, "at Fan mic Connrad." *Ann. Inisf.* (*Dubl.*) A.D. 979.

But if he do not come from the South
To Belach Lechta, the evergreen,
Let him answer at his house
The Dal Cais and the son of Cennedigh.
For him shall not be accepted from them
Gold, nor silver, nor land,
Nor hostages, nor cattle, O Man!
Tell them this and go.

Go.]

Battle of Belach Lechta, and death of Maolmuadh, A.D. 978.

LXVI. Then Brian[1] fought the Battle of Belach Lechta, in which fell Maelmuadh, son of Bran, king of Mumhain, and twelve hundred along with him, both Gaill and Gaedhil; and he took the hostages of Mumhain even unto the sea.

Battle of Fan Conrach, A.D. 979.

After that Brian gained battle of Fan Conrach[2] over the foreigners. And he ravaged and plundered[3] the Desi even to Port Lairge, and he banished him who had forced the war on him,[4] to wit, Domhnall, the son of Faelán, of Port Lairge, and he took[5] the hostages of all Mumhain, as the fruit of his arms then[6]; and he took the hostages of the principal[7] churches of Mumhain, that they should not receive rebels nor thieves to sanctuary in the churches.

Brian invades Ossory, and Leinster.

After this there was an expedition under Brian of all the men of Mumhain into Osraighe; and Gillapatric, son of Donnchadh, was put in fetters by him; and he took his hostages, *i.e.* of the king of Osraighe. He went after that to Magh Ailbhe,[8] where the two kings of Laghin came into[9] his house, viz., Domhnall Cloen, and Tuathal, king of western Liphi, and he took their hostages[10]; this

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[3] *Plundered.* For ꝓo bꝓiꝛ ocuꝛ ꝓo aiꝓʒeꝛtaꝓ, B. reads, ꝓo aiꝓcc, "he plundered."

[4] *On him.* For ꝓo ꝛaiʒ in cacad aiꝓ, B. in more modern spelling reads, ꝓo ꝛ̇aiġ ꝛaiꝓ an coʒaḋ.

[5] *He took.* Ʒabaiꝛ, B.

[6] *Then.* Ꝏnuaiꝓ ꝛin, B., "at that time."

[7] *Principal.* B. reads, ocuꝛ ꝓo ʒab bꝓaiġde ceall Muṁan, aꝓ na ꝛaccbadaiꝛ inntleaḋa no ꝛoġlaiḋe inntiḃ: "And he took hostages of the churches of Munster, that they should not receive robbers or thieves within them."

[8] *Magh Ailbhe.* B. reads, 7 do ċuaiḋ aꝛꝛin i muiġ Ꝏilbe.

[9] *Into.* Ina ṫeaċ, B.

[10] *Hostages.* B. omits this clause.

Brian, king of all Munster, A.D. 984.

oc̆t mbliadan ar marbad Mathgamna. Amlaid sin ba ri Leṫi Moga Brian. Ro tinolad mór coblac̆ muridi leis iarsin for Deirc Deirc, ocus ruccait tri .c. lestar leis, for Sinaind co Loc̆ Rai, ocus ro hinred Midi leis co hUṡnec̆, ocus ro crec̆sat Brefini uli dar Aṫliac suas. Da cuatar, dna, u. cet ar ficet uaṫib i Conacta condernsat olca mora and, ocus cor-

Muirghis, crown prince of Connacht, killed, A.D. 988.

marbsat Muirgius mac Concobair rigdamna Conac̆t, ocus ro marbad, am, foc̆aidi dib seom. Is leis idrocair Ruaidri mac Cosgraig [ri] Ua mBriuin ocus iartair Conac̆t. Is leis idrocair Murgius mac Ruadri iarsin.

Brian's treaty with Maelsechlain, A.D. 998.

Da ronad dan mórcoblac̆ la Brian co Plein Pattogi co tanic Moelseclaind ina comdail, co ndernsat sit̆ and .i. irabi do braigtib Leṫi Moga ic Moelseclaind .i. bragti gall ocus Lagen, a tabairt do Brian, ocus Ua Fiac̆rac̆ Adni, ocus Ua Mani leis, ocus dilsi Leṫi Cuind o hin amac̆ cen coccad cen fogail ó Brian do Maelṡeclaind .i. da bliadain sin re cat̆ Glinni Mama.

Revolt of Leinster and of the foreigners from Brian.

LXVII. Ar nec imorro Domnaill Cloen mac Lorcan ri Lagen, batar Lagin ocus gaill co hamriarac̆

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[1] *Eight years.* B. begins a new paragraph here. A ccind oc̆t mbliaḋan imorro iar marb̆aḋ Maṫgamna ro gab Brian braiġde ocus lanriġe Leiṫe Moġa. "Now at the end of eight years after the murder of Mathgamhain, Brian took the hostages, and the full sovereignty of Leth Mogha," i.e., of the southern half of Ireland.

[2] *By him.* Le Brian, B., "by Brian." Omitting iarsin.

[3] *Boats.* B. reads tri. c. eaṫar leis ar Sionainn, "Three hundred ships with him on the Shannon."

[4] *Hundred.* B. reads, u. eaṫar ficet: "five score ships."

[5] *Connacht.* IcConnaċtaiḃ, B., "against the Connachtmen."

[6] *Great evils.* Ulca iṁda, B., "many evils."

[7] *They killed.* Gur ṁarb̆atar Muirges mac Concab̆air ridaṁna Coṅnaċt, ocus soċaiḋe ele, B., "So that Muirghes, son of Conchobhair, crown prince of Connacht, and many others, were killed."

[8] *By him.* Is leo torċair, B., "By them was killed;" and the same reading is repeated instead of is leis idrocair in the next line.

[9] *King.* Ri is added from B.

[10] *Muirghius.* Murges, B.

[11] *Afterwards.* B. connects this word with what follows, Iarsin tra do ronad. "Afterwards was made by Brian," &c.

was eight years[1] after the murder of Mathgamhain. Thus Brian was the king of Leth Mogha. Afterwards there was assembled by him[2] a great marine fleet on Derg Deirc; and he took three hundred boats[3] with him upon the Sinann as far as Loch Rai; and Midhe was ravaged by him as far as Uisnech; and they plundered all Breifne beyond Ath Liag upwards. There went also five hundred[4] and twenty from them into Connacht[5]; and they perpetrated great evils[6] there, and they killed[7] Muirghius, son of Conchobhar, crown prince of Connacht, and there were killed also many of themselves. It was by him[8] was slain Ruaidhri, son of Coscrach [king][9] of Ui Briuin, and of western Connacht. And it was by him Muirghius,[10] the son of Ruaidhri, was slain afterwards.[11]

Brian, king of all Munster, A.D. 984.

Muirghis, crown prince of Connacht, killed, A.D. 988.

Brian now made a great naval expedition to Plein Pattoici,[12] where Maelsechlainn came to meet him, and they concluded a mutual peace there, viz., such hostages of Leth Mogha as Maelsechlainn had, i.e. hostages[13] of the foreigners and of the Laghin, and likewise of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne, and of the Ui Maine, to be ceded to Brian; and the sole sovereignty of Leth Cuinn, from thenceforth,[14] to belong to Maelsechlainn without war or trespass from Brian. This was two years before the battle of Glenn Mama.[15]

Brian's treaty with Maelsechlain, A.D. 998.

LXVII. Now,[16] after the death of Domhnall Cloen, son of Lorcan,[17] king of Laghin, the Laghin and the foreigners

Revolt of Leinster and of the foreigners from Brian.

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[12] *Plein Pattoici.* Blém Patóici, B.

[13] *Hostages.* B. reads, .i. a raibe do braigiu Leithe Moga, 7 Gall, ocus Laigean ag Maelsechlainn: "Such hostages of Leth Mogha, and of the foreigners, and of the Leinstermen, as Maelsechlainn had."

[14] *Thenceforth.* Orin amach gan cosgadh, gan foghail do Brian ar Maelsechlainn, B.

[15] *Glenn Mama.* The battle of Glen Mama is dated 998 (the 20th year of Maelsechlainn), by the Four Masters; but A.D. 1000, according to O'Flaherty's Chronology; and, therefore, the alliance or treaty recorded in this chapter must be dated 996 (4 M.), or 998 (O'Fl.)

[16] *Now.* B. omits iarsin.

[17] *Son of Lorcan.* These words are omitted in B. The death of Domhnall Cloen is dated 983, by the Four M., the 5th year of Maelsechlainn, which in O'Flaherty's Chronology would be 985, so that the revolt of Leinster must have begun twelve or thirteen years before the treaty with Maelsechlainn.

do Ƀrian, ocuꞅ batar ic tobꞃuċtaꝺ coccaiꝺ ꝼꞃi Ƀꞃian, ocuꞅ ꝼꞃi Mumneċaib aꞃċena. Ꝺa luiꝺ, imoꞃꞃo, Ƀꞃian ocuꞅ moꞃṫinol ꝼeaꞃ Muman leiꞅ co Laignib, ocuꞅ co gullu .i. ꝺo gabail ꝼoꞃ Aṫ Cliaṫ no co ꞃiaꞃaigtiꞅ gaill. Ro cuiꞃiꞇ ꝺan ba, ocuꞅ munteꞃa Lagen in aꞅcaill gall, ocuꞅ i nUib Ƀꞃin Chualanꝺ, ocuꞅ i nUib Gabꞃa, ocuꞅ i nUib Ꝺonċaꝺa, ocuꞅ tancataꞃ Lagin ocuꞅ gaill ꞅeċ na munteꞃaib i conni mƂꞃiain, ocuꞅ a comꝺail .i. co Glenꝺ Mama. Ro comꞃaigꞅet anꝺ ꞅin Ƀꞃian co Mumneċaib, ocuꞅ gaill co Laigneċaib leo.

Battle of Glen Mama, A.D. 1000.

Ro ꝼeꞃaꝺ, imoꞃꞃo, caṫ ꝼuleċ, ꝼiċꝺa, ꝼoꞃꝺeꞃc, ꝼeoċaiꞃ, ꝼeaꞃꝺa, ꝼeꞃamail, agaꞃb, aniaꞃṫa, eꞅcaꞃꝺemail, etuꞃꞃu ocuꞅ iꝺeꞃait [ꝼiꞅiġ ocuꞅ eolaiġ naꞃ cuiꞃeaḃ ó caṫ Muiġe Raṫa nuaꞅ áꞃ ꝺaíne ba mó ina ꞅin. Ꝺo tuitꞅeat ann ꞅochaiḋe ꝺo Ꝺal cCaiꞅ, ocuꞅ ꝺo Muiṁneachaiḃ aꞃċena; ꞃo tuitꞅeat ann ꝼoꞃgla gall Aṫa Cliaṫ, ocuꞅ gall Eꞃenn uile, ocuꞅ tuccaḃ áꞃ Laiġen; ciḃ tꞃa aċt ꞃo muiġ ꝼoꞃ na gallaiḃ, ocuꞅ ꝼoꞃ na Laigniġ. Ro maꞃbaḃ tꞃa ann Aꞃalt mac Aṁlaiḃ ꞃi ꝺamna gall Eꞃenn, ocuꞅ Cuilen mac Eċtiġeꞃn, ocuꞅ .xl. céꝺ impo ꝺo neoċ aꞅ ꝼeaꞃꞃ baoi ꝺo gallaiḃ a nEꞃenn, ocuꞅ leanaiḃ Ƀꞃian iaꝺ co ꞃangaꝺaꞃ in ꝺún, go nebꞃaḃ—

The Leinster-men and Danes of Dublin defeated.

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[1] *Against Brian.* Ꝼaiꞃ, ocuꞅ ꝼoꞃ muṁain aꞃċena, B., "against him and against Mumhain also."

[2] *The Laghin.* Co gulla, ocuꞅ co Laiġniu ꝺo gabail aꞃ Aṫcliaṫ no co ꞃiaꞃꝺaiꞅé, B., "against the foreigners and against the Laghin," [or men of Leinster,] "to lay siege to Ath Cliath until it submitted to him."

[3] *The cattle.* Ƀuaꞃ, B.

[4] *Angle.* B. reads, inoꞅgaill gall in Uiḃ Ƀꞃiúin Cualann 7 i niḃ gaḃꞃa: "Into the angle of the foreigners in Ui Briuin Cuallan, and into Ui Gabhra." It is possible that *Ascall Gall*, "the angle of the Gaill," ought to be regarded as a proper name, denoting some place possessed by the foreigners. The reading of B. would seem to make it a place in the territory of Ui Briuin Cualann, a district embracing the greater part of the barony of Rathdown, and a portion of the north of the co. Wicklow. See Dr. O'Donovan's note [n], *Four M.*, 738 (p. 340). *Ascall* or *Asgall* (Latin *axilla*), is the arm pit; and hence an angular piece of ground, like the space between a man's arm and his body.

[5] *Beyond:* i.e., in advance of their families (more to the south of the districts to which they had sent their wives and children), in order to inter-

became disobedient to Brian, and were menacing war against Brian,[1] and against the people of Mumhain also. Brian, therefore, marched, with a great muster of the men of Mumhain, against the Laghin[2] and against the foreigners, intending to lay siege to Ath Cliath until the foreigners should submit to him. But now the cattle[3] and the families of Laghin were sent into the angle[4] possessed by the foreigners, and into Ui Briuin Chualann; and into Ui Gabhra, and to Ui Donnchadha. And the Laghin and the Gaill came beyond[5] their families to meet Brian and into his presence, viz., to Glenn Mama. They met there; Brian with the Mumhnigh, and the foreigners accompanied by the Laghin; and there was fought between them a battle, bloody, furious, red, valiant, heroic, manly; rough, cruel, heartless; and [men[6] of intelligence and learning say that since the battle of Magh Rath,[7] to that time, there had not taken place a greater slaughter. There fell there multitudes of the Dal Cais, and of the Muimhnigh in general; there fell there the greater part of the foreigners of Ath Cliath, and of the foreigners of all Erinn; and there was also a slaughter of the Laghin; for, in short, the foreigners and the Laghin were utterly defeated. And there were killed there Aralt, the son of Amlaibh, the crown prince of the foreigners of Erinn, and Cuilean, the son of Echtighern, and four thousand along with them, of the best of the foreigners of Erinn. And Brian followed them till they reached the Dún,[8] whereupon was said—

Battle of Glen Mama, A.D. 1000.

The Leinster-men and Danes of Dublin defeated.

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cept Brian's march. B. reads, Tangatar goill ocus laiġin seoċ na muinterait ı ccoinne Briain go gleand Máma. "The Gaill and the Laghin came in advance of their families, against Brian at Glen Mama."

[6] *And* [*men.* B. reads, Ro fearaḋ ımorro eatorra caṫ fuileaċ fiċda, fordearg, fearḋa, fearaṁail, ainmín,' agarḃ, aimarḋa, easccáirdeaṁail. Acus a deirit, &c. The passage which follows in brackets from this place to the last line on p. 114, is wanting in D., and has been supplied from B. The Irish reader will perceive the change of orthography.

[7] *Magh Rath.* See the historical romance of the battle of Magh Rath, published by the Irish Archæological Society.

[8] *The Dun:* i.e., the dún or fortress of Ath Cliath, i.e., of Dublin.

Poetical celebration of the victory.

Fada an ruaigri tainic Brian
  O Glinn Mama co hAṫ-Cliaṫ.[1]
  . . . . .
  . . . . .

Tugsam siccir as a dún,
  Tugsam coilciḃ, tuccsam clúṁ,
  Tugsam eiċ maiṫe meara,
  Is mna blaiṫe bangeala.
Do ċuirsiot Dal cCais anég
  An lá sin da ḟiċet céd,
  Sochaiḋe ó rugsat ba,
  Is da ttugsat lá fada.

Fada.

The Castle of Dublin plundered and burned.

LXVIII. Ro ḣindraḋ imorro an dún leó, ocus ro hairgeḋ, ocus ro bai Brian ar sin a fforlongport isin mbaile ó nodlaic mór co nodlaic becc. Tanic iarsin isin margaḋ, ocus ro loisceaḋ an dún uile leó, ocus nir ḟagaiḃsiot ciste ittalmain gan ḟaġḃáil, amail asbert an file, ag inisin scel and:—

Poem on the battle of Glenn Mama.

Caṫ Glinne Mama is mór mer,
  Ní cruáiḋe caṫ dar cuireḋ,
  Dḟir a raḋa ni raḋ gó,
  A ára sa earbaḋo.
A ċroḋaċt is a ċruas,
  A laeṁċuire sa lánluas,
  Imḋa in gaċ tráṫ doċar de,
  Caċ ag crochaḋ a ċéile.
Treagdaḋ is ciorraḋ cneas,
  Scoltaḋ cend ccaoṁ coiṁdeas,
  Troiġṫe comalla, ni guaċ,
  Ocus láma go lánluaṫ.
Imḋa marḃ leosan is liḃ,
  Dreama ttaṁaiḃ sa tainiḃ,
  Dream danar luain gan fruarad,
  Go cruaiḋ aga ccomḃualaḋ.

[1] *Ath Cliath.* The remainder of this quatrain is missing in B., but space is left for it, as if the scribe had been unable to decipher the antient MS. from which he copied, but hoped to repair the defect from some other source.

Long was that route by which Brian came,
From Glenn Mama to Ath Cliath."[1]
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Poetical celebration of the victory.

We brought silk out of the fortress;
We brought bedding; we brought feathers;
We brought steeds goodly and fleet,
And blooming white fair women.
The Dal Cais put to death
On that day two score hundred[2];
Many they deprived of cows,
And gave them a long day[3]!

LONG.

LXVIII. The fortress then was plundered by them and ransacked; and Brian at that time remained encamped in the town from great Christmas to little Christmas.[4] He came then into the market, and the whole fortress was burned by them, and they left not a treasure under ground that they did not discover. As the poet said in relating the story of it—

The Castle of Dublin plundered and burned.

The battle of Glenn Mama was great and rapid;
No harder battle was ever fought;—
The man who says so makes no false assertion—
For its slaughters and its losses;
Its valour and its severity;
Its championship and its full impetuosity;
Many on every side were its misfortunes,
Each party destroying the other.
Piercing, and hacking of bodies,
Cleaving of comely and handsome heads,
Feet in action—it is not false!—
And hands in full activity.
Many were the dead of them and of you;
Crowds in trances and in swoons;
Crowds of ready Danars, without cessation,
Bravely contending with them.

Poem on the battle of Glenn Mama.

[2] *Two score hundred.* This seems to mean a hundred times two score: i.e., 4,000, a number probably exaggerated.

[3] *A long day:* i.e., spared their lives for some time longer.

[4] *Christmas:* i.e, from Christmas Day to the Epiphany.

Fada do b̆ar uime sin
O maidin co dub̆nónaiġ,
Is fada do had̆rad̆ de,
Cac̆ ag marbad̆ ac̆éile.
Rugsat meic na riġ búrac̆,
Tré cat̆ na ngall co tnuthac̆,
Gur cuirsat cat̆ gall co cruaid̆,
Tré cat̆ na ngaoid̆eal sairtuaid̆.
Do brised̆ an cat̆ arsin
Ar eigin ar na gallaib̆,
Da c̆éd décc ni beg a blad̆,
Innistear ann do marbad̆.
Cat̆ Muige Rat̆ re tearta,
No cat̆ mór Muige hEalta,
Noc̆a ninnsamail im rat̆,
Is baram̆ail don aon cat̆.

cath.

Value of the spoil taken.

LXIX. Is é sin aon ionad̆ as mó a fríť dór ocus daircet, ocus dfionndruine, ocus do leccaib̆, ocus do geamaib̆ carrmogail, ocus do c̆ornaib̆ buabaill, ocus do bleided̆aib̆ blaiťe. Ro tionóiled̆ co haon ionad̆ na seoitt sin leo. Mór dna dedeid̆ib̆ exam̆la gac̆a dat̆a

How the Danes obtained their wealth.

frit̆ ann fos. Ni raib̆ imorro dún no daingean, no dionghna, no ceall, no cad̆as, no neimed̆ do gab̆ad̆ ris an ngláim ngliſid̆iġ, nglonnmair, ngnuism̆ir do b̆í ag teaglaim, ocus ag teaccar na hédala sin, óir ni raib̆e ifolac̆ fo ťalmain in Erinn ina fá d̆iam̆raib̆ díc̆ealta ag fianaib̆ no ag síť cuiraib̆ ní na fuarataṙ na Danmargaiġ allmard̆a ingantac̆a sin, tre geintlid̆ec̆t, ocus tre iod̆alad̆rad̆. Mór dna do m̆naib̆, ocus do macamaib̆, ocus dingeanaib̆ tugad̆ fo d̆aíre, ocus fo d̆oc̆ar leo,] ocus ro dligset in ni sin; daig is

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[1] *Dark noon:* i.e., midnight.

[2] *Gaill.* The original words, *Gaill*, foreigners, and *Gaedhil*, Gael or Irish, are here retained because of the alliteration evidently intended by the poet.

[3] *Magh Ealta.* No such battle is recorded in the Irish Annals, unless the battle of Clontarf be intended, in which afterwards Brian fell. Clontarf was a part of the antient plain called *Sean Magh Ealta Eadair*, Four Mast., A.M. 2550.

[4] *By them:* i.e., by Brian and his followers.

Long did they continue in this way,
From the morning unto the dark noon[1];
Long were the horrors continued,
Each party killing the other.
The sons of the kings made a brave charge
Through the ranks of the sorrowing Gaill[2];
And fiercely drove the ranks of the Gaill
Through the ranks of the Gaedhil north-eastwards.
The battle was thereupon gained
By force against the Gaill;
Twelve hundred—not small the glory!—
Are recorded to have there been killed.
The battle of Magh Rath, as it is described,
Or the great battle of Magh Ealta,[3]
Are not equal in prosperous results,
Nor to be compared with this one battle.

THE BATTLE.

LXIX. It was in that one place were found the greatest quantities of gold and silver, and bronze [*finndruine*], and precious stones, and carbuncle-gems, and buffalo horns, and beautiful goblets. All these valuables were collected by them[4] to one place. Much also of various vestures of all colours was found there likewise. (For never was there a fortress, or a fastness, or a mound, or a church, or a sacred place, or a sanctuary, when it was taken by that howling, furious, loathsome crew, which was not plundered by the collectors and accumulators of that wealth. Neither was there in concealment under ground in Erinn, nor in the various solitudes belonging to Fians or to fairies, any thing that was not discovered by these foreign, wonderful Denmarkians, through paganism[5] and idol worship.) Many women also, and boys, and girls, were brought to bondage and ruin by them[6];] and *the*

Value of the spoil taken.

How the Danes obtained their wealth.

[5] *Through paganism.* The meaning is, that notwithstanding the potent spells employed by the Fians and fairies of old for the concealment of their hidden treasures, the Danes, by their pagan magic and the diabolical power of their idols, were enabled to find them out.

[6] *By them:* i.e., by Brian and his party. D. adds, ann sin *there*, or *on that occasion*, and then proceeds as after the bracket in the text. The clause

ꝓiu δaꝓonaδ inδoc̆aind, ocuſ iſiaτ ꝓo inſaig iccoſnum acꝓic̆i, ocuſ aꝼoꝓba ꝼein ꝼoꝓꝓo. Ciδ δna ac̆τ ꝓoimpo a ſen ocuſ aſoluδ anδſin ꝓiſ na gallaib, ocuſ gac̆ olc δaꝓonſaτ taꝓꝓaſ oꝓꝓo ꝼoman τomaiſ. Aꝓ in miaδ ꝼoꝓamiſeτ δo ꝼeaꝓib Eꝓenδ iſ ꝼai ꝓo miδeδ δoib.

The complete subjection of the foreigners.

Olc iſén δo gallaib, imoꝓꝓo, ꝓoʒenaiꝓ in ʒilla ſin .i. Bꝓian mac Cenδeτig. Δaig iſ leiſ ꝓomaꝓbaiτ, ꝓomuδaigiτ, ꝓoδilaꝓigiτ, ꝓoδoeꝓaiτ iſ ꝓomuʒſanaigiτ. Cona ꝓabí cáτ̆leč ó Beind Eδaiꝓ co Teč Δuind iaꝓnEꝓind gan gall indaiꝓi ꝼaiꝓ, ocuſ naꝓab bꝓo gan gaillſig. Conaꝓba ni ꝓi mac oclaig no ocτ̆igiꝓnδ δo goeδelaib aδoꝓnδ im ſuiſτ no im opaiꝓ ele aꝓ talmain, ocuſ ni moba ni ꝓe mna ní δoꝓnδ im meli bꝓon, no ꝼuni baꝓgini, no nigi a héτaig, ac̆τ gall no gaillſeč δanenam.

Brian's twenty-five battles.

He remains at Dublin five weeks.

Ravages Leinster.

[LXX. Cúicc caτ̆a ꝼic̆eτ in ꝓo τꝓeʒ̆δaδ̆ a ττaoib̆ ꝼoδein, aſſeδ̆ ꝓo ṙꝓaoin Bꝓian ꝼoꝓꝓa, ʒuſ in ccaτ̆ in ꝓo maꝓbaδ̆ eꝼéin, ʒenm̆oτa δeb̆τ̆a aꝓc̆ena. Ro bai immoꝓꝓo Bꝓian annſin o noδlaic móꝓ ʒo ꝼéil Bꝓiʒ̆δe. Ro hindꝓaδ̆ Laiʒ̆in leiſ ac̆τ becc, ocuſ ꝓo gab̆ bꝓaiʒ̆δe, ocuſ ꝓo loiſcceaδ̆ Coill Comaiꝓ leiſ, ocuſ ꝓo leδꝓaδ̆, ocuſ ꝓo ꝓeiδ̆iʒ̆eδ̆ beilʒ̆e ocuſ δaingne leiſ. Ro elo im-

describing how the Danes came by their great wealth is a parenthetical digression, after which the narrative returns to the spoil taken by the victorious Brian and his followers.

[1] *Deserved.* B. reads, ocuſ δo δliġſiot ſiúm in ní ſin oiꝓ iſiaδ ʒoill ꝓo ionnſaiġ iaδ δo ċoſnam̆ a ccꝓíċe, ocuſ a ꝼoꝓba δilıſ ꝼein ꝼꝓiu: "And they had deserved that treatment, for the foreigners had begun the attack to contest with them their own country and their beloved lawful inheritance." In the use of *they* and *them* both MSS. are somewhat confused, meaning by those pronouns sometimes the Irish, sometimes the Danes, or other foreigners. To avoid this confusion, a slight liberty has been taken in the translation by substituting "*the foreigners*" for "*they.*"

[2] *The respect.* These words, to the end of the paragraph, are omitted in B.

[3] *Ill luck.* B. reads, Olc imoꝓꝓo an ſén δo gallaib̆ in la ꝓo ʒenaiꝓ in ʒille ſin: "Bad was the luck of the foreigners on the day when that youth was born."

[4] *Exterminated.* B. reads, ocuſ ꝓo δilaiτꝓicchiτ.

[5] *Winnowing sheet.* Cailleċ, B., "an old woman."

[6] *Western Erinn.* B. reads, in iaꝓτ̇aꝓ Eꝓenδ, "in the west of Erinn," but the other reading, no iaꝓ nEꝓinδ, is given as a gloss in O'Clery's hand over these words. From Benn Edair [now Howth], to Tech Duinn [an

foreigners had deserved[1] that treatment, because by them the provocation had been given, and they had been the aggressors to contest with them [i.e., *with Brian and his followers*] their own country and their lawful inheritance. However, their good luck and fortune then turned against the foreigners, and all the evils they had hitherto inflicted were now fully avenged on them. For the respect[2] which they had measured to the men of Erinn, was by the same standard now measured to themselves.

The complete subjection of the foreigners.

Ill luck[3] was it, however, for the foreigners when that youth was born, viz., Brian, the son of Cenneidigh; for it was by him they were killed, destroyed, exterminated,[4] enslaved, and bondaged. So that there was not a winnowing sheet[5] from Benn Edair to Tech Duinn, in western Erinn,[6] that had not a foreigner in bondage on it, nor was there a quern without a foreign woman.[7] So that no son[8] of a soldier or of an officer of the Gaedhil deigned to put his hand to a flail, or any other labour on earth; nor did a woman[9] deign to put her hands to the grinding of a quern, or to knead a cake, or to wash her clothes, but had a foreign man or a foreign woman[10] to work for them.

Brian's twenty-five battles.

[LXX. Five and twenty battles, in which their own sides were pierced, did Brian gain over them, including the battle in which he himself was killed, besides sundry skirmishes. Brian remained in that place from great Christmas[11] till the festival of Brigit. Laighin was ravaged by him, except a small portion, and he took hostages; and Coill Comair was burned by him, and hewn down, and passages and fortresses cleared by him. But Am-

He remains at Dublin five weeks.

Ravages Leinster.

---

island off the south-western point of Kerry], was evidently a usual mode of describing the southern half of Ireland.

[7] *Foreign woman.* In the original, *gaillsech.* A *quern* is a stone hand-mill still used in many parts of Ireland.

[8] *No son.* Conar bo ní le mac ócclaig no oicctigeirn, B.

[9] *A woman.* Nir bo ni le mnaoi a lám im mele brón no im fuine bairgine, B.

[10] *Foreign woman.* Lit., "A gall or a gaillsech." Gall ocus gaillsech da denam, B. Danenam in D. is for da ndenam. Here another portion of the text (chaps. lxx. to first paragraph of chap. lxxii. *incl.*) is supplied from B. in consequence of an imperfection in D., from the loss of a leaf.

[11] *From great Christmas:* i.e., from December 25 to February 1, inclusive. See p. 113, note [4].

Amlaff flies to Ulster.

Submits to Brian.

morro Am̃laiḃ ri gall illó an cat̃a, ocus ro siac̃t as gac̃ ionad deis ac̃éile co riac̃t co hUlltu. Do cúas immorro o Brian ina d̃iaiḡ, ocus ni ḟuair ad̃íon acc Aod̃, no acc Eoc̃aid̃, go ttainic hi tech Briain hi ccinn raiṫe iaram̃, ocus tuc abreiṫ ḟéin do Brian, ocus tucc Brian a d̃ún dosom̃.

Capture of Maelmordha, king of Leinster.

LXXI. Ro gab imorro Brian Maolmord̃a mac Murchad̃a alló an cat̃a reim̃e in iuḃar taid̃e, ocus ise Murchad̃ tucc as an iuḃar da aimdeóin hé, ocus bai hilláim̃ occ Brian gur gaḃ braiḡde Laiḡen uile. Ro hosslaicced̃ de arsin, ocus tuccad̃ braiḡde Laiḡen dó, ocus ro haiṫríogad̃ Donnchad̃ mac Dom̃naill Claoin reim̃e.

Brian's triumphant return home.

Tainic imorro Brian da t̃igh iarsin, go suḃac̃ soim̃enmnac̃, ocus co cosccrach commaid̃mec̃ amail ba minic lais. Ised̃ innisit luc̃t ḟesa, ocus senchusa conac̃ raiḃe urraidh dferaiḃ Mum̃an don tsluaiged̃ sin gan ad̃bar at̃ighedhais leis dór ocus dairccett ocus déttac̃ dat̃a, ocus da gac̃ ionnm̃ass arc̃ena; conid da ḟoirgell sin do ronad̃ an duan.

Brian's rebellion against Maelsechlainn, king of Ireland, A.D. 1002.

A month's truce agreed to.

LXXII. Do ronad̃ mor sluaiged̃ leiṫe Moḡa uile le Brian iarsin etir gullae ocus gaoid̃ela co riac̃t Temraiḡ na rioḡ, ocus ro cuired̃ tec̃ta uad̃a co Maelec̃lainn mac Dom̃naill co rí Tem̃rac̃, ocus ro siriṫ braigde fair no cat̃ muna aenta id̃ed̃ braiḡde, ocus tuccad̃ aroḡa do Maoilec̃lainn dib̃sin.] Ro sir, imorro, Moelseclaind cardi mís do ri com̃tinoil Let̃i Cuind, ocus tugad in cardi sin dó can creic̃ can inred can airgni gan fogail can forlosc̃ud, ocus Brian in forlongport fri sin re sin i Temraic̃.

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[1] *With Aedh:* i.e., Amlaff, the Danish king, was not received by Aedh, or Hugh O'Neill, the chief of the *Ulaid*, or northern Ulstermen, nor by Eochaidh, the chieftain of the East of Ulster, to whom he had fled for protection.

[2] *House:* i.e. submitted to Brian. See p. 123, line 3.

[3] *His fortress:* i.e., his dún or fortress of Dublin.

[4] *Murchadh:* i.e., Murchadh or Morrogh, son of Brian. Maelmordha, or Maelmóra, son of Murchadh [i. e., of a different and older Murchadh], was the king of Leinster, and brother of Gormlath, Brian's third wife.

[5] *The poem.* Meaning apparently the poem given above in chap. lxviii.

[6] *Maelsechlainn.* Here we return to the text of D. B. reads, ocus ro sirestair Maelsec̃lainn cairde mis.

Amlaff flies to Ulster.

Submits to Brian.

laibh, king of the foreigners, fled on the day of the battle, and went from one place to another, until he came to the Ulaid. But he was pursued by Brian's orders; and he found not shelter with Aedh,[1] nor with Eochaidh; so that he came into Brian's house[2] in a quarter of a year after, and submitted to Brian's own terms, and Brian restored his fortress[3] to him.

Capture of Maelmordha, king of Leinster.

LXXI. Brian captured also Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, on the day of the aforesaid battle, concealed in a yew tree; and it was Murchadh[4] that forcibly dragged him out of the tree; and he continued in captivity with Brian until *Brian* received the hostages of all Laighin. He was then liberated, and the hostages of Laighin were given to him, and Donnchadh, son of Domhnall Cloen, was dethroned for him.

Brian's triumphant return home.

Brian now returned to his home after this, cheerfully, in good spirits, victoriously and triumphantly, as was his wont. Men of learning and historians say that there was not a yeoman of the men of Mumhain on that expedition who had not received enough to furnish his house with gold and silver, and cloth of colour, and all kinds of property in like manner. And it was to commemorate this the poem[5] was made.

Brian's rebellion against Maelsechlainn, king of Ireland, A.D. 1002.

A month's truce agreed to.

LXXII. A great expedition of all Leth Mogha, both Gaill and Gaedhil, was afterwards made by Brian, until they reached Temhair of the kings; and messengers were sent from them to Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall, king of Temhair, and they demanded hostages from him, or battle, should he refuse hostages, and Maelsechlainn was given his choice of these.] Maelsechlainn,[6] however, requested a month's delay to muster Leth Cuinn; and that delay was given to him[7], during which no plunder or ravage, no destruction or trespass, or burning, was to be inflicted upon him. And Brian remained encamped[8] during that time in Temhair.

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[7] *To him.* B. omits do, "to him."

[8] *Encamped.* B. reads, ocus Brian i tTemraiġ fris an re sin: "And Brian was in Temhair [i.e., Tara], during that time;" viz., during the time of the truce.

Maelsechlainn's embassy to the kings of Ulster and Connaught.

Ir isin comarli da ronad la Moelseclaind andsein Gilla Comgaill Ua Slebin, ollum Ulad, ocus in tuaisceirt arcena do cur ar cend Aeda U Neill ri Aelig, ocus ar cend Eoc̆ada mic Ardgail ri Ulad, ocus tec̆ta ele ar cend Cat̆ail mic Concubar ri Conac̆t, ocus da tistais Let̆ Cuind co henmemnac̆ leosen cat̆ fergac̆ feramail do t̆abairt do Brian, ocus do Leit̆ Moga, ocus sairdac̆t Temrac̆ do cosnum riu. Meni tistis sin, imorro, do cosnum sairdac̆t Temrac̆, ba hí a comarli bragti do tabairt do Brian, daig ní bí acomaing Let̆i Moga do restal aci seom a enur, ocus nir ba nairi dosom can Temraig da cosnum oldas do clannaib Neill, ocus do saerclannaib Let̆i Cuind arc̆ena.

Gilla Comgaill O'Slebhin's poetical address to Aedh O'Neill.

LXXIII. Conid and do rogni Gilla Comgaill Ua Slebin in duansa i gresac̆t Aeda Ua Neill, ocus iga grisad do tabairt cat̆a do Brian—

A dubrad rib dul fodeas,
Urlam leis ac luigeac̆ lis
Do debaid re tegllac̆ Tail,
Da riac̆t ó Temraig fal fis.
Fada re hErind, Aed̆,
A craeb oebind cind u Niall,
Co torgba Let̆ Cuind ar coir,
Co toirtea tuind mbroin ar Brian.
Benac̆ta fer nErend ort,
Na leic lonna lebend leat,
Rit ita ár súil uli noc̆t,
Cur i bron do Bregmaig balc.

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[1] *Poet.* B. omits the description, "the poet of the Ulaid and of all the north."

[2] *Should come.* B. reads, ocus da ttiosraig Let̆ Cuinn uile leis mar sin co haén ionad, ocus co haén menmnac̆, is cat̆ do berad̆ do Brian, ocus do Leit̆ Moġa, ocus saerd̆ac̆t Temra do c̆osnam̆ mar sin; ocus muna tiosraig do c̆osnam̆ saoirsi na Temrac̆. "And if all Leth Cuinn should come with them to one place and with one mind, then to give battle to Brian and to Leth Mogha, and to contend for the freedom of Temhair in like manner; but if they should not come to defend the freedom of Temhair, &c."

[3] *Because.* B. reads, dóiġ ni baí acfaing Briain ocus Leit̆e Moġa

The counsel that Maelsechlainn adopted on this occasion was to send Gilla Comgaill O'Slebhin, the poet[1] of the Ulaid, and of all the north, to Aedh O'Neill, king of Ailech, and to Eochaidh, son of Ardgal, king of the Ulaid, and another messenger to Cathal, son of Conchobhar, king of Connacht; and if the Leth Cuinn should come[2] unanimously with these, then to give a furious and manly battle to Brian and the Leth Mogha, and to contend for the freedom of Temhair with them. But should they not come to defend the freedom of Temhair, the counsel *he adopted* was to give hostages to Brian, because[3] he had not the power by himself to meet the Leth Mogha; and it was not more disgraceful for him not to contend for the freedom of Temhair than it was for the Clann Neill, and all the other clanns of Leth Cuinn as well.

Maelsechlainn's embassy to the kings of Ulster and Connaught.

LXXIII. And it was[4] on that occasion that Gilla Comgaill O'Slebhin made this poem, urging Aedh O'Neill, and inciting him to give battle to Brian—

Gilla Comgaill O'Slebhin's poetical address to Aedh O'Neill.

Ye have been required to go southward;
  Ready too at Lis Luigheach,
  To battle with the House of Tal;
  From Temhair of Fal has come the message.
Long does it seem to Erinn, O Aedh,—
  O delightful tree—head of the O'Neill,
  Until thou restorest Leth Cuinn to its right—
  Until thou bring a wave of woe upon Brian.
The blessings of the men of Erinn upon thee;
  Let not a coward in the field go with thee;
  On thee is all our hope to-night—
  Dispel its sorrow from the strong Magh Breagh.

ᴅᴏ ċᴏʏᴄċ ᴀɪᴄᴄᴇ ᴀ ᴀᴇɴᴀʀ, ᴏᴄᴜʏ ɴí ᴍó ʙᴀ ɴáʀ ᴅᴏʏᴏṁ ʒᴀɴ Tᴇṁᴀɪʀ ᴅᴏ ċᴏʏᴄᴄ ɪɴá ᴅᴏ ċʟᴀɴɴᴀɪḃ ɴéɪʟʟ: "because he had no power by himself to resist Brian and the Leth Mogha, and it was not more disgraceful for him not to defend Tara than it was to the clann Neill, &c."

[4] *And it was.* The whole of this section, including the poem, is omitted in B.; where we read here ᴅᴏ ʀᴏɪɴᴇ ᴀɴ ꝼɪʟɪ ᴀ ṫᴇċᴛᴀɪʀᴇċᴛ ᴀᴍᴀɪʟ ᴀʏ ꝼᴇʀʀ ʀᴏ ꝼéᴛ ꝼʀɪ ʜᴀᴄéᴅʜ. ᴀʏʙᴇʀᴛ ɪᴍᴏʀʀᴏ ᴀᴏᴅ ó ɴᴇɪʟʟ, 7c.: "The poet did his message as best he could for the information of Aedh. Then Aedh O'Neill answered, &c.," as in chap. lxxiv.

Ar baig goedel geib do sciaṫ
Co sin oenfer forges caċ,
Na leic tor Temra i tech mBriain,
It[s]elba bai biaid co braṫ.
Braṫar duit Maelseċlaind,
Serc siur duit in maṫair dan mac,
Déna debaid umpi a Aed,
Com dúṫaiġ doib Temair Brec mbalc.
Natasberat eaċtraind uaib,
Cid decmaing, déntȧr bar síṫ,
Mini rucar re bar re,
Ni ruccad fri re na criċ.
Cosnaid Temair, tren bar feidm,
A fed [*leg.* fednaib] Neill nert bar ndurind,
Na raecam a les bar ngairim,
Ni des lib anim eaċtrand uirnd.
Ard gaċ oentu, blaṫglan blaiṫ,
Cain caċ cliaṫ braṫar mad buaid,
Sona re cumasc caċ cuit,
Fortall caċ uilc ilar sluaig.
Isi cainggean is coru duib,
Cen gub dainggean, dul co Brian,
Na legid in mallmag do neoċ,
Milis a deoċ is a biad.
Beirsiu tuascert Erend let,
Aed ris a nergend caċ loċt,
Bered do celi in leṫ teas,
Na légíd bar leas do lot.
Bered Eoċu udi cian,
Ultu uli, ard in dam.
Berid Caṫal cetaċ coir,
Cuced fer nOilnegmaċt nan.
Eriġ res na sluagaib suas,
Trénaig is cruadaiġ a séis,
Ma da neċais raċaid cáċ,
Baṫ ferdi co braṫ da heis.

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[1] *Thy brother:* i.e., near relative. Maelsechlainn was his nephew, his sister's son.

[2] *They:* i.e., Maelsechlainn and his mother.

[3] *It:* viz., Temhair or Tara. "*Externs:*" i.e., not of the house of O'Neill.

[4] *Between you:* i.e., between thee (Aedh) and Maelsechlainn.

[5] *Disgrace. Lit.* "Disgrace of ex-

For the sake of the Gaedhil take thy shield
Against that one man who injures all;
Let not the hill of Temhair come into Brian's house—
With those who now possess it let it be for ever.
Maelsechlainn is thy brother[1];
Thy beloved sister is the mother whose son he is;
Make battle for her, O Aedh!
They[2] have equal right to strong Temhair, of Breagh.
Let not externs carry it[3] away from you;
However difficult, let peace be made between you[4];
If not carried away in your time
It shall not be carried away until the time of the end.
Defend Temhair, mighty be your exertion!
Ye clanns of Niall, by the strength of your hands—
Let us not require to call you;
It is not honourable to you that externs should disgrace[5] us.
Noble is every union—glorious, renowned;
Beautiful every brother-battle if it be a victory!
Prosperous by combining is each part;
Powerful against all evil is a numerous army.
The policy that is most proper for you,
Although not strong, is to go against Brian;
Surrender not the soft plain[6] to any man—
Sweet are its drink and its meat.
Bring thou the north of Erinn with thee,
O Aedh, who art followed by all parties;
Let thy comrade[7] bring with him the southern half;
Suffer not your interests to be destroyed.
Let Eochaidh bring—long the march—
All the Ulaid—a noble company;
Let Cathal, the warlike, the just, bring
The province of the illustrious men of Olnegmacht.
Rise up thou before the armies,
Strengthen and harden their ranks;
If thou wilt go, all others will go,
Thou shalt be the better of it ever after.

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terns [i.e., of Brian and his party] upon us is not honourable [*lit.*, handsome, pleasant] to you."

[6] *Soft plain.* Meaning Breagh or Bregia, the rich plain in which Temhair or Tara stood.

[7] *Comrade:* viz., Maelsechlainn. The last word of this line was origin-

A mic Domnaill ua Neill naiſ,
Fuil gormlaind dongrein it griſ,
Ar ti Temra duit otaíſ,
Bat ri Erend aċt co riſ.
Romaind co Brian Broga Cuirc,
Ar feraind Loga do lot,
Erig romaind, erguin leat,
Na bat bid anim Erend ort.
A Aed mic Domnaill o Neill,
Suid ar torblaind Temra Fail,
Berir tir Airt Oenfir o Brian,
Bid giall gaċ oenfir it laim.
Bat lan ri Erend ar teċt,
Na cleaċt do lebend do Lurc,
Uair naċ taṫair tarlaig ort,
Na leic cnoc Cairmaic do Curc.
Coraiċ in ſluaged ar ſliċt
Murċertaig na ruadgal gart,
A leſtraib glaine rot neċt,
Mini ſaige ſaigfear ort.
Na fritoil fein fir im ċert,
Bein in rig aċt rig na riċt,
Bid caċ fritoleſ do bein,
Iſ uaiſliu clann Neill caċ nirt.
Da tiſtaiſ do cluſa i cein,
Mar da ċuadaſ a ua Neill náir,
Nibad debad let in nuall,
Dani in ſluag im Temair Fail.
O ré Cormaic o cuind Coir,
Iſ doib tarlaic in tor tiar,
Act tic caċ a anam em,
Ni dallad ráṫ Neill ar Niall.

ally written deaſ in the MS., and is corrected apparently by the original scribe to teaſ.

[1] *Noble.* The MS. has naiſ (of Naas?) which ought perhaps to be nair, noble. O'Niall is so called in this page (line 26), and *Circuit of Ireland*, line 1. But the rhyme is in favour of naiſ.

[2] *Brugh.* This word signifies a fort, or chieftain's residence. By "Corc's Brugh" is here meant Cashel; so called from Corc, son of Lugaidh, who was king of Cashel in the time of St. Patrick, and was the first to make Cashel the royal residence.

[3] *Of every man.* In the Irish *Oenfir.* There is a play upon words here that cannot be represented in the translation. The word *oenfer*, gen. *oenfir*, signifies literally *one man, unicus, individual.* Art,

O son of Domhnall, grandson of Niall, the noble,[1]
The bright sheen of the sun illumines thee,
Since thou art intent upon Temhair for thyself
Thou shalt be king of Erinn if thou wilt but come.
Lead us against Brian of Corc's Brugh,[2]
On Lugaidh's land be thy ravaging;
Go thou before us—slaughter attend thee—
Let not the disgrace of Erinn be upon thee.
O Aedh, son of Domhnall, grandson of Niall,
Sit thou on the glorious tower of Temhair-Fail,
Wrest the land of Art Oenfer from Brian,
Let the hostage of every man[3] be in thy hands.
Thou shalt be full king of Erinn by coming
Let not thy platform [i.e. Tara] become accustomed to Lurc,[4]
Since no reproach attaches to thee,
Yield not Cormac's[5] Hill to Corc.[6]
Direct the army in the track
Of Muirchertach of the red prowess;
In vessels of glass he has washed thee[7];
Unless thou advance, thou shalt be advanced upon.
Serve not thou thyself a man of right;
Strike the king, except the supreme king;
Let all be in vassalage under thy stroke;
Nobler are the race of Niall than any might.
If thy renown shall spread afar,
As I have said, O descendant of Niall the brave!
The shout will not be a contest against thee
Which is raised by the hosts around Temhair-Fail.
From the time of Cormac, grandson of just Conn,
To his race belongs this western hill;
But each man gave his ready life;
Niall's fort was not taken from Niall.

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king of Ireland, A.D. 220, son of Conn of the hundred battles, was surnamed Oenfer, because he was the only surviving son of his father. The meaning, therefore, is, "Wrest from Brian the lands of king Art *Oenfer*, [i.e., the kingdom of Ireland] and let the hostage of every *oenfer* [i.e., of every individual] be in thy hand." Ƀeꞃiꞃ in the preceding line is probably a mistake for beꞃiꝺ.

[4] *Lurc*, or Lorc: i.e., to Leinster; so called from Loeghaire Lorc of the Liffey, king of Ireland, A.M. 3649.

[5] *Cormac's.* Over the word Caiꞃmaic in the MS. a coeval hand has written "vel Cormaic," the more usual spelling.

[6] *Corc:* i.e., to Munster. See note [2], p. 124.

[7] *Washed thee.* This seems a pro-

Cać ṛi ṛo gab Eṛind uaib,
Baṛ cuan coelbind clainni Neill,
Ni tiać taṛ beṛnaid neić duib,
Aṛ cać tiṛ i Temṛaić tṛein.
Na leicṛiu oṛt na hob caṫ,
Nit ṛeoil tṛoit da ċoiṛ no deoċ,
A hui tṛi Caṫal na caṫ,
Na leic teċ taṫaṛ do neoċ.
Ni hengnam bec gi bec moṛ,
Iṛ aṛ degblad teit do Bṛian,
Ci bec menman lind a ṛád,
Iṛ náṛ ṛṛeng ṛen Temṛać ṛiaṛ.
Sanṭaig ṛiu Lumneać na long
Aṛdaig ṛeo conad cumneać and,
Geṛed ṛitṛu Liṗi Luiṛc,
Tucṛu Caṛel Cuiṛc da cind.
Iṛtiṛ [*vel* iṛat] mac dingbala dó,
Ma dingbala let ṛetla,
Mad tu baṛ de de nać daiṫ,
Bid let uli in maiṫ ita.

A dub.

The refusal of Aedh O'Neill.

LXXIV. Aṛbeṛt, imoṛṛo, Aed Ua Neill in tan bai Temaiṛ accoṛom .i. ic Cenel Eogain, ṛa coṛainṛet a ṛ̇aiṛi, ocuṛ inti ica miad da coṛnad a ṛaiṛi, ocuṛ aṛbeṛt nać tibṛed a anmain i cend cat̆a ṛo lamaib Dalcaiṛ do coṛnam ṛigi do neoč ele. Iṛ aiṛṛin ṛo t̆aiṛiṛ leo.

Maelsechlainn visits Aedh in person, and offers to resign his crown.

Da ṛoč̆t in ṛeṛ dana co Mailṛeclaind, ocuṛ atṛet na ṛcela ṛin do. Iṛṛi comaṛli da ṛogní Maelṛeclaind, do luid ṛen co teač̆ Aeda Ua Neill, ocuṛ bai

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verbial expression, equivalent to our proverb of "dwelling in glass houses." But over the word neċt, "washing," in a coeval hand, are written the letters ṛt in the MS., probably to indicate another reading, neṛt, "strength,"—"in vessels of glass is thy strength." But qu.?

[1] *Over a gap:* i.e., not one of you obtained the sovereignty by any byeway or treachery.

[2] *Lorc.* See above, note [4], p. 125.

[3] *When they.* Lit., "When Temhair belonged to them, viz., to the Cinel Eoghan;" i.e., the family of Eoghan, the branch of the O'Neill of which Aedh was the chieftain. B. reads, an tan ṛo bai Tem̓aiṛ oc Cenel

Of all the kings of you that ruled Erinn,
Of the sweet musical race of the sons of Niall,
No one of you came over a gap[1]
From any quarter to strong Temhair.
Let him not come upon you—refuse not battle—
You are not dead flesh, in foot or horse;
O descendant of the three Cathals of the battle,
Leave not the house of thy fathers to any man!
Tis no small valour, although the small is great;
Tis with high renown thou goest against Brian,
Although it is small courage in us to say so,
Tis a shame to have old Temhair dragged to the West.
Covet thou Luimnech of ships
For this purpose—that thou mayest be remembered there,
For thee will shout the Liphe of Lorc,[2]
Pull thou down Caisel of Corc.
Thou art a person worthy of it;
If thou preserve thy worthiness in thy day—
If thou be active now to the last,
To thee shall belong all the good that remains.

THOU ART.

The refusal of Aedh O'Neill.

LXXIV. Aedh O'Neill, however, answered—"When they,[3] namely, the Cenél Eoghain, had Temhair, they defended its freedom; and whoever possesses it, let him defend its freedom;" and he said "that he would not risk his life in battle against the Dál Cais, in defence of sovereignty for any other man." This was the final answer.[4]

Maelsechlainn visits Aedh in person, and offers to resign his crown.

The man of poetry returned to Maelsechlainn[5] and related to him those tidings. The counsel that Maelsechlainn acted on was this: he went himself to the house of Aedh O'Neill, and he spoke to him and offered him host-

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Eogain ro cornatar araile, ocus an ti aga mbiadh é féin da cornamh cona gairgi: "When Temhair belonged to the Cinel Eoghan its freedom was defended, and whoever possesses it let it be his business to defend its freedom."

[4] *Answer.* Lit., "Thus he concluded with them," i.e., the negotiation was concluded between Aedh and the ambassador of Maelsechlainn.

[5] *To Maelsechlainn.* B. reads, da innisin sin co Maelsechlainn, "to tell this to Maelsechlainn."

icca agallaim, ocus targid bragti do, ocus ro raid̆ fris, Cosain Temṙaig duit fein ar se, ocus do bersa giallu duit, daig is fesr lem beit̆ accatso na beit̆ ic Brian. Daig ni fil a acmaing againd can teac̆t i teac̆ mBriain min t̆isiu leam i cend cat̆a, ocus mat̆i let̆i Cuind arcena.

Aedh assembles the Cenel Eoghain.

Ro t̆inolit, dna, Ceneal Eogain iarsin co hAed Ua Neill, ocus ro innis doib in scel sin .i. Maelseclaind i tairgsi giall do ar dul i cend cat̆a leis in nagid Brian ocus Dailcais. Ro raidset Cenel Eogain ni bi and sin [ac̆t] elat̆u, daig ro itir Maelseclaind nac̆ gebad Aed a giallu, daig ba sini ocus ba huaslu Maelseclaind ina Aed, ocus bad cuma leis i atsom do toc̆t i cend cat̆a leis, ocus co marbad do denam doib, ocus Dailcais.

Aedh advises deliberation.

Asbert Aed friu toc̆t i comarli, ocus i cocur, ocus frecra mait̆ do tabairt ar Maelsec̆laind innas na bad dortud flat̆emnais doib a t̆urus cucu.

The answer of the Clan.

Da cuatarsun i cagur, ocus ro batar ica imrad ca ṙocra bad comait̆ doibseon fri a nanmain in nuair da rac̆tais i cend cat̆a fri Dalcais. Daig de etatar nac̆ teic̆fitis Dalcais romposom, ocus nac̆ teic̆fitis seom fri Dalcais; ocus da etatar na bi acmaing a

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[1] *Hostages.* B. has tarccaiḋ dó Temhair, "he offered him Temhair;" i.e., he offered to resign to him the sovereignty of Ireland.

[2] *Temhair.* Cosain duit féin í, B., "Defend it for thyself."

[3] *Said he.* Omit., B.

[4] *Than.* Ina, B.

[5] *Power.* Acfaincc, B.

[6] *Falling into.* Lit., "going into Brian's house;" i.e., becoming one of his vassals.

[7] *Come not.* Muna ttiosairsi, B. *At the head of the battle:* i.e., as commander-in-chief.

[8] *Assembled.* B. omits dna, and iarsin.

[9] *Offered.* Acc tairgsin, B.

[10] *Could be.* Nar bo cóir sin, oir ro fidir Maelsechlainn, B.: "That this was not right, for Maelsechlainn knew, &c."

[11] *Older:* i.e., in pedigree; of an elder branch of the family. B. reads, naċ gebaḋ Aoḋ a braiġde, oir ba sine.

[12] *Of themselves.* Dóiḃ féin ocus do, B.

[13] *Advised.* Adubairt Aoḋ riú toċt hi ccoccar, ocus hi ccoṁairle, do taḃairt deiġfreccra, B.

[14] *Secret council.* Cagur, the same word spelt cogur, three lines before. B. reads hi ccoccur, another variation of orthography.

ages[1]; and said to him—"Defend Temhair[2] for thyself," said he,[3] "and I will give thee hostages; for I would rather be dependent on thee than[4] on Brian. For we have not power[5] to prevent our falling into[6] Brian's hands if thou come not[7] with me at the head of the battle, and the nobles of Leth Cuinn also."

Aedh assembles the Cenél Eoghain.

The Cenél Eoghain were then assembled[8] to the presence of Aedh O'Neill, and he related to them the fact that Maelsechlainn had offered[9] hostages to him provided he would go with him at the head of the battle against Brian and the Dál Cais. The Cenél Eoghain said that that could be[10] nothing but evasion, for Maelsechlainn knew that Aedh would not accept of hostages from him, because Maelsechlainn was older[11] and nobler than Aedh; and he cares not, provided they go with him to the head of the battle, to the mutual slaughter of themselves[12] and the Dál Cais.

Aedh advises deliberation.

Aedh advised[13] them to retire into secret council and conference, and to give a favourable answer to Maelsechlainn, so that his journey to them should not be a rejection of the sovereignty on their part.

The answer of the Clan.

They retired to secret council,[14] and they asked themselves what benefit would accrue to them compared with their lives,[15] should they take the lead in battle against the Dál Cais. For they knew[16] that the Dál Cais would not retreat before them; and that they would not retreat before the Dál Cais; and they knew that it would be

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15 *Their lives.* Ꝺoiḃ ꝼꞃi a nanmannaiḃ, B.

16 *They knew.* Ꝺaiġ ꞃo ꝼeꞇꞇaꞇꞇaꞃꞅom naċ ꞇeiċꝼiꞇꞇiꞅ Ꝺal cCaiꞅ ꞃomꝼaꞅan, ocuꞅ ꝺo ꝼeꞇꞇaꞇꞇaꞃ naċ ḃiaꝺ acꝼaiꞃg a neꝺꞃana aċꞇ commaꞃbaꝺ a ċéiꞇe ꝺo ꝺénaṁ; ocuꞅ ꝺo ꞃáiꝺꞅiot naꞃ bo ꝼuꞃáiꞇ ꞇeó ꞅoċaꞃ móꞃ ꝺa ccꞇoinn ꞇaꞃ a neiꞅ, óiꞃ ní ḃiaꝺ a ꞅúiꞇ ꞇe ꞅoċaꞃ na ꞇe ꞅomaine ꞅo ḃꞃaṫ maꝺ ꝺia ccuiꞃṫe an caṫ; ocuꞅ a ꝺuḃꞃaꞇaꞃ an cineꝺh naꞃ ꞇeiċ ꞃia ꞇoċꞇannꞇoiḃ, .i. an cineꝺ aꞅ cꞃoꝺa ꞅan ꝺoṁan, B.: "For they knew that the Dal Cais would not retreat before them, and they knew that it would not be possible to separate them, and that they would mutually slaughter each other; and they said that they sought no great benefits for their children after them, for they could have no hope of benefit or of wealth for themselves for ever, if the battle was fought; and they said that the tribe that retreated not before the Lochlanns, who were the bravest tribe in the world, &c."

netrana da compaigtis oen caṫ aċt caċ do commarbad a cele dib. Ro raidset nar burail leo socra da claind daneis. Daig ne [*leg.* ní] hé a fuil fein no biad re socra da cuirtea in caṫ. Daig ro etatar in luċt nar ṫeiċ re Loċlannaċaib no re Danmargaċaib .i. resin ciniud is croda is [in] doman naċ teiċfitis rompusom.

They demand from Maelsechlainn half of his territory.

Is si, imorro, comarli da ronad leo .i. leṫ fer Midi ocus ferand Temraċ doib, amail ro bad comduṫaig doib, ocus do bertais caṫ malle fris.

Maelsechlainn departs in wrath.

LXXV. Ro hinnised do Maelsechlaind in scel sin, ocus ro gab ferg mor é, ocus ro imdig fo dimdaig, ocus luid iarsin co claind Colmain, ocus innisid doib in scel sin, ocus isi comarli da roni tect i teaċ mBriain. Da luid iarsin da fiċet dec marcaċ co toraċt co pupull mBriain, can cor, can comarci, aċt eneaċ Briain fein ocus Dalcais, ocus innisid na scela firi do, ocus ro raid da bagbad acmaing comad caṫ do berad, ocus o naċ fuair arbert comad do denum a riarsom tanic ocus co tibred bragti do.

He submits to Brian and offers him hostages.

Brian's answer.

Ro regair Brian sin, ocus ro raid; daig is amlaid tanacaisiu cucaind, arse, can cor, can comarci, can coma, raġaid cardi mbliadna duitsiu, can giall can etiri diarraid ort; ocus raḋmaitni dinsaigi in luċta

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[1] *Danmarkians.* Omit., B. Re hanmargaċaiḃ, D., for re danmarga-ċaiḃ, according to the usual orthography of this MS., omitting the eclipsed or quiescent letter, and so in the line preceding etatar for ḟetatar.

[2] *Therefore.* Ocus arí comairle, B.

[3] *The men.* B. reads, Leth Miḋe ocus fearainn na Temraċ a ccomdúṫċas dóiḃ, ocus do berdais caṫ hi maille friú: "That half of Midhe [i.e., Meath], and of the territory of Temhair be their own inheritance, and that then they would fight the battle along with them."

[4] *Was told.* Do hinniseḋ, B.

[5] *Great wrath.* B. reads, ocus do ġaḃ ferg mór Maeleċlainn, ocus do imṫiġ fo dimiaḋ, ocus do imṫiġ ar sin co cloinn Colmáin: "And great wrath seized Maelsechlainn, and he departed in displeasure, and he returned then to the Clan Colmáin, &c."

[6] *To submit.* Lit., "to go into Brian's house;" i.e., become vassal or tributary to Brian; see note 6, p. 128. Ocus ari comairli do ronaḋ leó, .i. Maelechlainn, do dol i tech Briain, B.: "And this was the advice they gave him, viz., Maelsechlainn, to go into Brian's house."

[7] *Brian's tent.* Do luid iarsin Maelseċlainn da ḟicet décc marcach go riaċt pupal Briain ar faiṫċe na Temraċ, B.: "Then Maelsechlainn went forth with twelve

impossible to separate them, should they once join in battle, and that each would kill the other. They said that they sought not benefits for their children after them, for they themselves could have no hope of any benefits if the battle was fought. For they knew that the people who retreated not before the Lochlanns, nor before the Danmarkians,[1] the bravest nation in the world, would not retreat before each other. The resolution, therefore,[2] that was adopted by them was this: "that half the men[3] of Midhe and of the territory of Temhair be ceded to them, as if it had been their inheritance, and that then they would fight the battle along with him."

They demand from Maelsechlainn half of his territory.

LXXV. This fact was told[4] to Maelsechlainn, and great wrath[5] seized him, and he departed in displeasure; and he returned then to the Clann Colmain, and told them these tidings; and the advice they gave him was to submit[6] to Brian. He, therefore, set out with twelve score horsemen, until he arrived at Brian's tent,[7] without guarantee or protection, beyond the honour of Brian himself,[8] and of the Dál Cais; and he related to him[9] these facts; and he said[10] that had he been able he would have given him battle, and as he was not able, he said that he came to make his submission to him, and to give him hostages.

Maelsechlainn departs in wrath.

He submits to Brian and offers him hostages.

Brian answered[11] that, and said: "Since[12] thou hast come unto us thus," said he, "without guarantee, without protection, without treaty,[13] we give thee a truce[14] for a year, without asking pledge or hostage from thee; and we will

Brian's answer.

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score horsemen, until he arrived at Brian's tent, on the green of Tara."

[8] *Himself.* B. omits ꝼein.

[9] *To him.* Do Ƀrian, B., "to Brian."

[10] *He said.* B. reads, ocuꞅ a dubairt da mbeiṫ a acꝼaing aicce gurab caṫ do ḃérad, ocuꞅ ó naċ raiḃe, a dubairt gurab do dénam a riararoṁ táinic, ocuꞅ go ttiuḃráḋ braiġde dó: "And he said that if he had been able he would have given battle, but as he was not able, he said that he came to make his submission, and to give him hostages."

[11] *Answered.* B. reads, ocuꞅ ro ḟreccair Ƀrian: (regáir in D. being the same word with the initial ꝼ omitted.)

[12] *Since.* B. omits daig; and for tanacaiꞅin, reads tangaḋaiꞅ.

[13] *Treaty.* Coṁaiḋ, B.

[14] *Truce.* Rachaiḋ cairde bliadna duit, gán giallu gan eidire diarrait fort, ocuꞅ raċaimne

ſin imradiſiu, co ſinnam ca ſreſra do berat ſoraind, .i. Aed ocuſ Eoc̆aid, ocuſ mad cat̆ do berat duin, ar ſe, na taiſſiu nar nagaid leo. Aſbert Maelſeclaind nac̆ ragad eter, ocuſ aſbert nac̆ i comarli bad coir robail re Brian, ac̆t bad coru do toc̆t da t̆aig daig ba degt̆uruſ do cena eſſiun do t̆ec̆t na t̆ec̆. Ocuſ ba mait̆ la cac̆ uli in comarli ſin, uair ni rabi ac̆t dered lointi accu; ocuſ iſ ſi ſin comarli darronſat.

Brian presents twelve score steeds to Maelsechlainn, who bestows them upon Murchad, Brian's son.

Tuccat da ſicet déc eac̆ andſin do Maelſeclaind o Brian, ocuſ ni rabi don dana ſicet dec bai aroen re Maelſeclaind nec riſ ar biu eac̆ do breit̆ inaci leiſ, co tuc Maelſeclaind uli iat do Murc̆ad mac Briain tuc a lam in a laim in la ſin. Daig iſ é ſin oen rigdomna do eraib Erend nac̆ rab i coracuſ ac Maelſeclaind remi ſin. Ro ſcarſat, imorro, iarſin ſo ſit̆ ocuſ ſo bennac̆tain, ocuſ tancatar da tig.

Brian sails to Athlone: takes hostages from Connaught and from Maelsechlainn, A.D. 1001.

LXXVI. Do ronad mor coblac̆ muridi [iarſin, accind bliadna, la Brian co hAt̆luain, ocuſ ſluáǯ ar tír ar ſud Connac̆t, gur gabatar braiǯde Connac̆ta uile ſri haointſec̆tmain, ocuſ ro ſiredh braiǯde uad̆a ar Maolec̆lainn, ocuſ ro indlaic Maoilec̆lainn braiǯde conuicce ſin in aenló. Tuccad̆ braiǯde Connac̆ta, ocuſ Maoilec̆lainn go hAt̆luain. Imrad̆iſ Brian leo ſin dia t̆igh.

Brian meets the O'Neills at Dundalk.

Do ronad̆ mór ẛloiǯid̆ ariſ accind bliadna la Brian co Dún Delcca, ocuſ ro ſiredh braiǯde uad̆ ar Aodh ocuſ ar Eochaid̆, no cat̆ dſoccra ſorra muna tugdaiſ,

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dionnſaiġiḋ in loċta ſin imraiḋiſi go ſſionnam, 7c., B.

[1] *Aedh.* Aoḋ ó Neill, B.

[2] *Said he.* Omit., B. Na taiſſi leó inar naghariḋ, B.

[3] *Said.* Ocuſ atbert, B.

[4] *He said.* Atbert nar bí an ċomairle ċóir dobáil le Brian do denaṁ, ocuſ ba cora, 7c., B.

[5] *Submission.* Lit., "from his [Maelsechlainn's] having gone into his [Brian's] house." See above, note 6, p. 128. Do aṫeaċtſom da ṫig, B.

[6] *Provisions.* Da lóintiḃ, B.

[7] *Twelve score.* Don da ẛiċet decc bai hi ſſarrad Maoileċlainn, aon duine laſ ar ṁíaḋ each do ḃreiṫ leiſ ina aice, B.

[8] *All.* Omit., B.

[9] *For he was.* Doiġ do bé ſin en ríġdamna dſeraiḃ Erinn naċ raiḃe ar coracaſ, B. To understand this transaction the reader should know that by accepting the twelve score horses, Maelsechlainn acknow-

go to visit those people whom thou hast mentioned, that we may know what answer they will give unto us, viz., Aedh[1] and Eochaidh, and if they will give us battle," said he[2] "come not thou with them against us." Maelsechlainn said[3] that he would not go on any account; and he said[4] that Brian was not acting on a right advice, for it would be better for him to return to his home, because his expedition was sufficiently successful in having received submission[5] from himself. And that advice was pleasing to all, because they were at the last of their provisions[6]; and this was the advice they adopted.

Brian presents twelve score steeds to Maelsechlainn, who bestows them upon Murchad, Brian's son.

Twelve score steeds were then given to Maelsechlainn by Brian, and there was not one of the twelve score[7] men who accompanied Maelsechlainn who would deign to carry a led horse with him; so that Maelsechlainn bestowed them all[8] upon Murchad, son of Brian, who had given his hand into his hand on that day. For he was[9] the only royal heir of the men of Erinn who was not in alliance with Maelsechlainn before that time. They then[10] parted in peace and with benedictions, and repaired to their respective homes.[11]

Brian sails to Athlone: takes hostages from Connaught and from Maelsechlainn, A.D. 1001.

LXXVI. A great naval expedition was made [at the end[12] of a year after this, by Brian to Ath Luain, and an army by land throughout Connacht, so that he received the hostages of all Connacht in one week; and hostages were sought by him from Maelsechlainn, and Maelsechlainn conducted hostages to that place on the same day. The hostages of Connacht and of Maelsechlainn having been conveyed to Athluain, Brian returned with them to his house.

Brian meets the O'Neills at Dundalk.

A great expedition was made again, at the end of a year, by Brian to Dun Delga, and hostages were sought by him from Aedh, and from Eochaidh; or that war

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ledged Brian's sovereignty (see *Book of Rights*, p. 176). Maelsechlainns' followers refused to lead them and Maelsechlainn therefore bestowed them upon Murchad, Brian's son, in token of alliance and friendship.

[10] *Then.* Ro sccarsattar iarsin B.

[11] *Homes.* Dia ttiġiḃ, B.

[12] *At the end.* Here there is another defect in the MS. D., owing to the loss of a leaf.

co ttangattarṡiḋe .i. Aoḋ ocus Eochaiḋ da accallaiṁ go Dún Dealga, go ndernsat síṫ ann, ocus ossaḋ, ocus cáirde mbliaḋna dóiḃṡium do ḋénaṁ accomairle an caṫ no an braiǯde do berdais hi ccind bliadna, ocus gan saiǯiḋ doiḃṡium ar Maoilṡeċlainn no ar Connaċtaiḃ ṗris an mbliaḋain sin, aċt a mbeiṫ ina ccáirdiḃ.

They make a truce for a year.

Brian conquers Ulster, A.D. 1002.

LXXVII. Do ronaḋ morṡluaigiḋ dṗeraiḃ Erenn uile le Brian etir gall ocus gaoiḋel, do neoċ bai ó ṡliaḃ Ḟuaid atuaiḋ, accionn bliadna iarsin go hUltu; gur gab gialla Ulaḋ uile ó do ṗéimid Aoḋ cath dó. Ocus accionn da ḃliaḋain iarsin do rad Aoḋ ocus Eochaiḋ caṫ Craiḃe Tulcha, dú ar marḃaḋ iad araon, ocus ro marḃaḋ maiṫe Ulaḋ uile ann.

Aodh and Eochaidh killed at Craebh Tulcha, A.D. 1003.

Brian conquers the North, A.D. 1004.

Do ronaḋ morṡloigid iarsin la Brian, co raiḃe adhaiǯ itTailltin, ocus go raiḃe seaċtṁain in Ardmacha co tucc ṗiche uinge dór ar altóir inArdmachae, ocus co ttucc gialla Ulaḋ ocus Dalnaraiḋe, ocus in tuaiscеirt leis arcena, cenmoṫa Cenel Conuill.

Brian's expedition round Ireland, A.D. 1005.

LXXVIII. Do roine Brian mórṡluaiǯiḋ iarsin accinn bliadna ele timcell Erend, gur ǯaḃ braiǯde ṗer nErend uile. Iseḋ do ċóidh tré lár Connaċt, ocus hi Maǯ nAí isin Coirṗṡliaḃ, ocus hi tTir Ailella, ocus hi ccrich Cairpre, ocus tar Slicceach, ocus láṁ ċlé le muir, ocus láṁ ḋes le tir, ocus le Beinn Gulban, tar Duiḃ, ocus tar Droḃaois, ocus iMaigh nEine, ocus tar Aṫ Senaiǯ ag Eassruaiḋ, ocus itTír nAeda, ocus tar Bernas Mór, ocus tar Ḟersaid, ocus itTír Eoǯain, ocus inDail Riada, ocus inDail Araiḋe, ocus inUltaiḃ gur gabastair ṗo Luǯnasadh i mBealaċ Dúin. Ro léicc ṗiru Erenn iarsin dia ttiǯiḃ rompa. Do

[1] *Men of Erinn.* A coeval hand has written over these words in the MS., no ṗer nErenn.

[2] *Lammas.* The *Ann. Ult.* read, co roaċtadur Lugnasad co Bealach nDúin, "until at Lammas he reached Belach-dúin," or "Belach-múin," as in Dr. O'Conor's edition. The *Four Masters* use the same word, co ttorraċtattar, or dosaċtadar, "he reached." But the text is correct; gabastair is a verb deponent, and signifies he took up at, or took possession of the place. We have an instance of this construction, ch. xxxi. p. 34, *supra.* Gur gabsat ar eiccin i nDuiḃlinn, "they took possession by force of Dublin;" *lit.*, "took up [a position] in

should be proclaimed against them, if they gave them not. And they came, viz., Aedh and Eochaidh, to confer *with Brian* to Dún Dealga, and they made a peace and truce there; and they were given a year's time to come to a decision, whether it should be battle or hostages they would give at the end of the year; and that they were not to attack Maelsechlainn, nor the Connacht men, during that year, but continue as friends. They make a truce for a year.

LXXVII. A great expedition of all the men of Erinn,[1] both Gall and Gaedhil, of all who were from Sliabh Fuaid southward, was made by Brian at the end of a year after that against the Ulaidh, and he took the hostages of all Ulaidh since Aedh failed to give him battle. And in two years after that Aedh and Eochaidh fought the battle of Craebh Tulcha, in which they were both killed together; and all the nobles of Ulaidh were killed there. Brian conquers Ulster, A.D. 1002. Aodh and Eochaidh killed at Craebh Tulcha, A.D. 1003.

A great expedition was made after that by Brian; and he was a night in Tailltin; and he went from that to Ard Macha, and he laid twenty ounces of gold on the altar in Ard Macha; and he brought away with him the hostages of Ulaidh, and of Dál Araidhe, and of all the north likewise, except the Cinel Conaill. Brian conquers the North, A.D. 1004.

LXXVIII. Brian made a great expedition afterwards at the end of another year all round Erinn, and took the hostages of all the men of Erinn. His route was through the middle of Connacht, and into Magh-n-Ai, over the Coirr Shliabh, and into Tir Ailella; and into the country of Cairpre, and beyond Sligech, and keeping his left hand to the sea, and his right hand to the land and to Beinn Gulban, over Dubh and over Drobhaois, and into Magh-n-Eine, and over Ath Seanaigh at Easruaidh; and into Tir Aedha, and over Bearnas Mór, and over Fearsad, and into Tir Eoghain, and into Dál Riada, and into Dál Araidhe, and into Ulaidh, until about Lammas[2] he halted at Belach Duin. He then dismissed the men of Erinn to their homes Brian's expedition round Ireland, A.D. 1005.

Dublin." In the old Irish of the Book of Armagh ꝓogab occurs in the same sense, "he took up at" (a place).

lotthar laiǯin thar breǯa buď ďes dia ttiǯiď, ocus Goill thar muir go hAtcliať, ocus co Port lairge, ocus co Luimneač, ocus Connačta for fud Miďe siar dia ttiǯiď.

Supplies himself with provisions at Craebh Tulcha.

Is ann bai Brían hi cCraoiď Tulča, ocus Ulaiď aga ďiatať ann. Tuccsat dó ann dá .c. décc mart, da .c. .x. muc, ocus da ced ďecc molt, ocus ro ťioďlaic Brian dá .c. décc eač dóiďsion, re taoiď óir, ocus airccit, ocus édaiǯ; doiǯ ni ďeačaiď biatač aen ďaile díoď ó Brian gan each, no ní diamadh buideač e dfaǯbáil.

Levies tribute upon the Saxons, Welsh, the men of Lennox of Scotland, and Argyle.

Ro cuir coďlac muiriďe iarsin ar muir .i. Goill Ať̌ačliať, ocus Puirt Lairge, ocus Ua cCeinnselaiǯ, ocus Ua nEať̌ach Muḿan, ocus urḿor fer nErend do neoč rophar ionmara díoď; gur toďaigsiot an cíos rioǯda Shaxan ocus Bretan, ocus Lemnaiǯ, ocus [*leg.* i] Alban, ocus Airer gaoiďel uile, ocus a mbraiǯde ocus aneidire, maille le moir číos. Do roinn Brian an cís uile mar do dliǯ .i. atrian do riǯ Ať̌acliať, ocus atrian doccaiď Laiǯen, ocus ua nEať̌ač Muḿan, ocus atrian ele daes dána, ocus ealaďna, ocus da gač duine as mo rainicc a les.

Ireland enjoys profound peace.

Brian enforces law and order.

LXXIX. Cid tra ač̌t tainicc Brian mórcuairt riǯ timčell Erend aḿlaiď sin, ocus do foccradh siť̌čáin Erenn leis, etir cealla, ocus tuať̌a, co ndernad siť̌ in Erinn uile re alín. Ro čač̌t, ocus ro čuiďriǯ luč̌t morť̌a foǯla, ocus dibeirge, ocus coccaď. Ro croch, ocus ro ḿarď, ocus ro mudhaiď meirleača, ocus biť̌benača, ocus foǯlaďa Erenn. Ro scrios, ro scaoil,

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[1] *Purveyor.* The *Biatach* or *Biadhtach*, an officer whose duty it was to supply provisions to all chieftains and persons of rank, travelling with attendants through the country.

[2] *And Alba.* The word in the original being in the genitive case (nom. *Alba*, gen. *Alban*), it is evident that for 7 Alban in the text, "the Lemhnaigh and Scotland," we should read .i. Alban, "the Lemhnaigh [or men of Lennox] i.e., of Scotland." This removes the impropriety of distinguishing Scotland from Lennox and Argyle. The Leamnaigh were descended from Maine Leamhna (so called from the river Leamhan), who was son of Corc, king of Munster, fifth in descent from Oilioll Olum, and of the same race as Brian (O'Flaherty *Ogyg.* p. 384); the Airer-Gaedhil ["Fines Gadeliorum"], or men of Ar-

in all directions. The Laighin went over Bregha southward to their homes; and the foreigners over the sea to Ath Cliath, and to Port Lairge, and to Luimnech; and the Connacht-men through Midhe, westwards to their homes.

Supplies himself with provisions at Craebh Tulcha.

Brian was then at Craebh Tulcha, and the Ulaidh with him getting him provisions there. They supplied him there with twelve hundred beeves; twelve hundred hogs, and twelve hundred wethers; and Brian bestowed twelve hundred horses upon them, besides gold, and silver, and clothing. For no purveyor[1] of any of their towns departed from Brian without receiving a horse or some other gift that deserved his thanks.

Levies tribute upon the Saxons, Welsh, the men of Lennox of Scotland, and Argyle.

He sent forth after that a naval expedition upon the sea, viz., the Gaill of Ath Cliath, and of Port Lairge, and of the Ui Ceinnselaigh, and of the Ui Eathach of Mumhain, and of almost all the men of Erinn, such of them as were fit to go to sea; and they levied royal tribute from the Saxons and Britons, and the Lemhnaigh of Alba,[2] and Airer-Gaedhil, and their pledges and hostages along with the chief tribute. Brian distributed all the tribute according to rights, viz., a third part of it to the king of Ath Cliath; and a third to the warriors of Laighin and of the Ui Eathach of Mumhain; and another third to the professors of sciences and arts, and to every one who was most in need of it.

Ireland enjoys profound peace.

LXXIX. So Brian returned from his great royal visitation around all Erinn made in this manner; and the peace of Erinn was proclaimed by him, both of churches and people; so that peace throughout all Erinn was made in his time.

Brian enforces law and order.

He fined and imprisoned the perpetrators of murders, trespass, and robbery, and war. He hanged, and killed, and destroyed the robbers and thieves, and plunderers of Erinn. He extirpated, dispersed, banished,

gyle, were also of Irish race, so that the object of this paragraph is to claim for Brian the supreme sovereignty of the Gaelic race. But it is most probably an interpolation inserted by some zealous partizan. The next chapter continues the history from Brian's "great royal visitation round Ireland," without any reference to this foreign expedition; nor is there a record of his having invaded England, Wales, and Scotland in any other historical authority.

ro δ̆ealaiǯ, ro linɡ, ro lomair, ro ledoir, ro mill, ocus ro muδhaiδ̆ Ɡullu ɡac̆a tire, ocus ɡac̆a tuaiṫe in Ɛrenn uile ɡo ꝼoirleṫan. Ro marb̆ am̆ a rioǯa, ocus a ruireacha, a ttreitill ocus a ttréin m̆ilid̆, a laṫɡaile ocus ɡaisccid̆. Ro daer, ocus ro moǯsanaiǯ a maeir, ocus a reac̆taireδ̆a, ocus a suaitreacha a nam̆ais, ocus a macaem̆a maerda morɡlana, ocus a ninǯena mine macδ̆ac̆ta; conidh do sin ro raideδ̆ an laiδ̆ .i.

Complete subjugation of the Danes.

Ro braonnaδ̇ 7rl.

LXXX. Iar nionnarbaδ̆ imorro Ɡall a hƟrinn uile, ocus a ccur Ɛrenn na sioṫcáin, tainicc aenb̆en ó Thoraiǯ tuaiscirt Ɛrenn, co Cl̇ioδ̆na deiscirt Ɛrenn, ocus ꝼail óir ar eac̆luisc re ahais, ocus ni ꝼ̇uair a slad, na a saruccaδ̆ do δ̆enam̆; conaδ̆ aire sin ro c̆an an ꝼile—

A lone woman, bearing a ring of gold, travels unmolested in Ireland.

O Thoraiǯ co Clíoδ̇na cais,
Is ꝼail óir aice re a hais,
I ré Ɓriain taoib̆ǯil nar tím;
Do ṫimċil aoinb̆en Ɛrinn.

Ro cumdaiɡeδ̆ leis dna cealla caδ̆ais Ɛrenn, ocus a neim̆eδ̆a. Ro cuiritt saoiṫe, ocus maiǯistreac̆a do ṫeaccascc eccna, ocus eolais, ocus do c̆endac̆ leab̆ar tar muir, ocus tar mórꝼ̇airrɡe; uair do loisccеδ̆ ocus do baideδ̆ a screptra, ocus a liub̆air in ɡac̆ cill, ocus in ɡac̆ neimeδ̆ ina rob̆attar la diberccac̆aib̆ ó tosac̆ ɡo deireδ̆. Ɓrian imorro do beireδ̆siδ̆e luac̆ ꝼoǯlama, ocus luac̆ leab̆ar do ɡac̆ aon ꝼoleiṫ da ttеiǯeδ̆ annsin. Do ronaδ̆ imorro lub̆ra iomδ̆a, ocus lesaiǯte leis. Do ronaδ̆ leis tempull Cille Dálua, ocus tempull Innsi Cealtra, ocus cloicṫeach

Brian encourages learning.

He builds and repairs churches, makes bridges and roads.

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[1] *Bestowed, &c.* The poem here quoted was probably so well known at the time that the scribe did not think it necessary to copy more than its first words; but the editor has not been able to find it elsewhere.

[2] *Banishment.* It is clear that there was no such "peace" and prosperity under Brian, as is here described. The annals exhibit their usual records of war and murder, nor were the Danes and other northmen ever "banished" from Ireland, not even after the famous battle of Clontarf, which did no more

caused to fly, stripped, maimed, ruined, and destroyed the foreigners in every district and in every territory throughout the breadth of all Erinn. He killed also their kings, and their chieftains, their heroes, and brave soldiers, their men of renown and valour. He enslaved and reduced to bondage their stewards and their collectors, and their swordsmen, their mercenaries, and their comely, large, cleanly youths; and their smooth youthful girls. And it was on that occasion the poem was recited, viz.:

Complete subjugation of the Danes.

There was bestowed, etc.[1]

LXXX. After the banishment[2] of the foreigners out of all Erinn, and after Erinn was reduced to a state of peace, a lone woman came from Torach, in the north of Erinn, to Cliodhna, in the south of Erinn, carrying a ring of gold on a horse-rod, and she was neither robbed nor insulted; whereupon the poet sang—

A lone woman, bearing a ring of gold, travels unmolested in Ireland.

From Torach to pleasant Cliodhna,
And carrying with her a ring of gold,
In the time[3] of Brian, of the bright side, fearless,
A lone woman made the circuit of Erinn.

By him were erected also noble churches in Erinn and their sanctuaries. He sent professors and masters to teach wisdom and knowledge; and to buy books beyond the sea, and the great ocean; because their writings and their books in every church and in every sanctuary where they were, were burned and thrown into water by the plunderers, from the beginning to the end[4]; and Brian, himself, gave the price of learning and the price of books to every one separately who went on this service. Many works, also, and repairs were made by him. By him were erected the church of Cell Dálua, and the church of Inis

Brian encourages learning.

He builds and repairs churches, makes bridges and roads.

than check their progress to complete ascendancy.

[3] *Time.* Keating, who quotes this stanza, reads, α bṙ̇ʟαιṫ Ȯṛιαιn, "in the reign of Brian." Ꞇαοιḃġιʟ being the gen. sing. masc. the epithets ꞇαοιḃġιʟ nαṛ ꞇím, "bright-sided, fearless," must be applied to Brian.

[4] *To the end:* i.e., from the beginning to the end of the Danish sway in Ireland, the destruction of books was their universal practice.

Tuama Greine], ocus lubra imda ele arcena. Da ronait leis drochait, ocus tochair, ocus sligeda. Ro daingnit leis, dna, dúin ocus daingni, ocus insedа, ocus rigpuirt airedа na Muman. Da ronad, dna, cumdach Caisil na rig, ocus Cind Abrat, ocus inis Locha Cend, ocus inis Locha Gair, ocus Dún Eochair Maigi, Dún Cliath, ocus Dún Crot, ocus inis Locha Saiglend, ocus inis in Gaill Duib, ocus Rosach, ocus Cend Corad, ocus Boruma, ocus rigpuirt Muman arcena. Ro bai an aissen co sona, sitamail, co fledach, furidech, firbrethach, co conaich, cadusach; co ngenmnaideacht, ocus co crabud, ocus correcht, ocus co riaglaib ic clerchib, co ngail ocus co ngaisced con nenech, ocus co nengnum i laechaib, ocus co torthech, tren, tailc, trebarglan, .u. bliadna dec in ard rigi nErend amail asbert Gilla Mududa:—

Strengthens fortified places throughout the country.

His prosperity for fifteen years.

Celebrated by Gilla Moduda.

Fiuċud fargi, tuli tricc,
Brian breo os Banba blatbric,
Can ciabair, can biat, can braṫ,
Cuig bliadna dec fa deġraṫ.

Da bliadain, imorro, dersbaid du da fichet in ardrigi na Muman.

[1] *And many.* Here we return to the text of D. B. omits arcena.

[2] *Causeways.* Toċair, B.

[3] *Strengthened.* Ro cumdaiġeḋ leis dúinte, ocus daingne, ocus rioġṗuirt, ocus innseḋa oirderḋa, B.: "By him were fortified dúns and fastnesses, and royal forts, and celebrated islands, &c."

[4] *Also.* Do ronaḋ leis, B., "By him was built." Ro cuṁdaiġioḋ leis fos, "By him were additionally fortified," *Keating.*

[5] *Cenn-Abrat.* Cenḋḟebratt, B., and *Keating.*

[6] *Dun Cliath.* Ocus Dún Cliaċ, B., *Keating.*

[7] *Inis an Ghaill Duibh.* Inis an Gaill Duiḃ, ocus inis Loċa Saiglinn, ocus Rosaċ na rioġ, B.: "Inis an Ghaill duibh [island of the black foreigner, or Dane,] and the island of Loch Saiglenn, and Rosach of the kings." The names of these places are thus given by Keating:—"Ceannfabhrad, Inis Locha Cé, Inis Locha Gair, Dún Eochair Mhaighe, Dún Iasg, Dún-trí-liag, Dún-gCrot, Dún Cliach, Innsi [the islands] an Ghaill-duibh, Inis Locha Saighlionn, Ros na Riogh, Ceann-Coradh, the Bóraimhe (an Bóraiṁe.)"

[8] *In like manner.* Riġṗuirt Muṁan uile arċeana, B.

[9] *Peaceful.* Ro bai aṁlaid sin co sioḋaṁail, sona, sleadaċ, suirecaċ, sirḃreaṫaċ, ocus co conáigh, caḋusaċ; co ngeanmnaiġeċt, ocus co ccráḃaḋ icclerċiḃ ré a linn, ocus co neineċ, 7c., B.

[10] *Firm.* B. omits tren.

Cealtra, and the bell tower of Tuam Greine], and many[1] other works in like manner. By him were made bridges and causeways,[2] and high roads. By him were strengthened,[3] also, the dúns, and fastnesses, and islands, and celebrated royal forts of Mumhain. He built, also,[4] the fortification of Caisel of the kings, and of Cenn Abrat,[5] the island of Loch Cend, and the island of Loch Gair, and Dún Eochair Maige, Dún Cliath,[6] and Dún Crot, and the island of Loch Saiglend, and Inis an Ghaill Duibh,[7] and Rosach, and Cend Coradh, and Borumha, and the royal forts of Munster in like manner.[8] He continued in this way prosperously, peaceful,[9] giving banquets, hospitable, just-judging; wealthily, venerated; chastely, and with devotion, and with law and with rules among the clergy; with prowess and with valour; with honour and with renown among the laity; and fruitful, powerful, firm,[10] secure; for fifteen[11] years in the chief sovereignty of Erinn[12]; as Gilla Mududa[13] said—

Strengthens fortified places throughout the country.

His prosperity for fifteen years.

Celebrated by Gilla Moduda.

A boiling sea, a rapid flood—
Brian the flame[14] over Banbha of the variegated flowers;
Without gloom,[15] without guile, without treachery,
Fifteen[16] years in full prosperity.

For two score years, wanting two, was he chief king of Mumhain.[17]

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[11] *Fifteen.* Ꝺα bliaꝺain ꝺéꝫ., B. *Keating.* "twelve years."

[12] *Erinn.* Na hЄꞃenn, B.

[13] *Gilla Mududa.* B. has ꝼile, "the poet," without naming him, nor does Keating give the poet's name, although he quotes the same stanza, which occurs in the poem attributed to Giolla Moduda O'Cassidy, abbot of Ardbreccan, and preserved in the *Book of Lecan*, fol. 312 a, and in the *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clery's (MS.), in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, p. 233, stanza 51. This poem begins thus:—Єꞃe oꝫh iniꞃ na naoṁ, and contains a list of the kings of Ireland from the introduction of Christianity to the year 1022. O'Flaherty's *Ogyg. Prolog*, p. 2.

[14] *Torch*, or flame. D. reads beo, "living," but bꞃeo, the reading of B., of the *Leabhar Gabhala*, and *Book of Lecan*, has been adopted, as giving a better sense. Keating has Ꝺꞃeaġ, "Brian of Breagh," or Bregia.

[15] *Without gloom.* B., *Keating*, and the *Leabhar Gabhala*, give this line thus:—Ꝫan ciamaiꞃ ꝫan beꝺ ꝫan bꞃaꝛ. The *Book of Lecan* reads, Ꝫan ciaꝺaiꞃ ꝫan beꝛ ꝫan bꞃaꝛh.

[16] *Fifteen.* B., with *Keating*, *Leabhar Gabhala*, and *Book of Lecan*, reads, ꝺa (i.e., "twelve years"), and a "his" for ꝼa.

[17] *Mumhain.* B. reads, ꝺa bliaꝺain ꝛeaꞃꝺa ꝺo ꝺa ꝼiċeꝛ ꞃo bai iꞃꞃiġe Muman. "Four score years, wanting two, was he king of Munster."

Maelmordha, king of Leinster, brings a tribute of pine trees to Brian.

LXXXI. Da luid, imorro, iarsin Maelmorda mac Murchada ri Lagen d'indlucud[2] tri seolchrand giusaig[3] dibbaid Feda Gaillbi do Brian co Cend Corad .i. seolchrand o Uib Falgi, ocus seolchrand o Uib Faelan,[4] ocus seolchrand o Uib Muiredaig [ocus o Laigis, ocus o na tri Comnaib.] Co tarla imarbaig etorro ac tocht in nagaid slebi mboccaich, co ndechaid in ri fein,[5] .i. Maelmorda, fo fheolchrand Ua Faelan, ocus innar sroil tuc Brian remi do ocus cortair [óir] ina timcell, ocus cnaip argait and, bai in tinar umi, ocus mebaid cnap da cnapaib[6] resin feidim.

He arrives at Kincora.

Ar rochtain doib, imorro, co Cend Corad, tall in ri a inar de ocus rucad docum a sethar e do cur cnaip argait ind .i. do cum Gormlaithi ingini Murcada mna Briain, ocus robi side matair Donchada mic Briain.

Gormlaith excites him to throw off Brian's yoke.

Ro gab in rigan intinar, ocus tuc ursur isin tenid de, ocus ro bai ica cursacad, ocus ica gresacht a brathar, daig ba holc le mogsani, ocus daissini ocus docra do denum do neoch, ocus in ní nar faemathar a athair na fhenathair do fémad dó, ocus asbert co sirfead a mac ara mhac in ni cetna.

His quarrel with Murchadh, Brian's son.

LXXXII. Tohruid frithnois fuigill etorro ocus Mur-

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[1] *After this.* Fechtus do luidh Maolmorrdha, B., "Once upon a time Maolmordha, &c."

[2] *Convey.* Dindlucan, B.

[3] *Pine.* *Lit.*, "sail-trees of pine." Tri seolchrand ngiusa dfhiodhbaidh Fedha Gaibhle co Brian, B. Gaillbi in the text is probably a mistake of transcription in the MS. D. for Gaibli.

[4] *Ui Faelain.* In B. these names are in the singular, ó Failghe, ó Faoláin, ó Muiredhaigh; and the words "and from Laighis, and from the three Commainns," are omitted, being an evident interpolation, for otherwise there would have been more than *three* masts. This clause has, therefore, been placed within brackets, although it occurs in the text of D.

[5] *The king himself.* B. reads, rig Laigean fein, "The king of Leinster himself," omitting, .i. Maelmordha. The dispute was evidently for precedency among the three tribes who had supplied the masts; and it broke out at a boggy place, where it became necessary to proceed in single file, and the question arose who should go first, the king himself decided the question by assisting to carry the mast of the Ui Faelain.

[6] *Buttons.* B. reads, ocus inar sroil tucc Brian do reimhe sin, ocus cortair óir in a timcheall, ocus cnaipidhe airgit ann: "And he had on a silken tunic which Brian had given him before that, which had a border of gold around it, and silver buttons on it." This gift was the token

LXXXI. After this,[1] Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, king of Laighin, set out to convey[2] three masts of pine[3] of the trees of Fidh Gaibhli to Brian to Cenn Coradh, viz., a mast from the Ui Failghe, and a mast from the Ui Faelain,[4] and a mast from the Ui Muireadhaigh [and from Laighis, and from the three Commainns]. But a dispute took place between them when ascending a boggy mountain, whereupon the king himself,[5] viz., Maelmordha, put his hand to the mast of the Ui Faelain, having a silken tunic which Brian had previously given him, which had a border [of gold] round it, and silver buttons[6]; the tunic was[7] on him, and one of its buttons broke[8] with the exertion.[9] Now, when they had arrived at[10] Cenn Coradh, the king took off his tunic, and it was carried to his sister to put a silver button on it, viz., to Gormlaith,[11] daughter of Murchadh, Brian's wife[12]; and she was the mother of Donnchadh, son of Brian. The queen took the tunic and cast it into the fire[13]; and she began to reproach[14] and incite her brother, because she thought it ill that he should yield service and vassalage, and suffer oppression from any one, or yield that which his father or grandfather never yielded; and she said that his [Brian's] son would require the same thing from his son.[15]

Maelmordha, king of Leinster, brings a tribute of pine trees to Brian.

He arrives at Kincora.

Gormlaith excites him to throw off Brian's yoke.

LXXXII. Some peevish words followed between him and

His quarrel with Murchadh, Brian's son.

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of his vassalage to Brian. See above, note [2], p. 132.

[7] *Was.* Ocuṙ do bi, B.

[8] *Broke.* Do ṁeaḃaiḋ, B.

[9] *Exertion.* Re méd an ṙeḋma, B.

[10] *Arrived at.* Ar tṫoṙaċtain imoṙṙo doiḃ, B.

[11] *Gormlaith.* B. reads, tall an ṙí a ionaṙ de do ċuṙ an cnaipe ann ċum Gormlaiṫa: "The king put his tunic off to have the button put on by Gormlaith."

[12] *Wife.* .i. bean Briain, ocuṙ do bí ṙin maṫair, 7c., B.

[13] *Fire.* Ocuṙ do beṙt uṙċar de iṙin teine, B.: "She made a cast of it into the fire."

[14] *Reproach.* B. omits ic a cuṙṙaċaḋ ocuṙ.

[15] *His son.* This is better expressed in B., thus:—doiṡ ba holc le moġraine no daiṙṙe do ċuṙ do neoċ ele ṙair, .i. an ní naṙ ṙaom a aṫair no a ṙenaṫair ṙiaṁ, ocuṙ aṫbeṙt ṙór co ṙiṙeaḋ mac Briain ar a ṁaċaṙ ina diaiġ, ocuṙ ġaḋ duine déiṙ aroile: "For she thought it ill that service or vassalage should be yielded by him to any one, a thing that his father or his grandfather never yielded; and she said also that Brian's son would hereafter require it from his [Maelmordha's] son, and all other men afterwards."

čad ar matin tre ritimreṡain fidcellačta .i. Murčad ocus Conaing batar ic imirt fičilli, bai Maelmordha ac tegosc ar Murčad, ocus ro tincoisc beirt diarbo cluči for Murčad. Ro fergaičed Murčad, ocus asbert, Is tu tuc comarli do gallaib in tan ro mebaid forru. Ro raid Maelmordha do, Berad comarli arisdoib, ocus ni mebad forro. Asbert Murčad, Bid int ibar inairti accut fodein doib. Ro fergaided Maelmordha, ocus da čuaid da tig lebtа can cedacud can celebrad.

Maelmordha departs in anger.

Brian sends to recall him.

LXXXIII. Ro hinnised sen do Brian, ocus ro čuir gilla na diaid dia astad corro agaillead Brian, ocus corrucad crod ocus tuarastul leis. Is and sin ruc in gilla fair i cind clair Cilli Dálua allanair, ocus seissium ic dul ar a eč and. Tohraid fitnos eturru ocus in gilla, ocus impois frisin gilla, ocus do bert

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[1] *Conaing.* "Conaing, son of Donnchuan," *Keating*, i.e., Brian's nephew who was afterwards killed at the battle of Clontarf; but *Keating* adds, no do réir druinge as é Comorba Caoimġin Ghlinne da loċ do b́í ag imirt ṙé Murchaḋ. "Or according to some it was [Conaing] successor of St. Kevin of Glendaloch that was playing with Murchadh," meaning, no doubt, Conaing O'Carroll, erenagh of Glendaloch, whose death is recorded by the *Four Masters* at 1031.

[2] *Defeated.* Keating adds, ag caṫ Glinnemama, "at the battle of Glenmama," which is evidently the defeat alluded to.

[3] *Yew tree.* Alluding to Maolmordha having concealed himself in a yew tree after the battle of Glenmama, see ch. lxxi., p. 119, *supra*. Keating softens this insulting speech into a slan faoi sin, ar Murċaḋ, "I defy thee to do it, said Murchadh."

[4] *Taking leave.* The whole chapter is thus given in B.: Ciḋ tra aċt tarla fritṙoscc fuiġill idir Murchaḋ (mac Briain), ocus Conaing, ocus iad oc imirt fitcilli. Do teagaisg Maolmorrḋa bert ar Murchaḋ da rugaḋ cluiṫe fair. Ro feargaiġeḋ Murchaḋ mon beirt, ocus ro féġ ar Maolmorrḋa, ocus asbert frisi: as tu tucc an ċoṁairle dona gallaib an la ro meab́aiḋ forro. Ro ráiḋ Maolmorrḋa ar na imdergaḋ co mór: Do bersa coṁairle dóib arisi is noċa muigfe orra. Atbert Murchaḋ, Bíoḋ antiúb́ar ina áirte fot tóin da tucca, ar se. Do ċuaiḋ ri laigen da teg leabṫa gan ceaḋúġaḋ gan ceileabrad: "It happened also that he had some hasty words with Murchadh, son of Brian, and Conaing, who were playing chess. Maolmordha taught a move against Murchadh by which the game went against him. Murchadh became angry at this move, and he looked at Maolmordha and said to him, Thou art he who gavest advice to the foreigners

Murchadh the next morning, arising out of a casual controversy at chess; for as Murchadh and Conaing[1] were playing chess, Maelmordha was teaching against Murchadh, and he advised a move by which a game went against Murchadh. Murchadh became angry, and said: "It was thou that gavest advice to the foreigners when they were defeated."[2] Maelmordha said: "I will give them advice again, and they shall not be defeated." Murchadh said: "Have the yew tree[3] made ready for them by yourself." Maelmordha became angered, and retired to his bed-room without permission, without taking leave.[4]

Maelmordha departs in anger.

LXXXIII. This was told to Brian, and he sent a messenger[5] after him to detain him until Brian should converse with him, and until he should carry away with him cattle and pay. The messenger overtook him at the end of the plank-bridge of Cell Dálua, on the east side, and he was mounting his horse there. A dispute ensued between him and the messenger, and he turned on the messenger and gave him a stroke of a yew horse-switch on his head,

Brian sends to recall him.

on the day when they were defeated. Maolmordha said in great wrath, I will give them advice again, and they shall not be defeated. Murchadh said, Let the yew tree be ready for thee to sit on, said he. The king of Laighen went to his bedchamber, without asking permission, without taking leave." On comparing this passage with Keating's narrative, and with the context, it is evident that something is omitted in both MSS., and that we should read, "Maolmordha retired to his bedchamber, *and next morning left the house*, without asking permission or taking leave." Keating says, Ɵiṛʒiṛ a muċa na maiɔne, ocuṛ ꝼaʒbaiṛ an baiʟe ʒan ċeiʟioḃṛaḋ ɔo Ɔṛian: "He arose early in the morning and left the place without bidding farewell to Brian."

[5] *Messenger.* Ɔo ċuiṛ ʒiʟʟa ʒṛaḋa ɔo ꝼéin ɔo ꝼoṛtaḋ ṛí ʟaiġen, .i. Coʒaṛán ainm an ʒioʟʟa, ocuṛ beiṛiṛ an ʒiʟʟa ꝼaiṛ, ocuṛ ṛaiḋiṛ ꝼṛiṛ cʟoḋ co ṛiġ Ɵṛenɔ aṛ cenɔ ꝺuaṛaṛtaiʟ óiṛ ocuṛ éittiġ. Ɪmpaṛ an ṛí ṛiṛ ocuṛ ṛe aṛ eċ a ccinɔ cʟaiṛ Ciʟʟe ɔá ʟua, ocuṛ tiʒ beim ɔon eaċʟaiṛc iḃaiṛ ʒo ʒuṛ bṛiṛ cnaṁa an ċinɔ uiʟe, ocuṛ iṛ imċaṛ bai ꝼaiṛ co teaġ ṛiġ Ɵṛenɔ, B.: "He sent an officer of his own to stop the king of Laighen. Cogarán was the name of the servant; and the servant gave him the message, and asked him to return to the king of Ireland for wages of gold and vestments. The king [Maelmordha] turned upon him, and he was on horseback at the head of the plank-bridge of Cell dá lua, [Killaloe], and struck him a blow with a horse-switch of yew, so that he broke all the bones of his head, and he was carried back to the house of the king of Erinn." The next clause from imaṛcuṛ to ainm in ʒiʟʟa, is omitted in B.

Maelmordha smites the messenger.

beim di eac̆laisc ibair do na c̆end, cor brisc cnama in cind uli. Imarcur bai fair in gilla co Cend Corad. Cocarán, dna, ainm in gilla. Robail do fairind and toc̆t ina diaid, ocus can a lec̆ud as comad riarac̆. Asbert Brian is for colba a t̆aigi fein ro sirfead coir fair, ocus ni fell ina t̆ig fein do genad fair.

He raises a rebellion against Brian.

LXXXIV. Ro soic̆, imorro, Maelmorda in aidchi sin co Sin Leas Abain, i nUib Budi .i. co teac̆ Mic Berdai, rig Ua mBudi. Ro soic̆ moc̆ arnam̆b̆arac̆ in Garbtamnaig, co teac̆ Dunlaing mic Tuat̆ail .i. ri Iart̆air Lip̆i, ocus timairgter mat̆i Lagen ina conni co rici sin, ocus ina comdail; ocus innisid doib mic̆adus dagbail do, ocus ail bret̆ri do tabairt air fein, ocus ar in cuged uli. Is i comarli for ar delaig leo impo ar Brian, ocus faidit tec̆ta co Flait̆bertac̆ mac Murcertaiğ Ui Neill .i. co rig Ailig, ocus ait̆nit do cogad do denam fri Maelseclaind, ocus fri hUltaib, faiter fessa ele co Fergal Ua Ruairc co rig Brefni, ocus co hUalgarg Ua Ciarda ri Carbri, ocus foemait sin uli impod ar Brian.

O'Neill with the kings of Cairbre and West Brefni plunders Meath.

Do roni Flatbertac̆ crec̆ i Midi, ocus ro inretar formor Midi leis. As diside ro marbad Osli mac Dubcind mic Imair, fer grada do Brian, ocus Mormaer da maeraib e, ocus sochaide ele. Do ronad crec̆ mor ele re hUalgarg Ua Ciarda ocus re Fergal Ua Ruairc

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[1] *Pursue.* Rop áil d̆foirinn ann toc̆t andeaġaiḋ rí Laiġen, ocus gan a leigin ass go maḋ riarac̆, B.: "Some were anxious to pursue the king of Laigen and not to let him off until he made submission."

[2] *Demand.* Sirfemaid, B.

[3] *Treacherous.* Ocus ni feall inar ttiġ féin do génam fáir, B.

[4] *Maelmordha.* Maolmorrda mac Murchaḋa, B.

[5] *Arrived.* Rainic, B.

[6] *Son of Berdai.* Co sein Lis Abáin in uib̆ Buiḋe co tec̆ mic Beinde, B.: "At Senlis Abáin [old Fort of St. Abban] in Ui-Buidhi, to the house of the son of Benne."

[7] *Early.* For moc̆ arnam̆b̆arac̆, B. reads arnamarac̆.

[8] *Assembled.* Ocus ro ṫimairgsettar ṁaiḋe an ċuicciḋ uile ina ċoinne ocus ina ċoṁḋáil, B.: "And the nobles of the whole province assembled to meet him, and in his presence."

[9] *Received.* B. omits dagbail do.

[10] *Decision.* Is í coṁairle ar ar cinneaḋ aca, impoḋ ar Brian, B.: "This was the decision that they came to, to turn against Brian."

and broke all the bones of the head. It was necessary to carry the messenger back to Cenn-coradh. And Co-carán was the name of the messenger. Some were anxious to pursue[1] him [Maelmordha] then, and not allow him to escape until he made submission. But Brian said it should be at the threshold of his own house he would demand[2] justice from him, and that he would not prove treacherous[3] to him in his own house.

Maelmordha smites the messenger

LXXXIV. Maelmordha[4] arrived[5] that night at Sen Leas Abáinn, in Ui-Buidhi, viz., at the house of the son of Berdai,[6] king of Ui-mBuidhi. He arrived early[7] the next morning at the Garbh Thamhnach, at the house of Dunlang, son of Tuathal, king of Iarthar Liphi; and the nobles of Laighin assembled[8] to meet him at that place, and in convention; and he told them that he had received[9] dishonour, and that reproachful words were applied to himself and to all the province. The decision[10] that they came to thereupon was to turn against Brian; and they sent messengers to Flaithbhertach, son of Muirchertach O'Neill, i.e., to[11] the king of Ailech, exhorting[12] him to make war upon Maelsechlainn and Uladh; and other messengers were despatched to Ferghal Ua Ruairc, king of Brefni; and to Ualgarg O'Ciardha, king of Cairbri; and these all[13] consented to turn against Brian.

He raises a rebellion against Brian.

Flaithbhertach made a plunder in Midhe, and the greater part[14] of Midhe was ravaged by him. It was on this occasion was slain Osli,[15] son of Dubhcenn, son of Imar, an officer of Brian, and one of his high stewards, and many more. Another great plunder was made by[16]

O'Neill with the kings of Cairbre and West Brefni plunders Meath.

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[11] *To.* B. omits, .ı. co.

[12] *Exhorting.* Ⓐ aiṫne ꝺo coꝫaꝺ ꝺo ꝺenaṁ aṛ Maeleċlainꝺ. Ꝑaíꝺeṛ ꝑeaṛa ele co hUalꝫaṛꝫ hua Cíaṛṛꝺa co ṛi Caiṛṛṛe, ocuṛ co Ꝑeṛꝫal ó Ruaiṛc co ṛí Ꝺṛeiꝑne [ocuṛ a aiṫne ꝺo coꝫaꝺ ꝺo ꝺenaṁ aṛ Maeleċlainꝺ ocuṛ aṛ ꝑeaṛaiḃ Miꝺe, ocuṛ imꝑoꝺ aṛ Ꝺṛian], B.: But it is evident that the clause within brackets is a mere repetition by a clerical error of the scribe.

[13] *These all.* This clause is omitted in B.

[14] *Greater part.* Uṛmoṛ Miꝺe uile leiṛ, ocuṛ iṛ ꝺi ṛin, B.

[15] *Osli.* Or Fosli; the Flosa or Flosius, of the Sagas.

[16] *By.* le hUalꝫaṛꝫ ua Ciaṛṛꝺa, ocuṛ le. B.

for Maelsechlainn, cor airgset Galenga, cor marbsat Domnall mac Donċaid Ua Maelsechlainn, rigdomna Temrach, ocus Cernach mac Flainn, ri Lini, ocus Senan Ua Leucan, ri Galeng, ocus rochaide ele. Artartaig Maelsechlainn iarsin orro, co tuc Maelsechlainn tacus, ocus cor marbad leis Ualgarg Ua Ciarda ri Cairbri, ocus Tadg Ua Cernacan, airri Brefni, ocus rochaide ele and.

Maelsechlainn defeats them, A.D. 1012.

He plunders the foreigners as far as Howth.

His son and 200 others slain.

Da ronad cred re Maelsechlainn iarsin for gallaib, ocus ro insit co Beinn Edair; ocus ro arraid orro Maelmorda mac Murċada, ocus Sitriuc mac Amlaib, ocus gaill ocus Lagin, ocus ro marbsat in tres cread da crecaib uli. Isrocair and in tAlbanach mac Maelsechlainn, ocus Lorcan mac Eachtigerna [ri] Ceneil Mecair, ocus da cet aroen friu.

The foreigners and Leinstermen plunder Meath.

Maelsechlainn complains to Brian.

LXXXV. Da ronad morsluaged iarsin la gallaib, ocus re Lagnib, ocus ro hinsed Midi leo co Fabur Fechin, ocus rucsat brait mor ocus buar diairmiti leo a Termuinn Fabair. Da lotar teachta iarsin o Maelsechlainn da acaini sin re Brian .i. a tir ca hinsed, ocus a macu ca marbad, ocus narodaim cocad gall ocus Lagen ocus Brefni ocus Cairbri ocus Cenel Eogain in oen aball fair.

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[1] *Upon.* Ar, B., "against."

[2] *Royal heir.* B. omits rigdomna Temrach, and reads ocus gur marbsat Cearnach mac Flainn. The Four Masters and Ann. Ult. call him *Cearnachan.*

[3] *Linè.* So in both MS. But we should read *Luighne.* See *Four Mast.* and *Ann. Ult.* 1012.

[4] *Senan.* Senach ó Lochán ri Gaileng; go rugsat risu Midhe, ocus Maelsechlainn forra, ocus tugsat tachar da chéile, gur marbsat and Ualgarcc ua Ciarrdha rig Cairpre, ocus Tadg ó Cernachán oirrig Breifne, ocus daine imda eile, B.: "Senach O'Lochán, king of Gaileng; until the men of Meath and Maelsechlainn overtook them, and they had a skirmish together, in which were slain Ualgarg Ua Ciarrdha, king of Cairpre, and Tadhg O'Cernachán, subking of Brefne, and many other men." The Four Masters read "Senán Ua Leochan, Lord of Gaileng."

[5] *Overtook.* Over artartaig in D. the original scribe has written no artarid: i.e., "or artarid," a different form of the same word.

[6] *After this.* B. omits iarsin, and reads ar gallaib ocus ro hinsaid.

[7] *But.* B. reads ocus ruc orra. Arrais in the text is for tarrtais.

Ualgarg Ua Ciardha, and by Ferghal Ua Ruairc upon[1] Maelsechlainn; and they plundered the Gailenga, and they killed Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, grandson of Maelsechlainn, royal heir[2] of Temhair, and Cernach, son of Flann, king of Linè,[3] and Senan[4] Ua Leuchan, king of Gaileng, and many others. After this, Maelsechlainn overtook[5] them; and Maelsechlainn gave them battle, in which Ualgarg Ua Ciardha, king of Cairbri, and Tadhg Ua Cearnachan, sub-king of Brefni, and many others were killed by him.

Maelsechlainn defeats them, A.D. 1012.

A plundering expedition was made after this[6] by Maelsechlainn against the foreigners, and he ravaged as far as Benn Edair; but[7] Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, and Sitriuc, son of Amhlaibh, and the foreigners, and the Laighin[8] overtook them, and killed the whole[9] of one of their three plundering parties. There fell there the Albanach,[10] son of Maelsechlainn, and Lorcan, son of Echtigern [king][11] of Cinel Mechair, and two hundred along with them.

He plunders the foreigners as far as Howth.

His son and 200 others slain.

LXXXV. A great expedition[12] was afterwards undertaken by the foreigners and the Laighin, and Midhe was plundered by them as far as Fabhar of Fechin; and many captives and cattle innumerable were carried off by them from the Termon of Fabhar. After which messengers went from Maelsechlainn to Brian, to complain of this, namely, that his territory was plundered and his sons killed, and praying him not to permit the foreigners and the Laighin, and the Brefni, and the Cairbri, and the Cinel-Eoghain, to come all together[13] against him.

The foreigners and Leinstermen plunder Meath.

Maelsechlainn complains to Brian.

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[8] *And the Laighin.* B. has ocuꝛ ꝫaıll Laıġen "and the foreigners of Laighen." Ꝫu maꝛbꝛat, B.

[9] *The whole.* B. omits uli. The Four M. (1012) read, cꝛeıċ ꝺıa ccꝛeaċaıb, "one of his plundering parties."

[10] *The Albanach*, i.e., the Scotchman. Ann. Inisf. (Dubl.) and Four Masters read, "Flann, son of Maelsechlainn." For ıꝺꝛocaıꝛ, B. reads, ocuꝛ toꝛcaıꝛ.

[11] *King.* This word is inserted from B. The Four Masters say that it was the son of Lorcan, not Lorcan himself, who was slain on this occasion; and they add, "This was the defeat of Drainen," now Drinan, county Dublin.

[12] *Expedition.* This chapter occurs only in D.

[13] *Together.* Ꝺbull is for ꝼaꝺball, "at the same time;" *simul.*

Brian plunders Ossory and Leinster.

Murchad devastates the country from Glandaloch to Kilmainham.

They blockade Dublin.

LXXXVI. Da ronad mor sluaged fer Muman ocus Conacᵗ la Brian iarsin in nOssragib ocus illagnib, ocus ro inrit Ossraigi leo. Da roni Murcᵗad mac Briain creᵗ mor illagnib, ocus ro airg in tir uli co roᵗ samud Caimgin, ocus ro inresrair in tir uli ocus ro loisc, ocus ruc brait mor leis, ocus buar diarmiti, ocus ro soᵗ co CillMaignend, co faᵗi Aᵗa Cliaᵗ. Ro ruaᵗ Brian, am, ocus in sluag ina comdail, do ronsat forbasi ocus forcomet for Aᵗ Cliaᵗ, ocus foslongport and. Batar and sin ó feil Ciaran fogmair co notlaic mor, ocus ni ro riarsat gaill no lagin frisin oen giall, no oen caᵗ, no oen coma do. O tarnic doib alloin tanic Brian da taig fo notlaig.

Brian advances against Dublin.

The auxiliaries of the foreigners.

LXXXVII. Do gniᵗer mor sluaged ele la Brian ar feil Patraic erraig, do gabail for Aᵗ Cliaᵗ ocus ar lagin. Ot cualatar, tra, gaill in toᵗastul sin cucu, ro curit teᵗta ocus fessa ar caᵗ leᵗ uaᵗib, do ᵗinol toreaᵗ ocus socraidi cucu, do restal caᵗa do Brian. Ro toᵗured ᵗucu, em Brodor iarla, ocus Amlaib mac ri Loclaud .i. da iarla Cairi, ocus tuascirt Saxan uli.

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[1] *After this.* B. omits iarsin.

[2] *Osraighe.* The clause within brackets is omitted in B.

[3] *The whole.* B. omits ule.

[4] *Caimhghen:* i.e., the religious house or monastery of St. Caimhghen, (St. Kevin,) of Glandaloch. According to the reading of D. this devastation was by Murchadh, son of Brian; but B., by omitting the words within brackets, makes Brian himself the devastator.

[5] *Country.* Ocus ro hindrad an tir leis, ocus rucc broid mór eiste, ocus ro siaᵗ co Cill Maiġneann, co faiᵗᵗe Aᵗa Cliaᵗ cona sluaġ, ocus do ronsat forbais ocus forᵗoiméᵗᵗ for Aᵗ Cliaᵗ, ocus do batar ann ó feil Ciaran, 7rl., B.: "And the country was ravaged by him, and many captives taken by him, and he marched to Cill Maighnenn, to the green of Ath Cliath, with his army, and they made a siege and a blockade round Ath Cliath, and remained there from the Feast of Ciaran, &c."

[6] *To join him.* *Lit.*, in his presence: i.e., Brian with his army came up to join his son Murchadh.

[7] *Great Christmas.* See above, p. 113 and p. 117.

[8] *Subsidy.* B. reads, ni ro riaraiġset gaill inad laiġin iad frisan re sin im giall, im caᵗ, no im comaiġ.

[9] *Provisions.* A lóinte, B.

[10] *On.* Im, B., "about."

[11] *In spring.* Om. B.

[12] *Attack.* Do gabail ar, B.

[13] *When.* O ro cualatar imorro goill Aᵗa Cliaᵗ an toiᵗestal sin cuca cuirit fesa, ocus teᵗta ar

LXXXVI. After this[1] the men of Mumhan and of Connacht, under Brian, made a great expedition against the Osraighe and against the Laighin, [and Osraighe[2] was ravaged by them. Murchadh, son of Brian, made a great plunder of the Laighin], and he devastated the whole[3] country, until he reached the community of Caimhghen,[4] and he ravaged and burnt the whole country[5]; and many captives were carried off by him, and cattle innumerable; and he came to Cill-Maighnenn, to the green of Ath Cliath. Then Brian and the army arrived to join him.[6] They made a siege and blockade round Ath Cliath, and an encampment there. They were there from the festival of Ciaran in harvest, to great Christmas[7]; and neither the foreigners nor the Laighin yielded him, during that time, one hostage, nor one battle, nor one subsidy.[8] So when their provisions[9] were exhausted, Brian retired to his home about Christmas.

Brian plunders Ossory and Leinster.

Murchad devastates the country from Glandaloch to Kilmainham.

They blockade Dublin.

LXXXVII. Another great expedition was made by Brian on[10] the festival of Patrick in spring,[11] to attack[12] Ath Cliath and the Laighin. But when[13] the foreigners heard of this muster coming against them, they sent messengers and ambassadors every where around them, to gather troops and armies unto them, to meet Brian in battle. They invited unto them Brodor, the earl, and Amlaibh, son of the king of Lochlann, i.e. the two earls of Cair, and of all the north of Saxon-land.[14] These two were

Brian advances against Dublin.

The auxiliaries of the foreigners.

ꝫaċ ꝉeṫ uaṫaiḃ ᴅo ᴛinóꝉ ꝑꝉuaiġ, ocuꝑ ꝑoċaiᴅe cuca, ᴅo ꝼꝼeꝑᴛaꝉ caṫa ᴅo Ḃꝼian, B. It will be seen that D. reads ꝼeꝑᴛaꝉ for ꝼꝼeꝑᴛaꝉ, omitting the initial ꝼ, as usual in that MS.

14 *Saxon-land:* meaning England. B. reads, Ro ᴛoċuiꝼeaᴅ cuca annꝑin Ḃꝼoᴅaꝼ iaꝼꝉa Caiꝼi hꞮꝑcaᴅaꝉ mac ꝼi Lochꝉanᴅ, ocuꝑ Ɪꝑcaᴅaꝉ iaꝼꝉa Caiꝼi hꞮꝑcaᴅaꝉ, .i. ꝼi ᴛuaiꝑceꝼᴛ Ꞩaxan, ocuꝑ ᴛaiꝑeċ ꝉoinꝫꝑi, 7ꝼꝉ.: "They invited to them Brodar, the Earl of Cair Ascadal, son of the king of Lochlann, and Ascadal, earl of Cair Ascadal, viz., king of the north of Saxon-land, and the chiefs of ships, &c." There is evidently some confusion in these readings. The Annals of Loch Cé call Brodar iaꝼꝉa Caóiꝼe Ꞓaḃꝼoiġ, "Earl of Caer Ebroc" [i.e., York], but this must be a mistake. The romantic tale, called "The Battle of Clontarf," has "Brodar and Asgal, two sons of the king of Lochlann."

Ⲧⲁⲓⲥⲓⲝ ⲗⲟⲛⲝⲣⲓ ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲓⲛⲁⲣⲃⲧⲁⲓⲝ ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲇⲁⲛⲁⲓⲣ ⲓⲁⲣⲧⲁⲓⲣ Ⲉⲟⲣⲣⲁ ⲩⲗⲓ ⲓⲛ ⲇⲓⲁⲣ ⲥⲓⲛ, ⲥⲁⲛ ⲥ̆ⲁⲝⲓⲗⲗ, ⲥⲁⲛ ⲁⲓⲧⲓⲧⲓⲛ, ⲥⲁⲛ ⲥ̆ⲁⲇⲩⲣ, ⲥⲁⲛ ⲥⲟⲙⲁⲣⲥⲓ ⲇⲟ Ⲇⲓⲁ ⲛⲟ ⲇⲁ ⲇⲩⲛⲓ, ⲇⲟ ⲥⲓⲗⲗ ⲛⲟ ⲇⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲁⲇ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲣⲓⲥⲉ ⲥⲉⲧ ⲇⲁⲛⲁⲣ ⲇⲓⲁⲛ, ⲇⲟⲗⲓⲝ, ⲇⲓⲃⲉⲣⲥⲁⲥ̆, ⲇⲩⲣⲥⲣⲁⲓⲇⲉⲁⲥ̆, ⲇⲟ Ⲁⲛⲙⲁⲣⲝⲁⲥ̆ⲁⲓⲃ ⲁⲗⲗⲙⲁⲣⲇⲁⲓⲃ ⲓⲛⲝⲁⲛⲧⲁⲥ̆ⲁⲓⲃ, ⲁⲥⲁ ⲥⲣⲉⲓⲥ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲓⲥⲁ ⲣⲁⲓⲥⲗⲉⲁⲇ ⲃⲁⲃⲉⲓⲛ, ⲛⲟ ⲁⲣ ⲟⲣ ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲁⲣ ⲁⲣⲝⲁⲧ ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲁⲣ ⲥⲁⲥ̆ ⲓⲛⲙⲩⲣ ⲁⲣⲥ̆ⲉⲛⲁ. Ⲛⲓ ⲃⲁⲓ, ⲓⲙⲟⲣⲣⲟ, ⲇⲁⲛⲁⲣ ⲛⲟ ⲇⲓⲃⲉⲣⲝⲁⲥ̆ ⲇⲟⲛ ⲣⲓⲥ̆ⲓⲧ ⲥⲉⲧ ⲥⲓⲛ, ⲥⲁⲛ ⲗⲩⲣⲓⲝ ⲗⲁⲓⲛⲇⲉⲣⲇ̆ⲁ, ⲧⲁⲓⲗⲥ, ⲧⲣⲉⲛⲇⲩⲁⲗⲁⲓⲝ, ⲧⲁⲓⲧⲛⲉⲙⲁⲓⲝ, ⲇⲟ ⲓⲁⲣⲩⲛⲇ ⲁⲓⲧⲏ ⲁⲓⲧⲗⲉⲝⲧ̆ⲁ, ⲛⲟ ⲇⲩⲙⲁ ⲓⲛⲛⲩⲁⲣ ⲛⲉⲙⲉⲣⲝⲓⲇⲓ, ⲓⲙⲁ ⲧⲟⲉⲃⲁⲓⲃ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲓⲙⲙⲁ ⲥⲛⲉⲣⲁⲓⲃ ⲗⲉⲟ ⲟ ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲁⲓⲃ ⲥⲟ ⲃⲟⲛⲇⲁⲓⲃ.

Superiority of the Danish armour.

Ⲣⲟ ⲧⲟⲥ̆ⲩⲣⲉⲇ ⲥⲩⲥⲩ, ⲇⲛⲁ, Ⲋⲓⲩⲥⲣⲁⲓⲇ ⲙⲁⲥ ⲗⲟⲧⲁⲓⲣ, ⲓⲁⲣⲗⲁ ⲓⲛⲣⲓ Ⲟⲣⲥ ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲣⲓ ⲁⲣⲥ̆ⲉⲛⲁ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲥⲟⲙⲧⲓⲛⲟⲗ ⲣⲗⲟⲓⲝ ⲃⲩⲓⲣⲃ, ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣⲇⲁ, ⲇⲓⲥ̆ⲉⲓⲗⲗⲓⲇ, ⲇⲟⲥ̆ⲓⲣⲥ, ⲇⲟⲥ̆ⲟⲙⲁⲓⲛⲇ, ⲇⲟ ⲝⲁⲗⲗⲁⲓⲃ ⲓⲛⲣⲓ Ⲟⲣⲥ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲓⲛⲣⲓ Ⲥⲁⲧ; ⲁ Ⲙⲁⲛⲁⲓⲛⲇ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲁ Ⲋⲥⲓ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲁ ⲗⲉⲟⲇⲩⲣ; ⲁ Ⲥⲓⲛⲇ Ⲧⲓⲣⲓ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲁ ⲏⲁⲓⲣⲉⲣ ⲝⲟⲉⲇⲉⲗ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲇⲁ ⲃⲁⲣⲩⲛ ⲁ Ⲥⲟⲣⲣ Ⲃⲣⲉⲧⲛⲁⲓⲃ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ Ⲥⲟⲣⲛⲇⲁⲃⲃⲗⲓⲧⲉⲟⲥ ⲁ Ⲃⲣⲉⲧⲛⲁⲓⲃ Ⲥⲓⲗⲗⲓ Ⲙⲩⲛⲓ.

Sigurd, earl of Orkney, arrives with an army from the Isles.

Ⲣⲟ ⲧⲟⲥ̆ⲩⲣⲉⲇ ⲥⲩⲥⲩ, ⲇⲛⲁ, Ⲥⲁⲣⲗⲩⲣ ⲟⲥⲩⲣ Ⲉⲃⲣⲓⲥ, ⲇⲁ ⲙⲉⲓⲥ ⲣⲓⲝ Ⲫⲣⲁⲛⲥ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ Ⲣⲗⲁⲧ, ⲧⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲓⲗⲓⲇ ⲗⲟⲥⲗⲁⲛⲇ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ Ⲥⲟⲛⲙⲁⲉⲗ ⲧⲣⲉⲓⲧⲉⲗ. Ⲇⲁ ⲣⲟⲥ̆ⲧ, ⲧⲣⲁ, ⲓⲛ ⲗⲟⲛⲝⲉⲣ ⲥⲓⲛ ⲁⲣ ⲥⲁⲥ̆ ⲁⲓⲣⲇ ⲥⲟ ⲏⲁⲧ̆ Ⲥⲗⲓⲁⲧ̆. Ⲃⲁⲓ, ⲇⲛⲁ, ⲣⲟⲥⲣⲁⲓⲇⲓ ⲁⲇⲃⲩⲗ ⲙⲟⲣ ⲓ ⲛⲁⲧ̆ Ⲥⲗⲓⲁⲧ̆ ⲃⲁⲇⲉⲓⲛ .ⲓ. ⲧⲣⲓ ⲥⲁⲧ̆ⲁ ⲥⲟⲙⲟⲣⲁ ⲥⲟⲙⲛⲉⲣⲧⲁ. Ⲇⲁ ⲣⲟⲥ̆ⲧ, ⲇⲛⲁ, Ⲙⲟⲉⲗⲙⲟⲣⲇⲁ ⲙⲁⲥ Ⲙⲩⲣⲥ̆ⲁⲇⲁ ⲙⲓⲥ Ⲫⲓⲛⲇ, ⲣⲓ ⲗⲁⲝⲉⲛ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲣⲟⲥⲣⲁⲓⲇⲓ ⲗⲁⲝⲉⲛ ⲟⲥⲩⲣ Ⲩⲁ Ⲥⲉⲛⲇⲣⲉⲗⲁⲓⲝ ⲗⲉⲓⲣ, ⲥⲟ Ⲁⲧ̆ Ⲥⲗⲓⲁⲧ. Ⲧⲣⲓ ⲥⲁⲧ̆ⲁ ⲙⲟⲣⲁ ⲇⲓⲃⲣⲓⲇⲉ.

The sons of the king of France, with others, join against Brian.

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[1] *Danars.* This word, though originally signifying *Danes*, is often used in the sense of violent, villanous, ferocious, persons. It probably has this signification here, and is certainly so used again, lines 4 and 7, of this page. B. omits ⲩⲗⲓ, "*all.*"

[2] *Veneration.* Ⲝⲁⲛ ⲣⲁⲓⲥ̇ⲓⲗⲗ, ⲝⲁⲛ ⲁⲓⲧⲧⲓⲇⲓⲛ, B.

[3] *For man.* Ⲇⲟ Ⲇⲓⲁ ⲛⲟ ⲇⲩ́ⲓⲛⲉ, ⲇⲟ ⲛⲁⲉⲙ̇, ⲛⲟ ⲇⲟ ⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉⲇ, B.: "For God or man, for saint or for sanctuary."

[4] *Two thousand. Lit.*, "twenty hundred." So both MSS.; but the *Ann. Ult.*, *Four Mast.*, and *Leabhar Gabhala*, read "one thousand."

[5] *Hard-hearted.* B. omits ⲇⲩⲣⲥⲣⲁⲓⲇⲉⲁⲥ, and reads, ⲇⲩⲣⲇⲓⲃ̇ⲉⲣⲥⲥⲁⲥ̇ ⲇⲟ ⲇⲏⲁⲛⲙⲁⲣⲥⲥⲁⲓⲃ̇, supplying the initial ⲇ, which, as usual, is dropped in D.

[6] *Selling.* Ⲁⲣ ⲛⲁ ⲥⲥⲣⲉⲓⲥ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲁⲣ ⲛⲁ ⲥⲥⲉⲛⲇⲁⲥ̇ ⲁⲣ ⲟ́ⲣ, ⲟⲥⲩⲣ ⲁⲣ ⲓⲟⲛⲛⲙⲩⲣ ⲙⲁⲣⲁⲉⲛ ⲣⲓⲩ, B.: "Selling and hiring themselves for gold and for treasure, along with them."

[7] *There was not.* Ⲛⲓ ⲣⲁⲓⲃ̇ⲉ ⲓⲙⲟⲣⲣⲟ, B.

[8] *Triple-plated.* ⲧⲧⲣⲉ́ⲇⲩⲁⲗⲁⲓⲝ̇, B.

the chiefs of ships, and outlaws, and Danars[1] of all the west of Europe, having no reverence, veneration,[2] respect, or mercy for God or for man,[3] for church or for sanctuary, at the head of two thousand[4] cruel, villanous, ferocious, plundering, hard-hearted,[5] foreign, wonderful Danmarkians, selling[6] and hiring themselves for gold and silver, and other treasure as well. And there was not[7] one villain or robber of that two thousand who had not polished, strong, triple-plated,[8] glittering armour of refined iron, or of cool uncorroding[9] brass, encasing their sides and bodies from head to foot.

Superiority of the Danish armour.

They invited to them also Siucrad,[10] son of Lotar, earl of the Orc islands, and of other islands also; with an assembled army of ignorant, barbarous, thoughtless, irreclaimable, unsociable foreigners of the Orc islands, and of the Cat islands; from Manann, and from Sci, and from Leodhus; from Cenn Tire, and from Airer-gaedhel; and two barons[11] of the Corr Britons, and Corndabbliteoc of the Britons of Cill Muni.

Sigurd, earl of Orkney, arrives with an army from the Isles.

They invited to them also Carlus and Ebric,[12] two sons of the king of France, and Plat, a strong knight of Lochlann, and the hero Conmael.[13] This fleet then arrived[14] from every quarter at Ath Cliath. There were also in Ath Cliath itself[15] a very great force, namely, three very great strong battalions; for Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, son of Finn,[16] king of Laighin, and the muster of Laighin, and of Ui Cennselaigh,[17] with him, came to Ath Cliath. These formed[18] three great battalions.

The sons of the king of France, with others, join against Brian.

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[9] *Cool, uncorroding.* Indṡuaiṛ neiṁ meiṛgiġ ima cneaṡaib ḷeo ó indaiḃ co bonnaib, B.

[10] *Siucrad.* "Sitric, son of Lodar," B. "Sichfrith, son of Lodar," *Four Mast.* "Siuchradh, son of Lodar," *Ann. Ult.* "Sigurd, Hlödver's son," *Nial's Saga.*, cap. clviii.

[11] *Two barons.* B. reads, ocuṡ a Baṛṛu, ocuṡ a Coiṛbṛeatnaiḃ, ocuṡ a Coṛnbḷiteoc, ocuṡ a bṛeatnaiḃ Cille Muine: "And from Barru and from the Corrbritons, and from Corn-bliteoc, and from the Britons of Cill-Muine [St. David's]."

[12] *Ebric.* Eḷḷṛic, B.

[13] *Conmael.* Maoḷ, B.

[14] *Arrived.* Do ṛocṫadaṛ tṛa an ḷoingeṡ ṡin, B.

[15] *Itself.* B. reads, ocuṡ do bí ṡocṛaiḋe aḋbaḷ in Aṫ Cliaṫ ṡéin .i. tṛí caṫa commóṛa coimneṛtae.

[16] *Son of Finn.* Om., B.

[17] *And of Ui Cennselaigh.* Om., B.

[18] *These formed.* Ṡoṡ ocuṡ tṛí caṫa commóṛa doiḃṡéin, B.

The forces of Brian.

LXXXVIII. Imt̆usa, imorro, Briain mic Cennedig ri Erend. Ro tinolit c̆uci sein noc̆ do recair é do feraib Erend .i. da cuiced Muman ocus Conac̆ta, ocus fir Midi; ocus ni ba tairsi dosum fir Midi, uair da fitir fein cotreicfitis é re huc̆t in cat̆a sin, ce tancatar is in comt̆inol. Ocus rancatar, tra, co hAt̆ Cliat̆. Ocus ro inrit Ua Gabla, ocus Ua Donc̆ada, ocus Fini Gall uli leo. Ro losced leo Cell Maignend. Ro cured, dna, Donc̆ad mac Briain ocus glaslait̆ Dalcais, ocus tres cat̆ Muman for tuat̆aib Lagen, ocus ndiaid na muinter, dia narcain ocus dia indriud in tiri. Ot concatar na gaill na forlosci i Fini ocus tuait̆ Etair, tancatar ina nagaid i Mag nElda, ocus ros comraicset ocus tucsat a nidna cat̆a os aird.

He plunders all around Dublin.

Fingal and Howth burned.

Brian holds a council.

Is and bai Brian andsen ar fac̆i At̆a Cliat̆, ocus mat̆i Dáilcais in airec̆tus, im Maelseclaind ocus im Murc̆ad, ocus im Conaing, ocus im Tadg mac Cat̆ail, ocus im mat̆ib Conac̆t arc̆ena, ocus fir Muman, ocus fir Midi; ac̆t mad enni nir ba run oen fir ic feraib Midi re cac̆, no ic Maelseclaind.

The march of Brian's army.

LXXXIX. Da dec̆astair Brian uada daraiss co facastar uad in cipi comc̆ruind, comor, cengailti,

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[1] *Now.* B. omits imorro.

[2] *King.* Airdri, B., "chief king."

[3] *Obeyed.* In neoċ ro freccair é, B. *Lit.*, "responded to him."

[4] *Conacht.* B. reads, ocus cuigeḋ Connaċt, ocus beccán do ċuigeḋ Ulaḋ: "and the province of Connacht, and a small portion of the province of Uladh."

[5] *Faithful.* Rob ettairisi ḋó san fir Miḋe tangatar na ṫinól, oir dóiġ ro fidir co ttreiccfettais é re huċt an caṫa, B.

[6] *And they.* B. omits this clause.

[7] *And Ui Gabla.* Ro hindrad hua Gaḃra, B.: "They plundered Ui Gabhra," &c., omitting *and.*

[8] *All.* B. omits uli leo.

[9] *By them.* B. reads, ocus ro loisceḋ Cluain Dalláin, ocus Cell Maiġnenn la Brian: "And Cluain Dalláin [Clondalkin], and Cill Maighnenn [Kilmainham] were burnt by Brian."

[10] *New levies.* *Lit.*, "green levies." Co nglasadh, *Dubl. Ann. Inisf.*, which Dr. O'Conor translates "cum cœruleis militibus Dalcassiorum," and explains *Gallo-glass*, or soldiers painted a livid colour to excite terror, *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.* tom. ii. The romantic tale, "Battle of Clontarf," reads, co nglaslaiṁ.

[11] *Were sent.* Ro toċuireaḋ, B.

[12] *Territories.* I fortuaṫaiḃ, B.

[13] *The country.* Da ninnraḋ ocus da nargain, B., "to plunder and spoil."

[14] *Saw.* Ot conncatar, B.

[15] *Fine.* Fini Gall ocus attuaiṫ

LXXXVIII. To return now[1] to Brian, son of Cennedigh, king[2] of Erinn. There assembled around him all that obeyed[3] him of the men of Erinn, namely, the two provinces of Mumhain and Conacht,[4] and the men of Midhe; but the men of Midhe were not faithful[5] to him, for he knew himself that they would desert him at the approach of that battle, although they came to the assembly. And they[6] now reached Ath Cliath. And[7] Ui Gabhla, and Ui Donnchadha, and all[8] Fine Gall were plundered by them. Cill Maighnenn was burned by them.[9] Then Donnchad, son of Brian, and the new levies[10] of the Dal Cais, and the third battalion of Mumhain were sent[11] into the territories[12] of Laighin, in the absence of its people, to spoil and plunder the country.[13] When the foreigners saw[14] the conflagration in Fine[15] Gall and the district of Edar, they came against them in Magh n-Elda,[16] and they met, and raised their standards of battle on high.

The forces of Brian.

He plunders all around Dublin.

Fingal and Howth burned.

Brian was then on the plain[17] of Ath Cliath, in council with the nobles of the Dál Cais,[18] and with Maelsechlainn, and with Murchadh, and with Conaing, and with Tadhg, son of Cathal, and with the nobles of Conacht together, and with the men of Mumhain and the men of Midhe;[19] but it happened that the men of Midhe and Maelsechlainn were not of one mind with the rest.[20]

Brian holds a council.

LXXXIX. Brian looked out behind him and beheld the battle phalanx, compact, huge, disciplined, moving in

The march of Brian's army.

Ɵɔaıꞃ, B., which readings being more correct, are adopted in the translation.

[16] *In Magh-n-Elda.* Co Maġ nƟlta ocuꞅ ꞃo coꞃaıġꞅet a nıoɔ̇naɔ̇a caɔ̇a oꞅ aıꞃɔ, B.: "To Magh-n-Elta, and they ranged their standards of battle on high."

[17] *Plain.* Ꝑaıɔ̇ce, B.

[18] *Dal Cais.* Ocuꞅ maıɔ̇e ꝑeꞃ nƟꞃenn a naıꞃeaċtaꞅ ıme ann, ım Muꞃcaɔ̇, 7c., B.: "And the nobles of the men of Erenn with him there, with Murchadh," &c.

[19] *Midhe.* B. omits all mention of Maelsechlainn and the men of Midhe or Meath, and reads, ocuꞅ ım maıɔ̇ıḃ Connaċt ocuꞅ Muṁan, "and with the nobles of Connacht and Mumhain."

[20] *The rest.* B. reads, Ꝺċt ċena, níꞃ bo ꞃún aınꝑıꞃ aꞅ Maelꞅeċlaınn ꞃé caċ, óıꞃ ınnıꞅıt ꞅeanċaıɔe co ttaıꞃnıc, 7c.: "But Maelsechlainn was not of one mind with the rest; for historians relate," &c., proceeding as in chap. xc., and omitting the whole of chap. lxxxix.

ⲥⲟⲣⲁⲓⲧ̆ⲓ ⲥⲁⲧ̆ⲁ, ⲥⲟ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲥ̆, ⲥⲟ ⲥⲟⲃⲩⲁⲓⲇ ⲥⲟⲇⲛⲁⲥ̆, ⲥⲟ ⲏⲟⲉⲛⲧⲁⲇⲁⲥ̆ ⲟⲉⲛⲙⲉⲛⲙⲛⲁⲥ, ⲓⲥ ⲩⲗⲁⲓⲝⲓ ⲓⲛ ⲙⲁⲓⲝ̆ⲓ ⲥ̆ⲩⲥⲩ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ .ⲭ. ⲙⲉⲣⲝⲓ ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲧⲣⲓ ⲫⲓⲥ̆ⲓⲧ ⲟⲣⲣⲟ, ⲇⲟ ⲇⲉⲣⲝ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲇⲟ ⲃⲩⲓⲇⲓ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲇⲩⲁⲛⲓ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲇⲟ ⲥⲉⲛⲉⲗ ⲥⲁⲥ̆ⲁ ⲇⲁⲧ̆ⲁ; ⲙⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲣⲝⲓ ⲩⲓⲧ̆ⲓ ⲩⲁⲣ ⲩⲩⲁⲥ̆ⲛⲓⲇ, ⲩⲉⲛⲧⲁ, ⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉⲙⲁⲓⲗ, ⲣⲩⲥ ⲃⲩⲁⲓⲇ [ⲥⲁⲥ̆ⲁ] ⲥⲁⲧ̆ⲁ ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲥⲁⲥ̆ⲁ ⲥⲗⲓⲁⲧ̆ⲁ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲥⲁⲥ̆ⲁ ⲥⲟⲛⲝⲁⲗⲁ, ⲣⲓⲩ ⲁⲣ ⲃⲣⲓⲩⲉⲇ .ⲩⲓⲓ. ⲥⲁⲧ̆ⲁ ⲥⲟⲛⲓⲥⲥⲓ ⲓⲛⲛⲓⲛⲁⲇ ⲩⲓⲛ .ⲓ. ⲙⲉⲣⲝⲓ ⲟⲣⲝⲣⲁⲛⲉⲙⲁⲓⲗ Ⲫⲉⲣⲝⲁⲓⲗ Ⲙⲁ Ⲣⲩⲁⲓⲣⲥ, ⲁⲓⲣⲇⲣⲓ ⲧⲩⲁⲧ̆ Ⲃⲣⲉⲫⲛⲓ ⲟⲥⲩⲩ Ⲥⲟⲛⲙⲁⲥⲛⲓ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ Ⲫⲉⲣⲝⲁⲗ ⲫⲉⲓⲛ ⲁⲛⲇⲩⲓⲛ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ Ⲇⲟⲙⲛⲁⲗⲗ ⲙⲁⲥ Ⲣⲁⲝⲁⲗⲗⲁⲓⲝ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ Ⲝⲓⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁ Ⲛⲟⲉⲙ ⲙⲁⲥ Ⲇⲟⲙⲛⲁⲓⲗⲗ ⲩⲁ Ⲫⲉⲣⲝⲁⲓⲗ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲙⲁⲓⲧ̆ⲓ ⲧⲩⲁⲧ̆ Ⲃⲣⲉⲫⲛⲓ ⲟⲥⲩⲩ Ⲥⲟⲛⲙⲁⲥⲛⲓ ⲁⲣⲥ̆ⲉⲛⲁ. Ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲧⲁⲛⲥⲁⲧⲁⲣ ⲝⲁⲓⲣⲓⲧ ⲟⲛ ⲗⲟⲛⲝⲣⲟⲣⲧ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲇⲁ ⲩⲁⲓⲇⲩⲉⲧⲁⲣ ⲁⲛⲇ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲧⲁⲛⲓⲥ Ⲫⲉⲣⲝⲁⲗ ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲛⲁ ⲙⲁⲧ̆ⲓ ⲙⲁⲣ ⲁⲣⲁⲃⲓ Ⲃⲣⲓⲁⲛ ⲇⲁ ⲁⲝⲁⲗⲗⲁⲓⲙ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲇⲁ ⲫⲉⲁⲣⲁⲩⲧⲁⲣ Ⲃⲣⲓⲁⲛ ⲫⲁⲓⲗⲧⲓ ⲥⲩⲛⲇⲁⲓⲗ ⲥⲁⲣⲇⲉⲙⲁⲓⲗ ⲣⲓⲩ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲣⲟ ⲉⲣⲓⲝ Ⲙⲩⲣⲥ̆ⲁⲇ ⲣⲉⲙⲓ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲣⲟ ⲩⲁⲓⲇⲩⲓⲩⲙ ⲓⲛⲁ ⲓⲛⲁⲇ; ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲣⲟⲃⲓ Ⲃⲣⲓⲁⲛ ⲓⲥ ⲫⲓⲁⲣⲫⲁⲓⲝⲓⲇ ⲩⲥⲉⲗ ⲇⲉ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲓⲛⲛⲓⲩⲩⲓⲩⲙ ⲇⲟ, Ⲁⲉⲇ ⲙⲁⲥ Ⲙⲁⲗⲝⲁⲓⲣⲝ Ⲙⲁ Ⲥⲓⲁⲣⲇⲁ, ⲣⲓ Ⲥⲁⲣⲃⲣⲓ, ⲇⲉⲙⲉⲇ ⲧⲓⲁⲥ̆ⲧ ⲗⲉⲓⲩ ⲇⲟⲥ̆ⲩⲙ ⲓⲛ ⲥ̆ⲁⲧ̆ⲁ ⲩⲓⲛ, ⲇⲟ ⲥⲩⲛⲝⲛⲩⲙ ⲣⲉ Ⲃⲣⲓⲁⲛ; ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲣⲟ ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲁⲓⲝ Ⲃⲣⲓⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲇⲩⲓⲛ Ⲙⲁ Ⲥⲓⲁⲣⲇⲁ ⲟⲥⲩⲩ Ⲥⲁⲣⲃⲣⲓ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲧⲩⲥ ⲃⲉⲛⲛⲁⲥ̆ⲧ ⲁⲣ Ⲫⲉⲣⲝⲁⲗ ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲁⲣ ⲫⲉⲁⲣⲁⲓⲃ Ⲃⲣⲉⲫⲛⲓ ⲁⲣⲥ̆ⲉⲛⲁ.

Another account.

XC. Ⲇⲁⲓⲝ ⲓⲩⲉⲇ ⲓⲛⲛⲓⲩⲓⲧ ⲫⲁⲓⲣⲉⲛⲇ ⲥⲟ ⲧⲁⲣⲛⲓⲥ ⲇⲟ ⲛⲁ ⲏⲁⲗⲗⲙⲁⲣⲁⲥ̆ⲁⲓⲃ ⲁ ⲧⲩⲁⲣⲁⲩⲧⲁⲗ ⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲇⲁⲓⲥⲏ ⲣⲉⲙⲓ ⲩⲓⲛ ⲇⲟ ⲥⲁⲓⲧ̆ⲓⲩⲙ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲥⲟ ⲣⲁⲛⲥⲁⲧⲁⲣ ⲥⲟ Ⲃⲉⲓⲛⲇ Ⲉⲇⲁⲓⲣ, ⲓⲛ ⲧⲣⲁⲧ̆ ⲁⲧ ⲥⲟⲛⲥⲁⲧⲁⲣ ⲛⲁ ⲫⲟⲣⲗⲟⲩⲥⲓ ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲓⲛ ⲧⲓⲣ ⲓⲥⲁ ⲏⲓⲛⲣⲉⲇ; ⲩⲁⲓⲣ ⲧⲁⲣⲥⲁⲧⲁⲣ ⲇⲟ Ⲃⲣⲓⲁⲛ ⲓⲛ ⲁⲇⲁⲓⲝ ⲣⲉⲙⲓ ⲥⲁⲣⲇⲓ ⲇⲟⲓⲃ ⲥⲟ ⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏ ⲉⲓⲣⲝⲓ ⲁⲣⲛⲁⲙⲃⲁⲣⲁⲥ̆, ⲥⲁⲛ ⲛⲁ ⲫⲟⲣⲗⲟⲩⲥⲓ ⲇⲟ ⲇⲉⲛⲩⲙ, ⲥⲟ ⲧⲟⲥⲃⲁⲓⲧⲓⲩ ⲛⲁ ⲩⲉⲟⲗⲥⲣⲁⲓⲛⲇ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ ⲛⲓ ⲓⲙⲣⲟⲃⲇⲁⲓⲩ ⲇⲟⲣⲓⲩ; ⲩⲁⲓⲣ ⲣⲓⲃ ⲉⲝⲁⲓⲗ ⲗⲉⲟ ⲝⲁⲓⲩⲥⲉⲇ Ⲙⲩⲣⲥ̆ⲁⲓⲇ, ⲟⲥⲩⲩ Ⲇⲁ́ⲗⲥⲁⲓⲩ ⲁⲣⲥ̆ⲉⲛⲁ.

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[1] *Fergal himself.* This chapter occurs in D. and not in B. No mention of Fergal Ua Ruairc and his followers, as present in the battle, is to be found in the Annals, nor is he mentioned in the Book of Conquests, or by Keating.

[2] *Refused.* The MS. has ⲇⲉⲙⲉⲇ, for ⲇⲫⲉⲙⲉⲇ, or ⲇⲟⲫⲉⲙⲉⲇ.

[3] *Some.* Ⲝⲉⲁⲛⲥⲏⲁⲓⲇⲉ, B., "historians."

[4] *Battle.* Ⲓⲛ ⲁⲇⲏⲁⲓⲝ̇ ⲣⲟⲓⲙⲉ, B., "the night before."

[5] *When they saw.* Ⲁⲛ ⲧⲁⲛ ⲁⲇ-

silence, mutely, bravely, haughtily, unitedly, with one mind, traversing the plain towards them; and three score and ten banners over them, of red, and of yellow, and of green, and of all kinds of colours; together with the everlasting, variegated, lucky, fortunate banner, that had gained the victory in every battle and in every conflict, and in every combat; by which seven battles had been gained before that time, namely, the gold-spangled banner of Fergal Ua Ruairc, chief king of the territory of Brefni and Conmaicni; and Fergal himself[1] was there, and Domhnall, son of Ragallach, and Gilla-na-naemh, son of Domhnall, grandson of Fergal, and the nobles of the territory of Brefni and Conmaicni in like manner. And they came near the tent, and stopped there; and Fergal and the nobles advanced to where Brian was, to meet him, and Brian gave them a hearty friendly welcome; and Murchadh rose up to him, and seated him in his place. And Brian asked him the news, and he told him that Aedh, son of Ualgairg Ua Ciardha, king of Cairbri, refused[2] to accompany him to that battle in defence of Brian. And therefore Brian cursed Ua Ciardha, and the Cairbri, and gave a blessing to Fergal and to the men of Brefni also.

XC. Some,[3] indeed, have said that the pay of the pirates was spent the night before that battle,[4] and that they had gone *homewards* as far as Benn Edair, when they saw[5] the conflagration and devastation of the country; for they had offered Brian the night before,[6] that if he would delay the burning until the morrow's sunrise, they would raise[7] their sail-masts, and never return again[8]; for they dreaded the valour of Murchadh, and of the Dál Cais in general. Another account.

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conncaṫaṙ na ꝼoṙlоiṙcṫe i Ꝼineꝫall, ocuṙ an ṫíṙ ꝫa hinꝺṙeꝺ, B.: "When they saw the conflagration in Fingall, and the country devastated."

[6] *Night before.* In aꝺ́aiġ ṙoiṁe ṙin, B., "the night before that."

[7] *They would raise.* Ocuṙ co ꝺocꝼaiṫíṙ, B.

[8] *Again.* Ocuṙ na hiomꝑoḃꝺaiṙ ꝺo ṙiꝺ́iṙi, uaiṙ ṙob eccail leo, 7c., B. D. has ṙib for ṙob, evidently an error of the scribe.

Assembling of the forces.

XCI. Cid, tra ac̆t, ro imporar in longeas, ocus tancatar in oen inad, ocus gaill Ac̆ta Cliat̆, ocus Lagin, co rabatar .uii. cat̆a comora comnerta. Cid, dna, ac̆t ba dail glecac̆, gonac̆, glifiteac̆, fuleac̆, forderg, agmar, agarb, irgalac̆, in comdail sin Dálcais ocus fer Muman ocus Conac̆t, ocus fer Brefni, ocus gall, ocus Lagen.

Description of the forces of the enemy.

Batar, imorro, dun darna leit̆ in cat̆a sin glaim glonmar, gusmar, glecac̆, galac̆, gnimac̆, gargbeoda, duabsig, dian, demnietac̆, dasac̆tac̆, diceillid, docoisc, doc̆omuind, becda, borb, barbarta, boadba, at̆, at̆lum, anniartac̆a, urlam, angbaid, irgalac̆, nemnec̆, niata, namdemail danair; dana, durcraideč̆a, anmargaich, anbli, allmarda gaill, gormglasa, gentlidi; can c̆agill, can cadus, can atitin, can comarci do Dia no do duni.

Their weapons.

Batar leo sen do restal cat̆a ocus comlaind asa cind, saigti fegi, feoc̆racha, fuleč̆a, forderga, frit̆iri, frit̆baccanac̆a, gera, goirti, guneč̆a, agmara, at̆i, acbeli, niata, nemneč̆a ar na fobred, ocus ar na foruamnad, a fulib drecon, is loscend, is doborna t̆rac, uiffrec, iscorp is onc̆on is nat̆rac̆ ait̆nemneac̆, necsamail arc̆ena, da cait̆ium sein ocus da nibrucad im nairistib aig, is irgali, is engnuma. Batar leosen saigitbuilc badba, barbarda, ocus bogada blat̆i blabuidi; ocus Laigni lonna, let̆anglasa, gera, garba, temnid, i lamaib letmeč̆a, dana, dur dibergac̆ leo. Batar leo, tra, lureč̆a laindерda, lut̆marda, tredualac̆a, troma, trentrebraid do iarund ait, ait̆legt̆a, ocus duma imnuar, nemergidi, re ditin corp, ocus cnes, ocus cendmullaig, dib ar armaib at̆i, aigbeli, ocus ar ilfaebraib, ilib, agmara.

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[1] *One place.* Ꞓn aen ionad̀, B.

[2] *A conflict.* Cid̀ tra ac̀t ba com̀d̀al, B.

[3] *Wounding.* Om., B. In the next line B. omits "and the men of Brefni," and adds after "Laighin" re ceile, "together," or "with each other."

[4] *Of that battle.* Batar dna don dara leit̀ don c̀at̀ sin, B. We have here an extravagant specimen of the heaping together alliterative epithets, in which the Irish bardic writers took delight. To find English equivalents for such absurd verbosity is no very profitable or easy task: there are here something like twenty-seven adjectives strung together before we come to the substantive they are intended to describe. The corresponding passage in B. is as follows: glám̀,

Assembling of the forces.

XCI. But now the fleet returned, and came to one place[1]; both the foreigners of Ath-Cliath and the Laighin, and they formed seven great strong battalions. And then ensued a conflict,[2] wrestling, wounding,[3] noisy, bloody, crimsoned, terrible, fierce, quarrelsome: that conflict of the Dal Cais and the men of Munster, and of Conacht, and of the men of Brefni, and of the foreigners, and of the Laighin.

Description of the forces of the enemy.

Now on the one side of that battle[4] were the shouting, hateful, powerful, wrestling, valiant, active, fierce-moving, dangerous, nimble, violent, furious, unscrupulous, untamable, inexorable, unsteady, cruel, barbarous, frightful, sharp, ready, huge, prepared, cunning, warlike, poisonous, murderous, hostile Danars; bold, hard-hearted Danmarkians, surly, piratical foreigners, blue-green, pagan; without reverence, without veneration, without honour, without mercy, for God or for man. These had for the purposes of battle and combat, and for their defence,[5] sharp, swift, bloody, crimsoned, bounding, barbed, keen, bitter, wounding, terrible, piercing, fatal, murderous, poisoned arrows, which had been anointed and browned in the blood of dragons and toads, and water-snakes of hell, and of scorpions and otters, and wonderful venomous snakes of all kinds, to be cast and shot at active and warlike, and valiant chieftains. They had with them hideous, barbarous, quivers; and polished, yellow-shining bows; and strong, broad green, sharp, rough, dark spears, in the stout, bold, hard hands of freebooters. They had also with them polished, pliable, triple-plated, heavy, stout, corslets of double refined iron, and of cool uncorroding brass, for the protection of their bodies, and skin, and skulls, from sharp terrible arms, and from all sorts of fearful weapons. They had also with

Their weapons.

ġlonnmar, ġlifideċ, ġlusmar, ġalaċ, ġleacaċ, ġníoṁaċ, ġairccbeoḋa, ċruaide, ċomnarta, ċlogat ċaem, cuṁdaċta [cloidṁe], sleṁna, sliopṫa, ḟlisġeala, ġear, ġlana, ġormġlasa, luisneċ, lassaċ, lainderḋa, ḋesa, díorġa, doirnġeala, ruireċ ocus riġmileḋ leó fri leadraḋ ocus fri hairleaċ, ocus fri haṫċuma cnes, ocus corp, ocus cendmullaiġ diḃlinib. All that follows in the text is omitted in B. to the end of chap. xcii.

[5] *Defence. Lit.*, "over their heads:" restal is for frestal; the f omitted as usual in D.

Bataṙ, δna, leo claiδmi calma, cuṙata, tṙoma, toṙtbulleč̌a, tailč̌i, tṙena, taiṙbteč̌a.

Description of Brian's troops.

XCII. Bataṙ, imoṙṙo, δon leiṫ ele in caṫ̌a ṙin, cuṙaiδ cṙoδa, comč̌alma; gaṙṙaiδ, glanzeṙata, luṫ̌maṙa, letmeač̌, lanč̌alma, meṙδa, moṙgnimač̌, ullač̌, alaiṅδ, allaṫ̌a, bṙutač̌, bṙigač̌, boṙṙfuδach, niamδa, nuagel, nemeṙtneč̌, agmaṙ, engač̌, ilbuaδač̌; tṙéit ocuṙ taiṙig tṙetil, ocuṙ tṙenmiliδ laeč̌ gali, ocuṙ gaiṙciδ, enig, ocuṙ engnuma Θṙenδ .i. In luaδi letṙom ṙo bṙiṙ cač̌ tṙen, ocuṙ ṙo ṙain cač̌ ṙot, ocuṙ ṙo ling cač̌ δocaiṙ, ocuṙ ṙo lomaiṙ cač̌ tṙen č̌enδ .i. Clanna Lugδeač̌ mic Oengusa Tiṙig, ṙiṙ a ṙateṙ Δálcaiṙ Boṙama, ocuṙ geṙataı glangaṙta goeδel aṙ oen ṙiu.

Panegyric on the Dál Cais.

The Franks and Israelites of Ireland.

The lions of the Gael.

The wolf dogs of Ireland.

The hawks of Europe.

Ciniuδ intamlaigteač̌ ṙin ṙe macaib Mileaδ aṙ ṙigδač̌t, ocuṙ aṙ ṙologuδ, aṙ tṙeoiṙ, ocuṙ aṙ aiṙbeṙit, ocuṙ aṙ inṙaigiδ. Fṙainc na Fotla fonδaiṙδi, aṙ glicuṙ, ocuṙ aṙ glangaiṙceδ .i. Meic aibδa, alli, uaṙli, ilbuaδač̌a, Iṙṙaeil naṫ̌Θṙenδ illataigṫ̌i, aṙ caδi, ocuṙ aṙ cunlač̌t, aṙ fiṙinni, ocuṙ aṙ inṙacuṙ. Leomain lonna, letaṙṫ̌ač̌a, letmeč̌a na ngoeδel, aṙ gail, ocuṙ aṙ gaiṙceδ, ocuṙ aṙ gnimṙaδ. Onč̌oin aṫ̌i, atluma na Banba buaδaič̌i, aṙ talci ocuṙ aṙ talcaiṙeč̌t. Sebuic ṙuaṙci ṙaiṙṙ́enga na hΘoṙṙa alli, aδuaiṙ, ṙiṙ naṙ gabaδ caṫ̌ no catṙai no cliatač̌ no comlonδ ṙiam ṙemiṙin, no anδṙin fein.

Their arms and armour.

Ba, δna, leo δo ṙeṙtal caṫ̌a ocuṙ comloinδ, oṙa cinδ, ṙlega ṙuaṙci, ṙemneč̌a, fiṫ̌naṙač̌a, fiδcaimi, fianamla fiṙ alli finδč̌uill. Beṙa boδba biṙaiṫ̌i, co ṙuaṫ̌nemaib ṙita, ṙainemail, congṙan taiṙngnib, glana, gloṙδa, glainiδi, δa nian δibṙucuδ fṙi haiṙigṫ̌i baig ocuṙ iṙgaili. Bataṙ leo, δna, lenti lebṙa, lainδeṙa, cuana coema, cneṙgela, cunga, coṙi, comč̌oema. Bataṙ leo, δna, inaiṙ alli, illaδač̌a, cneṙta, coema, cumδač̌ta, cetṙantanač̌a, č̌oema,

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[1] *Weight.* Luaδi. *Lit.*, "lead."

[2] *Nails.* The MS. D. has here congngṙan; but the gn are a manifest mistake which the scribe probably forgot to erase. The correct reading congṙan has been adopted in the text.

them valorous, heroic, heavy, hard-striking, strong, powerful, stout swords.

XCII. But on the other side of that battle were brave, valiant champions; soldierly, active, nimble, bold, full of courage, quick, doing great deeds, pompous, beautiful, aggressive, hot, strong, swelling, bright, fresh, never-weary, terrible, valiant, victorious heroes and chieftains, and champions, and brave soldiers, the men of high deeds, and honour, and renown of Erinn; namely, the heavy weight[1] that broke down every stronghold, and cleft every way, and sprang over every obstacle, and flayed every stout head, that is to say, the descendants of Lugaidh, son of Oenghus Tirech, who are called the Dal Cais of Borumha, and the stainless intelligent heroes of the Gaidhil along with them.

Description of Brian's troops.

These were a tribe worthy of being compared with the sons of Miledh, for kingliness and great renown, for energy, and dignity, and martial prowess. *They were* the Franks of ancient Fodhla, in intelligence and pure valour; the comely, beautiful, noble, ever-victorious sons of Israel of Erinn, for virtue, for generosity, for dignity, for truth, and for worth; the strong, tearing, brave lions of the Gaedhil, for valour and bold deeds; the terrible, nimble, wolf-hounds of victorious Banba, for strength and for firmness; the graceful, symmetrical hawks of mild Europe, against whom neither battle, nor battle-field, nor conflict, nor combat was ever before, nor then was, maintained.

Panegyric on the Dál Cais.

The Franks and Israelites of Ireland.

The lions of the Gael.

The wolf dogs of Ireland.

The hawks of Europe.

And these had for the purposes of battle and combat, above their heads, spears glittering, well riveted, empoisoned, with well-shaped, heroic, beautiful handles of white hazle; terrible sharp darts with variegated silken strings; thick set with bright, dazzling, shining nails,[2] to be violently[3] cast at the heroes of valour and bravery. They had on them also, long, glossy, convenient, handsome,

Their arms and armour.

[3] *Violently.* Ꞃıan is for ꞃꞇıan, according to the usual orthography of the MS. D., omitting the letter eclipsed in pronunciation.

comtaraċa dar scurdib suarci, siṫlebra leo. Batar leo, dna, sceiṫ mora, mileta, etroċta, alli, illataċa, co comraidib cori creduma, co slabradaib fir alli findruni, ar slesaib soerclann soerbesaċ, suairc, segaind, soċomaind, leo. Batar leo, dna, caṫbairr ciraċa, fororda, co ngemaib glorda, glanidi, co legaib lainderda, logmara, im cendaib rureaċ is rig miled. Batar leo tuaga troma, taidleċa, trena, tolgda, taitnemaċa, gera, gluair, glainidi, leṫna, limṫa Loċlannaċa, illamaib triaṫ, ocus taiseaċ, tretel, ocus trenmiled, fri slaidi, ocus fri tuarcain lureaċ luṫmar drulineċ dib. Batar, dna, leo claidmi cruadi, comnerta, colcda, coema, cumdaċta, slemna, slipta, slisgela, gera, glana, gormglasa, luineċa lasarṫa, lainderda, dessa dirgi deocbrig emi, aṫi, aṫluma, indodib dessa, dorndgela, rureaċ ocus rigmiled leo, fri leod ocus fri letrad, fri hairleaċ ocus fri hatċuma cnes, ocus corp, ocus cendmulaċ dib.

Danger of an encounter with them.

XCIII. Mairg na ro ingaib in muintir sin doneoċ nar as riaraigestair. Mairg ro ṫoduisc a forglaim doneoċ ica rabi acmaing a nimgabala. Mairg ro insaig doneoċ naċ insaiġfitis; or ba snam in nagaid sroṫa; ba hesargain darac du dorndaib; ba fal re mbruċtud robarta; ba gat im ganem, no im grian; ba dornd i ngae ṅgreni, triall frestail caṫa no comlaind doib; daig ni ba suail in ni ris ba samalta garbgleo ocus cruad ċundscleo na laeċraidi sin do tod uscud.

Disposition of the enemy's forces.

XCIV. Cid, tra aċt, ra ordaigit, ocus ro conraigit na caṫa ceċtarda fon cuma sein. Tucad tra tosaċ ic

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1 *Bronze.* Findruni. See above, pp. 50, 94, 115.

2 *Who did not yield.* B. reads, ga mbiaḋ acfaing a ningabala, "if it was possible to escape from it:" omitting "woe to those who aroused their anger."

3 *Pummelling.* B. reads, ocus ba hesorccain.

4 *Swelling.* Murbrucht, B.

5 *It was.* "And it was," ocus ba, B.

6 *The fist.* B. reads, ocus ba dorn im gae.

7 *Attempt.* B. omits frestail.

8 *For.* Dóiġ ní suaill, B.

9 *Warriors.* B. adds (after na laeċraiḋe sin) óir la lám i ned

white, neat, well-adjusted, graceful shirts. They had on them also, beautiful, many-coloured, well-fitting, handsome, well-shaped, well-adjusted, enfolding tunics, over comfortable long vests. They had with them also, great warlike, bright, beautiful, variegated shields, with bosses of brass, and elegant chains of bronze,[1] at the sides of their noble, accomplished, sweet, courteous, eloquent clansmen. They had on them also, crested golden helmets, set with sparkling transparent brilliant gems and precious stones, on the heads of chiefs and royal knights. They had with them also, shining, powerful, strong, graceful, sharp, glaring, bright, broad, well-set Lochlann axes, in the hands of chiefs and leaders, and heroes, and brave knights, for cutting and maiming the close well-fastened coats of mail. They had with them, steel, strong, piercing, graceful, ornamental, smooth, sharp-pointed, bright-sided, keen, clean, azure, glittering, flashing, brilliant, handsome, straight, well-tempered, quick, sharp swords, in the beautiful white hands of chiefs and royal knights, for hewing and for hacking, for maiming and mutilating skins, and bodies, and skulls.

Danger of an encounter with them.

XCIII. Woe unto all who shunned not this people, who did not yield unto them.[2] Woe to those who aroused their anger, if it was possible to escape from it. Woe to those who attacked them, if they could have avoided attacking them; for it was swimming against a stream; it was pummelling[3] an oak with fists; it was a hedge against the swelling[4] of a spring-tide; it was[5] a string upon sand or a sun-beam; it was the fist[6] against a sun-beam, to attempt[7] to give them battle or combat; for[8] it is not easy to conceive any horror equal to that of arousing the fierce battle and hard conflict of these warriors.[9]

Disposition of the enemy's forces.

XCIV. So these battalions were arranged and disposed[10] in the following manner.[11] The foreigners and the

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ꝺrıḃı, ocuꝼ ba coll ꝼalaċ leoṁaın ꝺo neoċ uġra, ocuꝼ ꝼerccloınne na laoċraıḋe ꝼın ꝺo toꝺuꝼcaḋ.

[10] *Disposed.* B. omits ocuꝼ ꝼo conꝼaıꝺıt.

[11] *Manner.* Ꝼon ꝼaṁaıl ꝼın, B.

ʒallaib ocuſ ic laiʒnib ɗona ɗanaiʀib ɗibeʀc̆aib all-
maʀɗaib ſin, ɗo bʀoɗaʀ iaʀla Caiʀi Ebʀoc, ɗuiſeac̆
Ɗanaʀ, im Conmael, mac a maɗaʀ, ocuſ im Siucaiɗ mac
Loɗaiʀ, iaʀla inſi Oʀc, ocuſ im Plaiɗ, ɗʀen milid ʒall
uli, ocuſ Anʀaɗ mac Elbʀic mac ʀi Loc̆lanɗ, ocuſ
Caʀlluſ, ocuſ Toʀbenɗ ɗub, ocuſ Suinin, ocuſ Suanin,
ocuſ maɗ̆i ʒall iaʀɗaiʀ Eoʀʀa o Loc̆lainɗ ſiaʀ, aʀ oen
ʀiu ſin. Ɗa ʀonaɗ, imoʀʀo, ciʀi oen caɗ̆a cʀuinɗ
comoʀ ɗo ʒallaib Aɗ̆a Cliaɗ̆ uli, ocuſ ɗucaɗ ina neʒaiɗ
ſen é .i. i nɗiaɗ na nanmaʀʒac̆. Ro baɗaʀ ʀompoſiɗe,
Ɗubʒall mac Amlaib, ocuſ Ʒillaciaʀan mac Ʒlúin-
iaʀainɗ mic Amlaib, ocuſ Ɗonc̆aɗ ua hEʀuilb, ocuſ
Amlaib Laʒmainɗ mac Ʒop̆ʀaiɗ, .i. ceɗ̆ʀi ʀiʒɗomna
ʒall. Baɗaʀ ʀompo, ɗna, Oɗɗiʀ ɗub, ocuſ Ʒʀiſin ocuſ
Lummin ocuſ Snaɗʒaiʀ .i. ceɗʀi iʀʀiʒ ʒall, ocuſ ceɗʀi
ɗoiſiʒ lonʒſi, ocuſ maɗhi ʒall Eʀenɗ aʀoen ʀiu ſen.
Ɗo ʀonaɗ ɗan oen caɗ̆ ɗo Laʒin, ocuſ ɗuib Cenɗſelaiʒ,
ocuſ ɗucaɗ ʀe ſalaib ſin é. Baɗaʀ ʀompoſen ɗna,
Moelmoʀɗa, mac Muʀc̆aɗa, ʀiʒ Laʒen, ocuſ Boeɗan,
mac Ɗunlainʒ, ʀi iaʀɗaiʀ Laʒen, ocuſ Ɗunlanʒ, mac
Tuaɗ̆ail, ʀi Liʀ̆i, ocuſ Bʀoʒoʀban, mac Conc̆obuiʀ, ʀi u
Falʒi, ocuſ Ɗomnall, mac Feʀʒaile, ʀi foʀɗ̆uaɗh Laʒen,
ocuſ maɗhi Laʒen aʀc̆ena.

Leaders of the Danes of Dublin.

Disposition of the Irish who were on the Danish side.

Their leaders.

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[1] *Placed in.* Ɗucaɗ ɗna, B. The meaning is, that the foreigners who had established themselves in Ireland, and who were in alliance with the Leinstermen, put their Danish and Norwegian auxiliaries in the front of the battle.

[2] *Murderous.* B. omits ɗibeʀc̆aib.

[3] *Under Brodar.* B. reads, .i. Bʀoɗaʀ iaʀla ɗoiſech ɗanaʀ; omitting "of Caer Ebroc."

[4] *Siucaid.* A mistake in the MS. D. for Siucraid. See above, p. 153, note [10]. B. reads *Sitriuc.*

[5] *Elbric.* "Anrad, son of Elbric," B.

[6] *Suanin.* Im Caʀluſ ocuſ im Toʀbenɗ ɗub, ocuſ im Suiṁni, ocuſ im Suainni, B.: "With Carlus and with Torbend the black, and with Suimhni and with Suainni."

[7] *Along with them.* B. reads, maiɗe ʒall Eʀenn uile aʀ aon ʀiu ſein, "the nobles of the foreigners of all Erinn along with them."

[8] *Strong.* Cʀuinɗ cenʒailɗe commóʀ, B.

[9] *After.* Ina ɗiaiʒ̇ ſin hé, .i. anɗiaiʒ̇ na nƊanṁaʀcc, B.

[10] *Head.* Baɗaʀ ʀompa ſin, .i B., where the names of the chieftains are given thus: "Dubhgall, son of Amlaf, and Donchad, grandson of Erulf, and Amlaf, son of Lagmann

Laighen placed[1] in the front the murderous[2] foreign Danars, under Brodar,[3] earl of Caer Ebroc, chieftain of the Danars; with Conmael, his mother's son, and with Siucaid,[4] son of Lotar, earl of the Orc Islands, and with Plait, the bravest knight of all the foreigners, and with Anrath, son of Elbric,[5] son of the king of Lochlann, and Carlus, and Torbenn the black, and Sunin, and Suanin,[6] and the nobles of the foreigners of western Europe, from Lochland westwards, along with them.[7] A line of one very great strong[8] battalion was formed of all the foreigners of Ath Cliath, and it was placed after[9] the above, that is after the Danmarkians. At their head[10] were Dubhgall, son of Amlaf, and Gilla Ciarain son of Glun-iaraind, son of Amlaf, and Donchad, grandson of Erulf, and Amlaf Lagmund, son of Goffraidh, the four crown princes of the foreigners. At their head also, were Ottir[11] the black, and Grisin, and Lummin, and Snadgair, four petty kings of the foreigners, and four chieftains of ships, and the nobles of the foreigners of Erinn along with them. A battalion[12] was also formed of the Laighin and of the Ui Cennselaigh, and it was placed behind[13] the above. And at the head of them were Maelmordha, son of Murchadh,[14] king of Laighin, and Boetan, son of Dunlang, king of western Laighin,[15] and Dunlang, son of Tuathal, king of Liphi, and Brogorban, son of Conchobhar, king of Ui Failghi, and Domhnall, son of Fergal, king of the Forthuagha of Laighin, and the nobles of Laighin likewise.[16]

Leaders of the Danes of Dublin.

Disposition of the Irish who were on the Danish side.

Their leaders.

son of Gofraidh, four crown princes of the foreigners." But three only are mentioned.

[11] *Ottir.* B. gives these names thus: "Oitir the black, and Grifin, and Suainin, and Luimnin, and Sigraidh," omitting the description which follows, and adding only after the last name, ocus aro gaill na hErenn ardena araon riu rin, "and the chief foreigners of Erinn also along with them."

[12] *A battalion.* Cath mór, B., "a great battalion."

[13] *Behind. Lit.*, "at the heels of." Ar a fáilaib rin é, B.

[14] *Murchadh.* B. adds mac Finn. "Murchadh, son of Finn."

[15] *Laighin.* B. reads, ri iartair Life, ocus Brogarbán, &c., omitting the second Dunlang.

[16] *Likewise.* B. reads, uile araon riurin, "the nobles of all Laighin along with them."

Disposition of Brian's army.

The Dál Cais. Their leaders.

XCV. Tuccad imorro, tosaċ caṫa Briain, ocus maṫi Erend arcena du damraid dein, diulaing remrati, dun gamandraid glain, gasta, geta, galaig, gnimaig, gargbeoda .i. do Dálcais curata conrumaig, ocus do clannaib Luigdeaċ arcena. Bai rompu side in Heċtoir intamlaigteċ ilbuadaċ na hAdam clainni ilcenealaiċi allatai .i. Murċad mac Briain, eo Rossa, rigdraidi Erend; cend gaili, ocus gascid, ocus gnimrada, enig ocus engnuma, ocus aebdaċta fear talman, re re, ocus re remis; daig ni armit senċaidi goedel combeth don adamclaind re re fein oen duni no ċongbad sciaṫ comrestail imbualta do. Batar, dna, ar oen ris sin, .i. Tairdelbaċ a mac, in rigdomna a aisi [is] ferr bai in nErind, ocus Conaing mac Doncuan, in tres duni is toċu ri Brian bai i nErind, ocus Niall Ua Cuind, ocus Eochu mac Dunadaig, ocus Cudullig mac Cendetig, tri cometidi Briain, ocus Domnall mac Diarmata, ri Corcubaiscind, ocus forgla laiṫ gaili, ocus gascid Dálcais ar oen riu sin. Da ronad tra oen caṫ comnart comor do gleri sluag Muman uli, ocus tuccad re salaib sen é. Batar rompositde Moṫla, mac Domnaill, mic Faelan, rig na Desi, ocus Mangnus, mac Anmċada, ri uliaṫan, ocus treit ocus tretil na Muman uli ar oen riu sen.

The other troops of Munster.

Their leaders.

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[1] *The front.* Tuccad tosaċ caṫa Briain imorro, B.

[2] *To the.* Don daṁraiḋ, dein, dífuling, ocus don gaṁanraiḋ gloin gléṫta gasta, galaċ, gníoṁaċ, gairccbeoḋa, .i. do Dal Cais, ocus do Clandaiḃ Lugdaċ arcena, B.

[3] *Heroes.* Gamandraid; "the *Gamandraidh*," were an antient warlike people of the Firbolg race in Erris, in Connaught; but their name is here used in the general sense of heroes, or warriors.

[4] *Adam.* B. reads, baoi rompa sin, Eċtair intsaṁlaigċe na hErenn, .i. Murchaḋ: "There was leading them the matchless Hector of Erinn, viz., Murchadh," &c.

[5] *Yew of Ross.* One of the famous old trees of Ireland. See *O'Flaherty's Ogyg.*, Part iii., c. 60, p. 313.

[6] *Bravery.* B. reads, Cendgaile ocus gaiscid einig ocus engnaṁa, ocus aoḃḋaċta an talman ina ré, ocus ina reimes. Doig ni airmitt seanchaiḋe co raiḃe re ré, ocus re reiṁes fein, neċ no congbaḋ sciat co fresteal imbualta do: "The head of the valour of bravery; munificence and liberality and beauty of the world in his time and in his career; for historians do not relate that there was any one in his time and in his

XCV. The front[1] of Brian's battalion and of the nobles of Erinn with him, was given to the[2] aforesaid impetuous, irresistible, troops, to the fine, intelligent, valiant, brave, active, lively heroes,[3] viz., to the heroic, victorious Dal Cais, and to the Clann Luighdeach likewise. At the head of these was the matchless, ever victorious, Hector, of the many-nationed heroic children of Adam,[4] namely, Murchadh, son of Brian, the yew of Ross,[5] of the princes of Erinn; the head of the valour and bravery,[6] and chivalry, munificence and liberality, and beauty, of the men of the world in his time, and in his career; for the historians of the Gaedhil do not relate, that there was any man of the sons of Adam in his time who could hold a shield in mutual interchange of blows with him. Along with him were also, Tordhelbach, his son,[7] the best crown prince of his time in Erinn, and Conaing, son of Doncuan, one of the three men[8] most valued by Brian, that were then in Erinn; and Niall Ua Cuinn, and Eochaidh, son of Dunadach, and Cudulligh, son of Cennetigh, the three rear guards[9] of Brian; and Domhnall, son of Diarmaid, king of Corcabhaiscinn, and the greater part of the men of bravery and valour of the Dal Cais along with them.[10] One very strong and great[11] battalion was also formed of the chosen hosts of all[12] Mumhain, and was stationed in the rear[13] of the former. At the head[14] of these was Mothla, son of Domhnall, son of Faelan, king of the Desii,[15] and Mangnus, son of Anmchadh, king of Ui Liathain,[16] and the brave and heroic of all Mumhain along with them.

Disposition of Brian's army.

The Dál Cais.

Their leaders.

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Their leaders.

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career that could hold a shield in mutual interchange of blows with him."

[7] *His son.* B. reads, ap aon pir .i. Toirrdhealbach an mac a aoiri, ocur an ridamna rop rearr ro bai in Erinn: "Along with him was Toirdhealbach [or Turlogh] the son of his age" [i.e., there was no other son of his time to be compared to him,] "and the best crown prince" [i.e., heir apparent to the crown,] "that was in Erinn." He was at this time but fifteen years of age.—*Ann. Clonm.*

[8] *Men.* B. reads, an treir fer ar tochu la Brian ro bai in Erinn.

[9] *Rear Guards.* Cúlcomeadaighe, B.

[10] *With them.* B. omits rin; and reads dna for tra, next sentence.

[11] *Strong and great.* Commór comnart, B.

[12] *All.* B. omits uli.

[13] *Rear.* Re a rálaib rin é, B.

[14] *At the head.* Romporin .i., B.

[15] *Desii.* Rí na nDéiri, B.

[16] *Ui Liathain.* Maghnur mac Anmchadha rí ua Liathain ocur

The battalion of Connaught and their leaders.

XCVI. Δo ratad, δna, cat̆ Conac̆t im Maelruanaid Ua nEδin, ocus im Tadg Ua Cellaig, rí Ua Mani, ocus Moelruanaid mac Murgiusa, ri Muintiri Maelruanid, ocus im Δomnall Ua Concenind, ri Ua nΔiarmada, ocus im Ualgarg mac Cerin, ocus im mat̆ib Conac̆t uli ina δeġaid sein.

Brian's Danish auxiliaries.

Δa coirgead δeic̆ mormair Ƀriain cona ngall socraitib ar in δara cimair δon cat̆. Δa corgead Fergal Ua Ruairc, ocus u Ƀriuin, ocus Conmacni umi, ar in cimair cle δon cat̆ cetna.

The battalion of Maelsechlain and the men of Meath.

Ro bai, δna, Maelseclaind, mac Δomnaill, ri Temrac̆, ocus cat̆ fer Midi umi, ocus ni ro faimside comc̆oroc̆uδ re cac̆ etir, uair ba hi comarli gall in aiδaic̆ remi δó, clad [δo c̆ur] etorro ocus gaill, ocus mini insaigtis siun gaill, ni insaigfitis gaill iatsium, ocus is amlaid sin δa ronsat, uair ro bi in δroc̆omarlli etorro.

The post assigned to Murchadh, son of Brian.

XCVII. Atberait, imorro, araili senc̆aidi Muman, conid tre cat̆ Δesmuman bai Murc̆aδ, mac Ƀriain, ocus a t̆eglac̆ .i. sec̆t fic̆it mac rig bai ina commaiteac̆t, uair ni rabi rig oen tuat̆i in Erind can a mac no can a brat̆air i teglac̆ Murc̆aid, uair ribe tigerna amsac̆ Erend, ocus a macan é, δar heis Aeδa Ui Neill. Atberait conid aird in aird batar in δa cat̆ .i. cat̆ Δesmuman, ocus cat̆ Tuaδmuman, ocus is follus assо conid fir sein, uair in tan batar i corucuδ na cat̆, δa cuaid Murc̆aδ eδ urcair re cac̆ δinsaigtid gall.

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treóin ocus treitill Muman uile, B.

[1] *Ua-n-Eidhin.* O nEiδin, B., i.e., O'Heyne.

[2] *King.* Im rí, B.

[3] *Maelruanaidh.* B. reads, ocus im Maolruanaiδ mac Muirgiosa, ocus im Ualgarg mac Ceirín, ocus im maitib Connac̆t uile na nδeġaiδ sein.

[4] *Between them.* The two paragraphs beginning δa coirgead, line 7, and ending etorro, line 17, of this page, are omitted in B. The words δo c̆ur, line 14, are inserted as necessary to the sense.

[5] *Historians.* B. reads, Atberat imorro araile gonáδ re ccat̆ Δesmuṁan ro bai Murc̆aδ: "Others, however, say that it was

XCVI. The battalion of Conacht also, was led by Maelruanaidh Ua-n-Eidhin,[1] and by Tadhg Ua Cellaigh, king[2] of Ui Mani, and by Maelruanaidh,[3] son of Murghius, king of Muintir Maelruanaidh; and by Domhnall, grandson of Cuceninn, king of Ui nDiarmada; and with Ualgarg, son of Cerin, and with the nobles of all Conacht along with him.

The battalion of Connaught and their leaders.

The ten great stewards of Brian were drawn up, with their foreign auxiliaries, on one side of the army. Fergal Ua Ruairc, and the Ui Briuin, and the Conmaicne, were ordered to the left wing of the army.

Brian's Danish auxiliaries.

Maelsechlainn also, son of Domhnall, king of Temhair, and the battalion of the men of Midhe, with him, were next; but he consented not to be placed along with the rest; because the counsel of the foreigners on the preceding night was that he should put a ditch between him and the foreigners; and that if he would not attack the foreigners, the foreigners would not attack him; and so it was done, for the evil understanding was between them.[4]

The battalion of Maelsechlain and the men of Meath.

XCVII. Some of the historians[5] of Mumhain, however, say that Murchadh, son of Brian, was placed, mixed with the battalion of Desmumhain, along with his company, namely, seven score sons of kings that were in attendance upon him; for there was not a king of any one tribe in Erinn, who had not his son or his brother[6] in Murchadh's household; for he[7] was the lord of the volunteers of Erinn, and of her sons, next to Aedh Ua Neill. They say that the two battalions were side by side, namely, the battalion of Desmumhain, and the battalion of Tuadhmumhain, and it is clear that this is true[8]; for when they were arranging[9] the battalion, Murchadh went forward beyond the rest a

The post assigned to Murchadh, son of Brian.

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before the battalion of Desmumhain [Desmond, or South Munster] that Murchadh was placed."

[6] *Brother.* Ꞥo a bꞃaṫaiꞃ, B.

[7] *For he.* Ꞃibe, for ꞃob é, D. Uaiꞃ ꞃob é Muꞃchaḋ ꞇiġeꞃna amꞃaċ Eꞃenꞇ, aꞃ éiꞃ Aoḋa i Ꞥéill, B.

[8] *True.* Aꞃnꞃo ġuꞃ ꞃíꞃ ꞃin, B.

[9] *Arranging.* Aġ coꞃuccaḋ na ccaꞇ, B.

Altercation between Murchadh and Domhnall, son of Emin.

Ro cuir imorro Brian Domnall mac Emin, da rad re Murčad scibiud ara culu co mbeit aird in aird ocus Dálcais. Da luid Domnall mac Emin, ocus ro raid fri Murčad sein. Asbert Murčad ba diuit meta a comarli, uair da mbeit a hoenur ar lar Feda Gabli, ni berad oen traig ar culu re feraib Erend, cia dearad neč frisi tečead i fiadnaisi gall ocus goedel. Ised, dna, fodera mat̆i Desmuman uli do marbud and, triall lenmnana Murčaid doib ic timcellad na gall, ocus na nAnmargac. Asbert Domnall mac Emin fri Murčad, is olc do gne, a rig milid, cid mor do meisneč. Asbert Murčad bai adlug do, uair isočaidi do droč oclaičaib no lecfead a cuit cat̆a [do] fair co deread lae. Asbert mac Emin ni he fein no lecfead; ocus ba fir do som sen uair da čomaill.

Dunlang O'Hartugan prophecies his own and Murchadh's death.

XCVIII. Ro coraigit na cat̆a aird in aird iarsin. Is and sin da decastair Murčad seca ocus it connaic da leit̆ deis cuigi ina comarcist in toen oclač mor menmač, mileta, meardalač, sainemail, sarudčuid, sit̆amail, data, diriuč, degdenmač, .i. Dunlang O hArtugan, ocus aičnigis e, ocus tuc tri caiscemi in agid, ocus tairbiris poic do, ocus ferais failti fris, ocus A gilli, ar se, is fata co tanacais čugaind, ar se, ocus is mor in grad mna, ocus clemna duit mo

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[1] *Hand's cast.* Nurċuir re ccaċ dionnsaiġid gall, B.

[2] *Then.* B. omits imorro.

[3] *To tell.* Da rada re Murchaḋ sóḋ for cúla, B.

[4] *His counsel.* Domhnall, it seems, did not tell Murchadh that the counsel came from his father. B. reads, Do luiḋ Doṁnall ocus ro ráid le Murchaḋ clóḋ. Ro raiḋ Murchaḋ ro ba díuit, meta a ċoṁairle, 7c.

[5] *He was.* B. reads, ocus ro ráiḋ da.

[6] *Fidh Gaibhle.* "The wood of Gaibhle" (now *Figile*), King's county, near Portarlington. See above, chap. lxxix.; from which it appears that the trees from this wood were in part the cause of the breach between Brian and Maelmordha, king of Leinster; and it is probable that the wood Fidh Gaibhle was one of the disputed border frontiers. This seems the real explanation of the above very obscure passage. B. reads, ar lar feḋa gaiḃle, ní ṫiúḃraḋ aon troiġ ar ccúla re fferaiḃ Erenn, ocus is luġa ro teiċfeḋ.

[7] *Reason.* B. omits dna.

[8] *All.* B. omits uli.

[9] *Follow.* Leanaṁna, B.

hand's cast[1] to attack the foreigners. Then[2] Brian sent Domhnall, son of Emin, to tell[3] Murchadh to fall back until he should be on a line with the Dalcais. Domhnall, son of Emin, went and told this to Murchadh. Murchadh answered that his counsel[4] was timid and cowardly; for if he was[5] alone in the midst of Fidh Gaibhle,[6] he would not retreat one step backwards before the men of Erinn, why then should any one ask him to retreat, in presence of the Gaill and Gaedhil. And the reason[7] why the nobles of all[8] Desmumhan were killed there, was because they endeavoured to follow[9] Murchadh to surround the foreigners[10] and Danmarkians. Domhnall, son of Emin,[11] said to Murchadh, "thy countenance is bad, O royal champion, although thy courage is great." Murchadh answered that he had[12] cause for that, because many a false hero[13] would leave his share of the battle to him at the end of the day.[14] The son of Emin[15] said that he would not leave his share. And he said truly; for he fulfilled his promise.[16]

Altercation between Murchadh and Domhnall, son of Emin.

XCVIII. The battalions[17] were placed side by side after that. Then Murchadh looked to one side and beheld approaching him, on his right side, alone, the heroical, courageous, championlike, active, beautiful, strong, bounding, graceful, erect, impetuous, young hero, Dunlang O'Hartugan; and he recognised him and made three springs to meet him, and he kissed him, and welcomed him; and "O youth," said he, "it is long until thou comest unto us; and great must be the love and attachment of some woman to thee, which has induced

Dunlang O'Hartugan prophecies his own and Murchadh's death.

[10] *Foreigners.* Na ngaill ocus na nDanmarcc, B. A distinction is here drawn between the *Gaill* and the *Danes.*

[11] *Son of Emin.* Aṫbert Domnall re Murchaḋ, B.

[12] *He had.* Ro bai, B.

[13] *False hero.* Droch laochaiḃ ro léicfeaḋ, B. The do seems superfluous in D., and is therefore given within brackets.

[14] *Day.* Fair re noiḋe, B., "before that night."

[15] *Son of Emin.* Domnall, B.

[16] *His promise.* Do Domnall sin, ocus ro comaill, B. This narrative seems to show that there was dissension or jealousy amongst the leaders of Brian's army.

[17] *The battalions.* The whole of this chapter is omitted in B.

tregudsa, ocus tregud Briain, ocus Conaing, ocus Dončaid, ocus mať Dálcais arčena, ocus aibni Erend cos aniu. Truag sin, am, a ri, ar Dunlang, is mo intaibnius do treigius ort, da festasu é, .i. beťa can bas, can uačt, can itaid, can accurus, can ircra, ar maiťius do mať uisaib in talman dam co brať, ocus nem ar mbrať amač, ocus muna ťucaindsea bretir ritsu, ni ticfaind andso; ocus fos a beiť indan dam bas dagbail in la da gebtasu bas. In baigiubsa bas anniu, am? ar Murčad. Da geba, am, ar Dunlang, ocus do geba Brian, ocus Conaing, ocus urmor mať Erend, ocus Tairdelbač do mac. Ní faiť maiť comraic annosa eter, ar Murčad, ocus da biad accaind scela nidaresait ort; ačt em cena, ar Murčad, is menic tarcas damsa i siťaib, ocus i siťbrugaib, in beťa sin, ocus na comada, ocus nir treigius oen aidči mo tir, no mo ducus oro. Cuič eter, ar Dunlung, bad fer letsu do dingbail dit anniud. Itait and siut, ar Murčad, se fir dec neoč is taiseač longsi, ocus is fer comlaind cet cač oen duni dib, ar muir ocus ar tir, cenmota Brotor, ocus Cornabbliteoc, ocus Maelmorda, ocus Lagin arčena. Leic damsa, am, ar Dunlang, Cornabbliteoc, ocus da ria lem ní is mo, do gen do congnum let fos. Is díulaing in feidm sin am, ar Murčad, a Dunlang, da festasu é.

Order of the battle.

XCIX. Cid, tra, ačt, is andsin ro comardaigit, ocus ro čoraigit na caťa cečtarda iad fon cor sin, ocus fon cuma, co refed carbat ceterrida on čind coraele don cať cečtarda, ocus ro turmed blod beim bailc,

[1] *Delight.* The word is now spelt aoiḃneas.

[2] *The hills.* Isiťaiḃ. See *O'Flah. Ogyg.*, III., c. 22, p. 200. This passage is a curious proof how long a belief in the Pagan deities of the Irish lingered in the country, mingled with Christianity. Dunlang declares that he was offered long life, worldly prosperity, and *heaven hereafter*, if he abandoned Murchadh; but he preferred certain death in battle to a breach of his engagement. Murchadh replies that he, also, had been offered in fairy mounds and palaces all worldly advantages, but never would abandon his country and his inheritance.

[3] *Cornabbliteoc.* Written *Corn-dabliteoc*, p. 153, *supra;* and see also chap. xcix., p. 183, *infra.*

[4] *Drawn up.* B. omits ocus ro ċoraigit

thee to abandon me; and to abandon Brian, and Conaing, and Donnchadh; and the nobles of Dal Cais in like manner, and the delights of Erinn until this day." "Alas, O king," said Dunlang, "the delight[1] that I have abandoned for thee is greater, if thou didst but know it, namely, life without death, without cold, without thirst, without hunger, without decay; beyond any delight of the delights of the earth to me, until the judgment; and heaven after the judgment; and if I had not pledged my word to thee, I would not have come here; and moreover it is fated for me to die on the day thou shalt die." "Shall I receive death this day, then?" said Murchadh. "Thou shalt receive it, indeed," said Dunlang, "and Brian, and Conaing, shall receive it, and almost all the nobles of Erinn, and Toirdhelbhach thy son." "This is not good encouragement to fight," said Murchadh, "and if we had such news we would not have told it to thee; but, however," said Murchadh, "often was I offered, in hills[2] and in fairy mansions, this world and these gifts; but I never abandoned for one night my country nor my inheritance for them." "What man," said Dunlang, "wouldst thou choose to be kept off thee this day." "There are yonder," said Murchadh, "sixteen men who are captains of fleets, and every one of them is a man to combat a hundred, on sea and on land; besides Brotor, and Cornabbliteoc,[3] and Maelmordha, and the Laighin also." "Leave to me, then," said Dunlang, "Cornabbliteoc; and if I can do more, thou shalt have my further aid." "That is a severe service, indeed," said Murchadh, "O Dunlang, if thou didst but know it."

XCIX. The battalions were now arranged and drawn up[4] on both sides, in such order and in such manner, that a four-horsed chariot could run from one end to the other of the line, on both sides[5]; and the battalions then made a stout, Order of the battle.

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[5] *Both sides.* Fon ccóir sin, ocus fon ccuma, co. reitfeḋ carpat ceithir riada on cind co araile don cath cechtarḋa ós a ccend, ar a ccomdlús, ocus ro fuirmeaḋ blodbéim, 7c., B. "In this order and in this manner; so that a four-horse chariot could run from one end to the other of the lines on either side, on their heads" [*i.e.* on the heads of the soldiers standing in line], "so compact were they."

bodba, barbarda, don cat̆ i cend araele. Uč, dna, ba hagt̆i namat im roe sen, ocus ni ba hagt̆i carat im cuirm. Ocus ro cumnig ceč̆tarde dib a digugra daraile. Ocus ro insaig cač̆ araile dib. Ocus ba ni do ingnadaib brat̆a tuarascbail in tromglesa sin do innisin. Ro erig em, badb disciṛ, dian, denmnetač̆, dasač̆tač̆, dur, duabseč̆, detcengtač̆, cruaid, croda, cosaitech, co bai ic screč̆aid ar luamain os a cennaib. Ro eirgetar am bananaig, ocus boccanaig, ocus geliti glinni, ocus amati adgaill, ocus siabra, ocus seneoin, ocus demna admíltı aeoir, ocus firmaminti, ocus siabarsluag debil demnač̆, co mbatar a comgresač̆t, ocus i commorad aig ocus irgaili leo.

Birds and demons expecting their prey.

C. Ro comraicetar ardus and sin, Domnall mac Emin, mormaer Alban, o Brian, ocus Plait mac ri Loč̆land, tren milid gall; ar na rád do Plait in adaič̆ remi, ni rabi i nErind fer bad incomlaind do, do gab, imorro, Domnall mac Emin do laim é, fač̆etoir, ocus ba cuimneč̆ ceč̆tar de, ar maitin. Is arsin tanic Plait a cat̆ na lureač̆ amač̆, ocus asbert fo t̆ri, Faras Domnall? .i. cait ita Domnall? Ro recair Domnall, ocus asbert, Sund, a sniding, ar se. Ro comraicsetar iarsun, ocus ro gab cač̆ ic airlleč̆ araile dib, ocus itrocair ceč̆tar reraile, ocus is

The combat of Domhnall, son of Eimin, with Plait.

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[1] *Each other.* Da ceile, B.

[2] *At a feast.* Uċ, dna, ba haiġt̆e náṁat imrae, ocus níṛ b̆o haiġt̆e carat im comdail. Ro ċuiṁniġ caċ díb̆ ceċtarḋe a ḋaiġ, ocus a acair da roile, ocus ba banna díoḋnaib̆ bráṫa, 7c., B.

[3] *To relate.* Re a innisin, B.

[4] *There arose.* Ro eiriġ dna badb̆ dian disciṛ, B.

[5] *Screaming.* Co mbai da ngresaċt, B.

[6] *Also.* Dna, B.

[7] *Maniacs.* Geilte glinne, ocus ammaide, B.

[8] *Destroying.* B. omits admiltı.

[9] *Firmament.* Firminnte, B.

[10] *Both parties.* B. reads, ocus siab̆ar sluaġ denmnedeċ co rabatar occa ngresaċt, ocus aga ccommaideṁ in aiġiḋ áiġ ocus irgaile.

[11] *First.* Ro ċoṁraicetair annsin ar túṛ, .i. Doṁnall, 7c., B.

[12] *On Brian's side.* B. omits oBrian.

[13] *Night.* Inoiḋce reiṁe naċ raib̆e in Erinn, B.

[14] *Immediately.* B. omits imorro and fa ċetoir.

[15] *In the morning.* Ar a ġeallaḋ ar madain. Ar sin tainic Plait, 7c., B.

furious, barbarous, smashing onset on each other.[1] But, alas! these were the faces of foes in battle-field, and not the faces of friends at a feast.[2] And each party of them remembered their ancient animosities towards each other, and each party of them attacked the other. And it will be one of the wonders of the day of judgment to relate[3] the description of this tremendous onset. And there arose[4] a wild, impetuous, precipitate, furious, dark, frightful, voracious, merciless, combative, contentious, vulture, screaming[5] and fluttering over their heads. And there arose also[6] the satyrs, and the idiots, and the maniacs[7] of the valleys, and the witches, and the goblins, and the ancient birds, and the destroying[8] demons of the air and of the firmament,[9] and the feeble demoniac phantom host; and they were screaming and comparing the valour and combat of both parties.[10]

Birds and demons expecting their prey.

C. First[11] then were drawn up there, Domhnall, son of Eimin, high steward of Alban, on Brian's[12] side, and Plait, son of the king of Lochlainn, brave champion of the foreigners; because of Plait having said the night[13] before, that there was not a man in Erinn who was able to fight him, Domhnall, the son of Eimhin immediately[14] took him up, and each of them remembered this in the morning.[15] Then Plait came forth from the battalion of the men in armour, and said three times, "Faras Domhnall,"[16] that is, "where is Domhnall?" Domhnall answered and said, "Here, thou reptile," said he. They fought then,[17] and each of them endeavoured to slaughter the other; and

The combat of Domhnall, son of Eimin, with Plait.

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[16] *Faras Domhnall.* B. reads, Fueris Doṁnall, Fueris Doṁnall? Suna ar Doṁnall. This word *Faras*, or *Fueris*, seems an attempt to represent the old Danish.

[17] *They fought then.* B. gives the remainder of this paragraph thus: Ro ċomhreicsetar iaram, ocus ro gaḃ caċ diḃ ac airleaċ ocus aṫċuma a ċeile a ccédoir. Ciḋ tra aċt itrocratar comtuitim re ċéile, ocus isamlaid ro friṫ iad ar na ṁárac, ocus folt ceċtair de i ndorn araile, ocus a cclaiḋme tre ċroiḋiḃ a ċéile: "They fought then, and endeavoured each to slaughter and mangle the other. And they fell slain by each other, and they were found in the morning thus—the hair of each in the fist of the other, and the sword of each through the heart of the other."

amlaid ro tuitset ocus claidium cečtar de tre cridi araile, ocus folt cečtar de i ndurnd a cele. Ocus ro be sin a cet comlond na dessi sin.

The combat of Dunlang of the Liffey with the Ui Briuin and Conmaicni.

CI. Ise dan bi ar imell cat̆a na nallmarač, Dunnall mac Tuat̆ail, ri Lip̆i, .x. cet fer narmač nincomlaind. Tarlla do i cimais cat̆a Briain cucu sen a comlin ocus a comadais ar arium, ocus ar imad, .i. Fergal uRuairc, ocus Domnall mac Ragailig, ocus Gilla na noem mac Domnaill O Fergail, ocus mat̆i O Briuin ocus Conmacni arčena. Ačtmad oen ni cena, da cromatar sen ara celi, ocus ro delaigetar on cat̆ mor amač, corabi fed cusboir etorro don leit atuaid don mor cat̆, ocus ro gabatar ic tregdad, ocus ic tren tescad araile. Ro ba comadis, am, airm, ocus errind, ocus ecosc cečtar de dibsen. Daig ni tuc nec dib sen do uid no da airi olc da nernad i Cluain Tarb in la sin, ač̆t in nernatar fein etorro dulc ocus desaintu re č̆ele, ač̆t isuail nar marbatar sin uli aceli, ocus ni armit senčaidi co ndečaid dO Briuin ocus do Conmacnib as, ač̆t oen cet ar oen re Fergal, ocus ro dilairgit uli u Cendselaig and, ocus mebais forro fodeoid co cat̆ na lureč. Uair roba gairit in caill comarč̆i uat̆ib iat, ocus a feidm cat̆a forro, ocus a ndruim riu; cor po andsin imcastair .ix. bur do teglač Fergail ar Dunlang mac Tuat̆ail, ocus ro marbsat é, ocus ro dicenstair Mac in Trin é, taiseač ločta taigi Fergail esein, ocus tuc leis in cend cum Fergail da comudium ris. Ocus tecait iarsin, in becan ro batar, i cend cat̆a Briain, ocus i ndegaid mergi Murčaid, ocus mergi Fergail accu andsein, etrubuas artotim a mergead uli, ocus ar marbad a tigernad .i. x. mergi ocus tri fič̆it.

Dunlang beheaded.

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[1] *Pirates.* The word used is allmarač. The whole of this chapter is omitted in B.

[2] *Dunnall.* This must be intended for Dunlang, son of Tuathal, king of Leinster, who died the same year (but not in the battle), according to the Ann. of Ulster and Four Masters. He is called Dunlang lower down in this chapter.

they fell by each other, and the way that they fell was, with the sword of each through the heart of the other; and the hair of each in the clinched hand of the other. And the combat of that pair was the first [of the battle].

CI. The person who was on the flank of the battalion of the pirates,[1] was Dunnall,[2] son of Tuathal, king of Liphe, with ten hundred men armed for battle. There met him on the flank of Brian's forces, against these, their equal in numbers and in might, namely, Ferghail Ua Ruairc, and Domhnall, son of Raghallach; and Gilla-na-Noemh, son of Domhnall O'Ferghail, and the nobles of the Ui Briuin and Conmaicni also. But now these attacked each other, and they detached themselves from the great body of the army, until there was the distance of a bow shot between them, on the north side of the great body; and they began to stab and hew each other. But these parties were equally matched in arms, in vesture, and in appearance. And none of them paid any attention to any evil that was done at Cluain-Tarbh on that day, excepting the evil and contention which they mutually occasioned against each other. But they very nearly killed each other altogether; and historians do not relate that there survived of the Ui Briuin and Conmaicni, more than one hundred, with Ferghal Ua Ruairc; and the entire of the Ui Cendselaigh were routed there; and they were afterwards pursued to the battalion of the mail-clad men; for there was a wood of shelter near them, and they were in order of battle with their backs towards them; and it was then that nine of the household of Ferghal overtook Dunlang, the son of Tuathal, and killed him; and Mac an Trin, who was the captain of Ferghal's household, beheaded him, and he brought the head to Ferghal to congratulate him on it. And they went then, the few of them that were left, into Brian's battalion, and behind Murchadh's standard; and they had Ferghal's standard floating there, after the fall of all their other standards, and the killing of their chiefs, namely, ten standards and three score.

The combat of Dunlang of the Liffey with the Ui-Briuin and Conmaicni.

Dunlang beheaded.

The assault of the Dal Cais upon the Danes.

CII. Ro compaicset iarsin cath dolig, dibergach, dur-craideach, duabsech, dian, denmnetach, dasachtach, na nAnmargach, ocus in damraid dian, díulaind, direcra, ocus gamanraidh glan, gasda, gerata, garbeoda, galach, gnimach, rigda, rathmar, robladach, Dalcais, ocus macni Aillella Ulaim in oen inad. Ocus ro ferad cath fichda, fuleach, frithir, forderg, forruamanda, feochair, ferda, feramail, anmin, agarb, anniartha, escardemail, eturro diblinaib; ocus ro gab cach ar leod ocus letrad ocus ar tregdad, ocus ar tescad, ar airleach, ocus ar acumma a chele dib, ocus ro cirrbit, ocus ro gerrait cuirp coema, cuanna, cumdachta soercland suairc, segaind, sochomaind, soerbesach, andsen eturro. Ba comrac da comcruaid, ocus comaculuim da con-trarda in oen inad sein. Ocus ni suail in ni ris ba samalta, ocus nir bec in ni dar ba comchasmaill tor-andcles tailc, talchar, tinnensach, ocus trethan tend, tren, tairbtech, na muintiri sin leth ar leth. Ba com-chasmail lium em amail bad hi in nirmamint ilbrec, illathach, ingantach, no leicfead frais truim taidlenaig da reatlannaib ruthnecaib dar tond gnuisib in talman. No amail bad é srenngemnech scemda saignenda na nell nard naerda, ica cumasc ocus ica combrud do na goethaib ilib, ecsamla, cend i cend. No amail ba hi in nim ind, no in muir mear, moradbul, ocus gredan garb glifitech na cetri ngoeth ngluair, nglainidi, comcruaid, coir, contrarda, ac taitmech a mimosclund

[1] *Then.* Ro compaiceattar ann-sin, B.

[2] *Danmarkians.* B. reads, nAllmhurach, ocus damhraidh, dian, difhu-laing, difhreccra.

[3] *Champions.* "Gamhanraidh."—(See above, p. 166, note [3].) B. reads, gamhanraidh glangorda, gníomhachi, gairccbheodha, rioghdha.

[4] *And.* Om., B.

[5] *Furious, bloody.* B. reads, Ro fearadh cath frithir, fíchda, fuileach, forderg, feochair, forruamanda, fearrdha, fearamhail, ainmín.

[6] *And.* Om., B.

[7] *Cleave.* Ag leodh ocus ag ledradh araile, ag tregradh, ocus ag teasccadh, acc airleach, ocus acc atchuma a cheile díbh. Ro cirrbadh cuirp saerclann soibhesach socumainn etorra, B.

[8] *Moving.* B. reads, ocus ba comh-fotal.

The assault of the Dal Cais upon the Danes.

CII. Then[1] the fearful, murderous, hard-hearted, terrific, vehement, impetuous, battalion of the Danmarkians,[2] and the vehement, irresistible, unanswerable phalanx; and the fine, intelligent, acute, fierce, valorous, mighty, royal, gifted, renowned, champions[3] of the Dal Cais, and all the descendants of Oilioll Olum met in one place; and[4] there was fought between them a battle, furious, bloody,[5] repulsive, crimson, gory, boisterous, manly, rough, fierce, unmerciful, hostile, on both sides; and[6] they began to hew and cleave,[7] and stab, and cut, to slaughter, to mutilate each other; and they maimed, and they cut comely, graceful, mailed bodies of noble, pleasant, courteous, affable, accomplished men on both sides there. That was the clashing of two bodies of equal hardness, and of two bodies moving[8] in contrary directions, in one place.[9] And it is not easy to imagine what to liken it to; but to nothing small[10] could be likened the firm, stern, sudden, thunder-motion; and the stout, valiant, haughty billow-roll of these people on both sides. I could compare it only to the variegated, boundless, wonderful firmament,[11] that had cast a heavy sparkling shower of flaming stars over the surface[12] of the earth; or to the startling[13] fire-darting roar of the clouds and the heavenly orbs, confounded and crashed by all the winds, in contention, against each other. Or to the summit of heaven,[14] or to the rapid, awfully great sea, and the fierce, contentious roaring of the four transparent, pure, harsh, directly opposing winds, in the act of breaking loose[15] from the order of their respective positions.

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[9] *Place.* B. omits ſein, and adds ocuſ nir bo ſuaill.

[10] *Small.* Lit., "Small is not the thing to which could be likened." B. reads, ocuſ níṙ becc an ní ṙiſ ba coṁcoſṁail toṙannċleſ tailc, talcaṙ, tinneſnaċ, ocuſ tṙeaṫan tend taiṙṙteaċ, 7c.

[11] *Firmament.* Ba coſṁail lem aṁail buḋ í an ḟiṙmaṁent ilḃṙeac ingantaċ, ildaṫaċ, no leiccṙeaḋ ṙṙaſ tṙom taiḋleaċ, B.

[12] *Surface.* Tonngnuiſ, B.

[13] *Startling.* Sṙendgeimneaċ ſaiġnenda na néll naeṙḋa, aga ccumuſc ocuſ aga ccombuaiḋṙeaḋ, ocuſ aga ccombṙúġaḋ dona gaoṫaiḃ ilib examlaiḃ cend i ccend, B.

[14] *Summit of heaven.* Lit., "heaven's head." B. omits these words, and reads, no aṁail buḋ í muiṙn meṙ móṙ adbal, "or to the noise of the awfully great sea."

[15] *Breaking loose.* Ag taiṫmeaċ

ic scailiuḋ. No amail baḋ he in brat̆ bailc borrfuḋac̆ tiraḋ ḋar cumscucuḋ is ḋo ḋiscailiuḋ comoenta, na cetar ḋula cumḋaigti, ḋo bruḋ, ocus ḋo bit̆ brec̆taḋ in ḋomain ḋuinḋ is ḋacra ar a cenḋ. Ba samalta lem re cac̆ ní ḋib sin, bloḋbeim bailc, baḋba, barbarḋa sciat̆ sciamḋa, scelbocoḋech, rut̆nec̆, ruaḋ retlannac̆, clainni Luḋeac̆, fo tuagaib talci taiḋlec̆aib na nanar nur nḋibercac̆, ica comac̆, ocus ica combruḋ, ocus gleḋen gluair glainiḋi claiḋium cruaiḋ, colgḋiriuch Ḋalcais, ac coccetul cruaiḋ, comnert, fri lurec̆aib lut̆mara, lainḋerḋa, treḋualac̆a, tailc̆i, tren trebraiḋ na nanmargac̆ allmarḋa iccnam comac̆ corp, ocus cenḋmullac̆ friu, corabi a nuaim ocus a fogor ocus a macalla sen i nuamaib, ocus in nalltaib, ocus i cailltib comaicsib ḋoib. Cor ba feiḋim aḋbulmor ḋona cat̆aib cec̆tarḋa imganaḋ a rosg rinḋ glas, ocus a ngruaḋ nglan gasta for na critrib troma tenḋiḋi ro tafnitis rigmiliḋ Clanni Lugḋeach a hinnib aithi aicbeli na claiḋium lusnec̆ lainḋerḋa, ac sraigleḋ, ocus ic sletgairi na lurec̆, ḋronḋrulinec̆ ḋib. Ocus ro forgleṡtar na Gaill ocus na Gaillseac̆a bataṙ uat̆ib ac feit̆ium ar scemleaḋ Ac̆ta Cliat̆ eḋ raḋairc, co faictis saigneana tentiḋi fon aer eraḋbul ar cac̆ let̆ uat̆ib.

The battle seen from the towers of Dublin.

Account given by Maelsechlainn, king of Tara.

CIII. Is ni ḋa orgeall sin in tuarascbail tuc Maelseclainḋ mac Ḋomnaill, ri Temrac̆, forsin nesarcain sin, in tan bataṙ Clanna Colmain ic iarfaigt̆i tuar-

ocus ag trenscaileḋ im ní, nó aṁail biḋ é an brat̆ bailc borrfaḋach tíoraḋ ḋo cumscucchaḋ ocus ḋo ḋiansccaileḋ, ocus ḋo brisseḋ comaentaḋ, B.

[1] *Crush.* Ḋo brisseḋ ocus ḋo bit̆ brec̆taḋ an ḋomain, B., omitting the remainder of the sentence.

[2] *Strong.* B. omits baḋba.

[3] *Target-bossed.* Scellbolgac̆ ruit̆enruaḋ, B.

[4] *Ludech.* B. reads more correctly, Cloinne Lugḋeac̆; "the Clann Luighdech," or descendants of Lugaid; as in line 18 of this page. See Geneal. Table III., *Append.* B.

[5] *Glassy.* Taiḋleac̆a na nḊanar, B.

[6] *Powerful.* Co cruaiḋ, B.

[7] *Free.* Fri luireachaiḃ lut̆ṁaraiḃ lainnerḋaiḃ na nḊanmarcc nAllmarḋa, B.

[8] *With them*: i.e., with their swords. B. omits friu.

[9] *So that.* Co raiḃe a ffuaim, ocus a nesorccain, ocus a macalla

Or to the stern terrific judgment-day that had come, to confound, and break down the unity of the four surrounding elements, to crush[1] and finally shiver the compact world, and to take vengeance on it. To all these could I compare the smashing, powerful, strong,[2] barbarous, shield-shining, target-bossed,[3] red, sparkling, starry onset of the Clann Ludech,[4] under the stout bright axes of the stern, murderous Danars, mutilating, and crushing them; and the gleaming, bright, glassy,[5] hard, straight swords of the Dal Cais, in hard, powerful[6] clashing against the free,[7] sparkling, thrice-riveted, stout, powerful, protective armour of the piratical Danmarkians, smashing with them[8] the bones of their bodies and their skulls, so that[9] the sound of them, and the uproar of them, and the echo of them were reverberated from the caverns, and from the cliffs, and from the woods in the neighbourhood; and it became a work of great difficulty to the battalions[10] on both sides to defend their clear sparkling eyes, and their flushed bright cheeks from the heavy showers of fiery sparks which were sent forth by the royal champions of the Clann Lughdech from the sharp fearful points of their bright gleaming swords, in hacking and cutting[11] the firmly hooked mail-coats off them; and it was attested by the foreigners and foreign women[12] who were watching from the battlements of Ath Cliath, as they beheld, that they used to see flashes of fire from them in the expanse of air on all sides.

The battle seen from the towers of Dublin.

CIII. Another attestation[13] of this is the description which Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall, king of Temhair, gave of that crush,[14] when the Clann Colmain asked

Account given by Maelsechlainn, king of Tara.

ı nuamaiḃ, ocuṡ anaillaiḃ, ocuṡ ı ccoillṫiḃ coṁfoicṡiḃ, B.

[10] *Battalions.* Do ṙoṡcaiḃ ṙinɔgḷaṡa na ccaṫ ccéṫaṙɔ́a ıngḷanaɔ́ na ṡúl, ocuṡ na ngṙuaɔ́ ngaṡta aṙ na cıṫṙiḃ ṫṙoma ṫeınnṫıɔ́e ṙo ṫaıfnıɔíṡ, 7c., B.

[11] *Cutting.* Ag ṡṙaıġleaɔ́ ocuṡ ag eṡoṙccaın na luıṙeaċ nɔṙon, nɔṙuılıneċ, B. omitting ɔiḃ.

[12] *Foreign women.* D. reads na ngall ocuṡ na ngaillṡeac, which is ungrammatical. The reading of B. has, therefore, been followed, where the whole passage is as follows:—Ocuṡ ṙo ḟoıṙccleɔaṙ na gaıll ocuṡ na gaıllṡeċa baṫṫaṙ aṙ ṡceıṁleaɔ́aiḃ Aṫa Cliaṫ co ṙaıcɔíṡ eaɔ ṙaɔ́aıṙc uaṫaiḃ na ṡaıġnena ṫeınnṫıɔ́e ṙón aeṙ aṙ gaċ leṫ.

[13] *Attestation.* Foıṙgell, B.

[14] *Crush.* An ımeṡoṙccaın, B.

aſcbala ın caťa ꝺó. Iſ anꝺ aſbeꝛt, nuč̆u nacaſa cať maꝛ e ꝛıam, ocuſ noč̆o cuala a č̆oſmaıl, ocuſ cıꝺ anꝫel ꝺe ꝺo beꝛaꝺ a tuaꝛaſcbaıl ıſ ꝺıč̆ꝛeıtmı lem ꝺa ꝼeꝺaꝺ. Ač̆t oen nı ꝼoꝛſ a taꝛlla maıꝛıſea anꝺ, ın tan ꝛo comꝛaıcſet a cetoıꝛ ꝛo ꝫab cač̆ ıc tꝛeꝫꝺaꝺ a celı ꝺıb. Ꝺaı ꝫoꝛt ocuſ claꝺ etꝛaınnı ocuſ ıat, ocuſ ın cꝛuaꝺ ꝫoeť eꝛꝛč̆aıꝺı taꝛſtıb cucaınꝺ, ocuſ nı ꝼatı na ꝼeaꝺ ꝛıſ a mblıꝫꝼea bó, no ꝺa baı, bamaꝛ anꝺ, ın tan nač̆ tıbꝛeꝺ ꝺunı ꝺon ꝺa cať ač̆nı aꝛ celı, cıꝺe a mac no a bꝛať̆aıꝛ baꝺ comꝼaꝫuſ ꝺo, mını ť̆uꝫaꝺ aıč̆nı aꝛ a ꝫuť̆, no a ꝼıſ ꝛemı accı ın tınaꝺ a mbıaꝺ, aꝛ naꝛ lınaꝺ eteꝛ cenꝺ, ocuſ aꝫıꝺ, ocuſ etuč̆, ꝺo bꝛoenꝫaıl na ꝼola ꝼoꝛꝛuamanꝺa la ꝼoꝫꝛan na ꝫoeti ꝫlanꝼuaıꝛ, baı taꝛſtıb č̆ucaınꝺ. Ocuſ ꝫıꝺ ꝺeꝫenꝫnum baꝺ aıl ꝺuın ꝺo ꝺenum, nı ꝼetꝼamaıſ; ꝺaıꝫ ꝛo cenꝫlaıt, ocuſ ꝛo cuıbꝛıꝫıt a nꝫae oſ a cennaıb ꝺa ꝼolταıb ꝼaıꝺb ꝛo ť̆aꝼaınꝺ ın ꝫoeť̆ cuꝫaınꝺ, aꝛ na teſcaꝺ ꝺo claıꝺmıb colꝫꝺıꝛꝫıb, ocuſ ꝺo ť̆uaꝫaıb taıꝺleč̆aıb, coꝛ ba let monuꝛ ꝺuın beıť̆ ıc ꝛeꝺıuꝫuꝺ ocuſ ıca ť̆aıꝼneač̆. Ocuſ ba ꝺo beccaıb Eꝛenꝺ aꝛ aꝛ mo ꝺenꝫnum ꝺon luč̆t ꝛo oꝺaım ın meſaꝛꝫaın ſın ınnaſ ꝺunı ꝼoꝺmač̆taın a ꝼeꝫť̆a can toč̆t ꝛe ꝫaıť̆ no aꝛ ꝼeanꝼuꝺ.

The combat of Dunlang O'Hartigan with Cornabliteoc.

CIV. Ꝺala Ꝺunlaınꝫ, ımoꝛꝛo, tanıc ma cať̆ na nallmaꝛač̆ ocuſ nı ť̆uc cacıll aꝛ neč̆ ꝺıb, uaıꝛ nı ꝛabı caꝛa ꝺo Ꝫallaıb accı eteꝛ. Ocuſ ꝛo ınſaıꝫ Coꝛnabblıteoc ocuſ tuc cač̆ ač̆uſan anmın aꝫaꝛb anıaꝛmaꝛtač̆ ꝺa č̆elı ꝺıb. Iſ anꝺ ſın tancataꝛ tꝛıuꝛ ꝺo muıntıꝛ Coꝛnablıteoc aꝛ a belaıb, ocuſ tucſat tꝛı ſaıtı ın oenꝼeč̆t aꝛ Ꝺunlanꝫ. Ač̆t maꝺ ení č̆ena

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[1] *Asked him.* A ccınꝺ míſ na ꝺ̇eꝫhaıꝺ̇ ſın aꝫ ꝼıaꝛꝼaıꝺ̇e ſcél ꝺe, B.: "At the end of a month afterwards, asking him for an account of it."

[2] *He said.* From this place the differences between the two MSS. are so frequent and considerable that, instead of loading the pages with various readings the Editor has given the text of B. at full in the Appendix C. Keating, from another source, has inserted this narrative in his history. Dr. O'Donovan gives Lynch's Latin translation of it, *Four Mast.*, p. 776.

[3] *And it is.* These words, to the end of the chapter, are omitted in B. Keating reads, ba ꝺóıꝫ̇ lınn naꝛ ṁó ꝺulc ꝺon ꝺꝛoınꝫ baoı ſan ꝫcať ıona ꝺ̇úınne ꝼulonꝫ a bꝼaıꝫſıone ꝫan aꝛ nꝺol aꝛ ꝼaoınneal, ocuſ aꝛ ꝼolua ṁaın. "And it is doubtful to us whether those engaged in the

him[1] for an account of the battle. It was then he said,[2] "I never saw a battle like it, nor have I heard of its equal; and even if an angel of God attempted its description, I doubt if he could give it. But there was one circumstance that attracted my notice there, when the forces first came into contact, each began to pierce the other. There was a field, and a ditch, between us and them, and the sharp wind of the spring coming over them towards us; and it was not longer than the time that a cow could be milked, or two cows, that we continued there, when not one person of the two hosts could recognise another, though it might be his son or his brother that was nearest him, unless he should know his voice, and that he previously knew the spot in which he was; we were so covered, as well our heads as our faces, and our clothes, with the drops of gory blood, carried by the force of the sharp cold wind which passed over them to us. And even if we attempted to perform any deed of valour we were unable to do it, because our spears over our heads had become clogged and bound with long locks of hair, which the wind forced upon us, when cut away by well-aimed swords, and gleaming axes; so that it was half occupation to us to endeavour to disentangle, and cast them off. And it is[3] one of the problems of Erinn, whether the valour of those who sustained that crushing assault was greater than ours who bore the sight of it without running distracted before the winds or fainting."

CIV. We must now speak of Dunlang.[4] He rushed on the host of the pirates, and spared not one of them, because he had no friendship at all for the foreigners. And he approached Cornabliteoc, and each of them made a rough, fierce, unmerciful assault on the other. Then came three of the people of Cornabliteoc in front of him, and they made three simultaneous thrusts at Dunlang. But, it was

The combat of Dunlang O'Hartigan with Cornabliteoc.

battle sustained more evil than the men who endured the sight of it without going mad or distracted."

[4] *Dunlang.* This evidently means Dunlang O'Hartigan (see chap. xcviii.) The whole of this chapter is omitted in B., as is also ch. xcviii, in which Dunlang was first mentioned.

ni hintib sin eter ro bi dil acobair Dunlaing, ac̆t i Cornablitеoc, uair tuc at̆cusan anmin, agarb, oengora, fair du gae, noc̆ da t̆ogaib a ṡaind, ocus noc̆ da metaig a menma, ocus noc̆ do lin a luat̆aigned, gor gab arrind anmin tremit etir corp is cnesetiud. Ga fascin seig do muintir Cornablitеoc da rigni-tar cro dangen, dibraict̆eac̆, durcraidec̆, ina timcell, ocus tucsatar na tri coecait da batar annagaid in oen abull ar Dunlang. Ac̆t oenni cena, nir cadus, ocus nir c̆omarci da tigerna in tanacul sin; daig da t̆oit re Dunlang cac̆ oen roan re himguin, ocus re himbualad dib, conac̆ raba eterna etorro co tucsatar sati santac̆a, ocus builleda brat̆a da cele. Ac̆t mad oenní cena, ise sin in tres compac is dolgi bai i Cluain Tarb in ningnais i nderna Murc̆ad do cnam comac̆ cend ocus coland. Doig ba trenruat̆ar tairb acci sein, ocus ba rut̆en rig mileb. Ac̆t ení cena, isuail nab comt̆uitim dun dana cat̆milid sin, ac̆t ise Dunlang do dic̆end esium.

Combat of Conaing and Maelmordha, king of Leinster.

CV. Dala Conaing; ro insaig seic ri Lagen .i. Maelmorda mac Murc̆ada, ocus do marbad .ui. fir dec do muntir cac̆ fir dib ar belaib a tigernad, cor compaicset fein, cor comt̆oitset re cele .i. Conaing, ri Desmuman, ocus Maelmorda, ri Lagen.

The battle between the army of Connaught and the Danes of Dublin.

CVI. Dala Conac̆t, imorro, ro insaigidar sein Gaill At̆a Cliat̆, ocus do gabadar ar cele, ocus ise sin in bualad dedenac̆ bai ar in muig sin, uair da marbad uli let̆ ar let̆ and iat, uair ni tanic beo as do Conac̆taib ac̆t oen cet, ocus nuc̆u dec̆aid du Gallaib At̆a Cliat̆ ac̆t oen fic̆i, ocus ic droc̆ut Dubgaill ro marbad in fer maderead dib .i. Arnaill Scot .i. isiat ro marb e luc̆t taigi Taidg Ui Cellaig. Dala imorro comlaind in cat̆a sin ocus a ec̆ta ni mo ina ic Dia ita a fis, uair cac̆ oen is mo ica miad a fis droc-

[1] *Combats:* meaning single combats, the other two being recorded, chaps. c. and ci.

[2] *Conaing.* He is afterwards called "King of Des-mhumha," or Desmond; but B., in both places, calls him "Conang, son of Donncuan;" showing that Conaing, Brian's nephew, was intended. See *Genealogical Table* III., Append. B.

[3] *Twenty.* B. says, "but nine." See Appendix C.

not on them Dunlang's desire and attention were fixed, but on Cornabliteoc; for he gave him a rough, fierce, rapid blow of a spear, by which his ardour was excited, and his spirit roused, and his active mind occupied; for its rough point passed through him, both body, and body-armour. When this was perceived by Cornabliteoc's people, they formed a firm, compact, hard-hearted circle around him; and the thrice fifty of them that were there, turned themselves at the same time against Dunlang. However, it is certain, that their defence procured neither respect nor mercy for their chief, for by Dunlang fell every one of them who waited to be wounded and beaten, until there remained no interposition between them; and they dealt ardent thrusts and fearful blows at each other. And this was one of the three hardest combats[1] that took place at Cluain Tarbh, besides what Murchadh performed, of bone-breaking of heads and bodies. For his was the fierce rushing of a bull, and the scorching path of a royal champion. But to return, these brave champions nearly fell by each other; Dunlang, however, beheaded him.

Combat of Conaing and Maelmordha, king of Leinster.

CV. We must next speak of Conaing.[2] He faced Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, king of Laghin, and sixteen men of the people were killed, each man of them, in front of his lord, before they themselves met, and fell by each other, viz., Conaing, king of Des-mhumha, and Maelmordha, king of Laghin.

The battle between the army of Connaught and the Danes of Dublin.

CVI. We speak next of the men of Conacht. They advanced to the foreigners of Ath Cliath, and they attacked each other. And that was the decisive defeat that took place on the plain; for they were [almost] all killed, on both sides, there, for there escaped alive from it of the men of Conacht, one hundred only; and there escaped of the foreigners of Ath Cliath, but twenty,[3] and it was at Dubhgall's Bridge the last man of these was killed, viz., Arnaill Scot, and those who killed him were the household troops of Tadhg Ua Cellaigh. The full events of that battle, however, and its deeds, God alone knows; because every one besides who could have had knowledge of it fell there on either side; and every man had sufficient

ratar and let ar let, ocus bai obair cac oen dib a fis a tuiructa fen ar met a ecni.

Panegyric on Murchadh, son of Brian.

CVII. Imtusa, imorro, Murcaid mic Briain, in rigmilid. Ro gabside a da claidium crosa comnerta .i. claidium ina deis, ocus claidium ina cle, uair is se sin duni dedenac ri ba comdeis imbualta da deis ocus da cli bai in nErind. Ise duni dedenac irrabi in firgaisced in Erind é. Ise tuc a bretir firlaig nac berad oen traig teigcid reisin ciniud doenna uli, ar coma sa bit, act minbad cinnti leis can ec tre bithu. Ise duni dedenac irrabi comlond cet in Erind e. Ise duni dedenac ro marb cet in oen lo e. Ise coscеim dedenac ruc in firgaisced in Erind e. Daig ised innisit sencaidi na nGoedel, morfesiur amail Murcad comlond Mac Shamain, ocus .uii. amail Mac Shamain comlond Luga Laga, ocus .uii. amail Lug Laga comlond Conaill Cernaig, ocus .uii. amail Conall Cernac comlond Loga Lamafata mic Etlenn, ocus .uii. amail Log Lamafata comlond Hectoir mac Priaim. Ocus conid iat sin uideda ocus imtecta in primgaiscid o tus in domain, ocus gunac beit in primgaisced reim Hector, uair naidin e conici sin, ocus nir inengnuma e ro hocci, ocus cona beit iar Murcad; uair senoir critac crindiblidi e o hin amac. Ocus cosmailliur aisi duneta tomtenaigit amlaid sin don gaisced ocus don domun ar nintamlugud intliucta. Ro be sin intEctoir intamlaigtech na Erend, ilbuadaigi, ar credium, ocus ar gail, ocus ar gaisced, ar eneac, ocus ar engnum. Robe sin in Samson suairc, socomaind, segdaind, soerbesac na nEbraidi, im socar ocus im sairi a atarda ocus a ceneoil re ré fen, ocus re amsir. Ro besin intErcoil totactac tanasi ro scris, ocus ro

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[1] *Because it:* meaning apparently the world. "Before Hector the world was in its infancy; after Murchadh it shall be in its old age and dotage."

[2] *Religion.* Ar credium, "in faith." The three lines, from Ro besin to ar engnum, are omitted in B.

[3] *Race.* B. has improved the sense by omitting the words "for the prosperity and freedom of his fatherland and of his race."

to do to know his own adventures, from the greatness of his distress.

Panegyric on Murchadh, son of Brian.

CVII. To return to Murchadh, son of Brian, the royal champion. He grasped his two valiant strong swords, viz., a sword in his right, and a sword in his left hand, for he was the last man in Erinn who had equal dexterity in striking with his right and with his left hand. He was the last man that had true valour in Erinn. It was he that pledged the word of a true champion, that he would not retreat one foot before the whole of the human race, for any reason whatsoever but this alone, that he might die of his wounds. He was the last man in Erinn who was a match for a hundred. He was the last man who killed a hundred in one day. His was the last step that true valour ever took in Erinn. For this is what the historians of the Gaedhil say, that seven like Murchadh, would be a match for Mac Samhain; and seven like Mac Samhain, a match for Lugh Lagha; and seven like Lugh Lagha, a match for Conall Cernach; and seven like Conall Cernach, a match for Lugh Lamha-fada, the son of Eithlenn; and seven like Lugh Lamha-fada, a match for Hector, the son of Priam. Such are the degrees and variations of illustrious championship from the beginning of the world; and there was no illustrious championship previous to Hector, because it[1] was only an infant till his time, and was not fit for action, nor shall there be after Murchadh, because it shall be a palsied drivelling dotard ever after. And thus championship and the world are compared with human life, according to intellectual metaphor. He was the metaphorical Hector of all-victorious Erinn, in religion,[2] and in valour, and in championship, in generosity, and in munificence. He was the pleasant, affable, intelligent, accomplished Samson of the Hebrews, for promoting the prosperity and freedom of his fatherland and of his race[3], during his own career and time. He was the second powerful Hercules,[4] who de-

[4] *Hercules.* D. reads, ιnτ Ɛcoιl: but B. gives the true reading, αnτ Ɛpcoιl, which has, therefore, been introduced into the text.

delaris piasta ocus toraċru a hErinn, ro sir laċa, ocus linti, ocus uamanna, na Fotla fondardi, ar naċ rabi dun no digenn is in domun. Robe in Lug Lamata comcosmail, ro ling caċ docair, ocus ro lomair caċ trencend, ocus ro scris, ocus ro inarb gullu ocus allmaraċu a hErinn. Robe in comla caṫa, ocus in cliaṫ ugra, ocus in dos diten, ocus in tor bruti biodbad, a aṫarda ocus a ceneoil re ré, ocus re remis.

His assault upon the enemy.

CVIII. Ot connaic in rigmilid romor roċalma sin ocus in cur croda comnart in mesargain, ocus in-friṫolum tucsat Danair ocus Anmargaiġ allmarda fri Dalcais, is amail bais no biṫ anim do roinnestair dosom fein, comardud Gall friu, ocus ro gab ferg dicra dimor e, ocus bruṫ borrfadaċ, adbulmor, ro gab met menman ocus aicnid. Atraċt en gaili ocus gaiscid ind, comba ar luamain os hinib ocus os anail. Ocus ruc taiċim tren, tricc, tairbteċ, tinnesnaċ, fo caṫ na nAnmargaċ, amail dam dian, denmnetaċ, dasaċtaċ ar na droċgabail, no amail leomon lond, letartach, luṫmar, lanċalma, todusciṫir, ocus cratir ima culenaib, no mar borbruaṫur dian bunni dilend, brisseas ocus brecas caċ ni cos a ricc, ocus ruc beirnd curad, ocus lataiṙ miled, dar caṫ na nAnmar-caċ. Forglit a escarit da heis .i. senċaidi Gall ocus Lagen, cor ṫuit .l. da deis, ocus .l. da cli, don ruaṫur sin; ocus nir aiṫerraig beim riam do neoċ aċt oen beim, ocus nir gab sciaṫ na lureaċ fri beim dib sin riam, can leod cuirp, ocus cendmullaig, ocus cnam maroen dib. Cid tra aċt, ro siaċt tresin caṫ siar co ba tri mar sin. Ro lenait e, imorro, damraid dian, díulaing, direcra, dermair, Clainni Luigdeaċ ocus

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[1] *Danmarkians.* Anmargaiġ for Danmargaiġ. B. reads, Danair ocus allmaraig, "Danars and pirates."

[2] *Testified.* Over the word forglit in D. is the gloss no innisit, "or it is told."

[3] *Historians.* From this it appears that there were Irish historians of the side opposed to Brian, and favourable to those Norsemen who were allies of the king of Leinster. But their works are now unfortunately lost. They are here appealed to as admitting the great prowess of Murchadh.

stroyed and exterminated serpents and monsters out of Erinn; who searched the lakes, and pools, and caverns, of noble-landed Fodhla, whom no fortress or fastness in the world could resist. He was the Lugh Lamha-fada, who, like him, sprang over every obstacle, laid bare every brave head, and exterminated and expelled the foreigners and pirates out of Erinn. He was the gate of battle, and the hurdle of conflict, and the sheltering tree, and the impregnable tower, against the enemies of his fatherland and of his race during his time and during his career.

His assault upon the enemy.

CVIII. When this very great, very valiant, royal champion, and brave powerful hero saw the crushing and the repulse which the Danars and the piratical Danmarkians[1] gave to the Dal Cais, it operated on him like death, or a permanent blemish, to see the conflict of the foreigners with them; and he was seized with a boiling, terrible anger, and an excessive elevation, and greatness of spirit and mind. A bird of valour and championship arose in him, and fluttered over his head, and on his breath. And he made an active, brave, vigorous, sudden rush at the battalion of the Danmarkians, like a violent, impetuous, furious ox, that is difficult to catch; or like a fierce, tearing, swift, all-powerful lioness, that has been roused and robbed of her whelps; or like the fierce roll of an impetuous, deluging torrent, which shatters and smashes every thing that opposes it; and he made a hero's breach, and a soldier's field, through the battalion of the Danmarkians. It is testified[2] by his enemies after him, viz., the historians[3] of the foreigners, and of the Laighin, that there fell fifty by his right hand, and fifty by his left, in that onset; and he never repeated a blow to any one, but only the one blow, and neither shield nor mail-coat was proof to resist any of those blows, or prevent its cutting the body, the skull, or the bone of every one of them. Thrice, now, passed he through the battalion in that manner. He was followed, too, by the great, impetuous, irresistible, matchless, phalanx of the Clann Luighdech, and the fine, lively,

gamandraid glangasta, gerata, galac, gnimac̆, garbeoda, a t̆eglac̆ badein .i. uii. fic̆it meic rig batar ina t̆eglac̆, ocus trica ced in fer ba lugu duc̆us dib sin. Ro lenait e co hait, at̆lum, imetrum, co mbenad bond fri bond, ocus cend fri cend, ocus cnes fri cnes, da eis cac̆ conair ma rancatar. Ocus ris do samailset sin daini Ata Cliat̆, batar fors na scemlib, icca fegad, conar ba lia leo serrt̆laigi etrunnas o mor met̆il ic buain goirt corci, cid da cat̆ no tri do greistea fai, oldas folt os gait̆ uat̆ib, ar na letrad do t̆uagaib troma taidlec̆aib, ocus do claidbib lainnerda lasanna; conid airi sin asbert mac Amlaib, bai ar scemled a grianan fein aca fegad. Is mait̆ benait na Gaill in gort, arse, is imda serrtlaigi leccait uat̆ib. Ar dered lai is tecasta, ar ingen Briain, .i. ben [meic] Amlaib.

Duration of the battle, from high water at sunrise to high water at sunset.

CIX. Cid tra ac̆t, batar ar in linisen, ocus ar in nimbualad iat, o trath ergi co iarnoin. Is inund, on, ocus in cen bis in muir ic tiac̆t ocus ic tuli ocus ic linad. Daig is a lan mara tancatar amac̆ na Gaill do cur in cat̆a is in matin, ocus do roc̆t in muir ina hinad cetna dorisi im dered lae, in tan ro muid arna Gallaib, ocus ruc in lan mara a longa uat̆ib, go nac̆ rabi accu fodeoid leat̆ no teic̆fitis, ac̆t is in ḟairgi, ar marbad Gaill na lureac̆ uli do Dalcais arc̆ena.

Total defeat of the Danish and Leinster troops.

Ro maid roen ro madma ar Gallaib ocus laignib, co digair in oenḟec̆t, ocus ro gairsetar a commairc cinti, ocus a caismerta comtinenais, cum tec̆id ocus cum trein gabala; ocus ised ro t̆ec̆setar is in fairgi, daig ni rabi accu let no tec̆fetis cena, uair ro bas eturru ocus cend droc̆ait Dubgaill, ocus ro bas

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[1] *Champions.* Lit., "Gamanraidh." See above, p. 166, note [3].

[2] *Townland.* The phrase triocа ced, was used to signify a barony or townland. So that the meaning is: not one of these followers of Murchadh that was not the owner of at least a townland.

[3] *Working.* D. reads, geistea, which is a mistake of the scribe. Greistea, the reading of B., has been substituted.

valiant, brave, fierce champions,[1] of his own household, namely, seven score sons of kings that were in his household; and the man of smallest patrimony amongst them was lord of a townland.[2] These followed him sharply, quickly, and lightly, so that they touched each other foot to foot, and head to head, and body to body, behind him in every place that they came to. And it appeared to the people of Ath Cliath, who were watching them from their battlements, that not more numerous would be the sheaves floating over a great company reaping a field of oats; even though two or three battalions were working[3] at it, than the hair flying with the wind from them, cut away by heavy gleaming axes, and by bright flaming swords. Whereupon the son of Amhlaibh, who was on the battlements of his watch tower, watching them, said, "Well do the foreigners reap the field," said he, "many is the sheaf they let go from them." "It will be at the end of the day that will be seen," said Brian's daughter, namely, the wife of [the son of[4]] Amhlaibh.

CIX. However, now, they continued in battle array, and fighting from sunrise to evening. This is the same length of time as that which the tide takes to go, and to flood, and to fill. For it was at the full tide the foreigners came out to fight the battle in the morning, and the tide had come to the same place again at the close of the day, when the foreigners were defeated; and the tide had carried away their ships from them, so that they had not at the last any place to fly to, but into the sea; after the mail-coated foreigners had been all killed by the Dál Cais. An awful rout was made of the foreigners, and of the Laighin, so that they fled simultaneously; and they shouted their cries for mercy, and whoops of rout, and retreat, and running; but they could only fly to the sea, because they had no other place to retreat to, seeing they were cut off between it and the head of Dubhgall's Bridge; and they

Duration of the battle, from high water at sunrise to high water at sunset.

Total defeat of the Danish and Leinster troops.

[4] *Son of.* D. reads, ben Ámlaib, "Amlaff's wife;" but this is an evident mistake; and therefore the reading of B., ben meic Ámlaib, has been adopted. Sitric, son of Amlabh, or Amlaff, was married to Brian's daughter.

eturro ocus caill don leit̆ ele. Cid tra ac̆t, ro t̆ec̆setar isin fargi, amail elta bo ar aibell, re ro t̆esbac̆, ocus re creib, ocus re culib ocus ro lenait co hait, at̆lum, imetrum, ocus ro bat̆it co dimor inti na Gaill, co mbitis na carnaib ocus na cetaib comcomascti ar na scart̆ain re ciallaib ocus re cetfadaib corpardaib, resin tuarcain teind tairismic̆, ocus resin cot̆ucud comlan, cruadcraidech, da ronatar Dalcais riu, ocus Conac̆ta, ocus i rabi and arc̆ena do mat̆ib fer Erend.

Tordelbach, Brian's grandson, drowned at the weir of Clontarf.

CX. Is andsein da cuaid Tairdelbac̆, mac Murc̆aid, mic Briain, i ndegaid na nGall is in fargi, co tuc in bunni robarta bulli fair im carrid Cluana Tarb, ocus is amlaid ro bat̆ed e, ocus Gall fae, ocus Gall ina deis, ocus Gall inacle, ocus cualli na carad trit. Ni rabi ina ais sen duni bad ferr eneac̆ no engnam in Erind, ocus ni rabi adbur rig bad ferr. Daig engnum a atar and, ocus ridac̆t a senatar, ocus nir slan act .u. bliadna déc do andsin. Ise fos in tres duni is mo ro marb inla sen e.

Altercation between the son of Amlaff and his wife.

Is and sin ro raid ingen Briain ben [meic] Amlaib, Is doig lemsa, arsi, ro bensat na Gaill re ndusus. Cid sen, a ingen, ar mac Amlaib. Na Gaill ic toc̆t is in fargi, ait is dual daib, arsi, nuc̆u netar in aibell fail ort̆o, ac̆t ni anait re mblegun maseb. Ro fergaic̆ed mac Amlaib ria, ocus tuc dornd di.

Exploits of Murchadh, son of Brian.

CXI. Imtus, imorro, Murc̆aid mic Briain. Ar roc̆tain do tri cat̆ na nGall ocus do gasraid Dalcais ar oen fris, amail ro remraidsem, uair da batar drem do cat̆mileadaib na nGall riam, can teic̆ed isin fargi, eter noc̆ ca rabi ciall is cumni dib, ac̆t ro bosa leo

[1] *In the sea.* Lit., "in it;" but B. reads, isin ffairge, "in the sea."

[2] *Under him.* B. omits the "foreigner under him;" making two foreigners only to have perished with him.

[3] *Amhlaibh's son.* Here again the reading of B. has been followed. See note, p. 191. He is called Amhlaibh's son in the next line, which proves that the omission of the word mac, in D. is a mere clerical error, although it occurs in two different places.

[4] *Blow.* B. adds, di gur ben fiacail asa ceann, "which knocked a tooth out of her head."

were cut off between it and the wood on the other side. They retreated therefore to the sea, like a herd of cows in heat, from sun, and from gadflies, and from insects; and they were pursued closely, rapidly, and lightly; and the foreigners were drowned in great numbers in the sea,[1] and they lay in heaps and in hundreds, confounded, after parting with their bodily senses and understandings, under the powerful, stout, belabouring; and under the tremendous, hard-hearted pressure, with which the Dal Cais, and the men of Conacht, and as many as were also there of the nobles of Erinn, pursued them.

Tordelbach, Brian's grandson, drowned at the weir of Clontarf.

CX. It was then that Tordhelbhach, the son of Murchadh, son of Brian, went after the foreigners into the sea, when the rushing tide wave struck him a blow against the weir of Cluain-Tarbh, and so was he drowned, with a foreigner under him,[2] and a foreigner in his right hand, and a foreigner in his left, and a stake of the weir through him. There was not of his age a person of greater generosity or munificence than he in Erinn; and there was not a more promising heir of the kingdom. For he inherited the munificence of his father, and the royal dignity of his grandfather; and he had not completed more than fifteen years at that time. He was also one of the three men who had killed most on that day.

Altercation between the son of Amlaff and his wife.

Then it was that Brian's daughter, namely, the wife of Amhlaibh's son[3] said, "It appears to me," said she, "that the foreigners have gained their inheritance." "What meanest thou, O woman?" said Amhlaibh's son. "The foreigners are going into the sea, their natural inheritance," said she; "I wonder is it heat that is upon them; but they tarry not to be milked, if it is." The son of Amhlaibh became angered, and he gave her a blow.[4]

Exploits of Murchadh, son of Brian.

CXI. To return, however, to Murchadh, son of Brian. When he had passed through the battalions of the foreigners, accompanied by the champions of the Dál Cais, as we have said before, there was a party of soldiers of the foreigners still before him, who had not rushed into the sea as yet, who retained their senses and their memories, and who preferred enduring any amount of suffering rather

He attacks Siucrad, Earl of Orkney,

cač etualang ar domon dulang inas a mbat̆ad. Is and sen it conairc Murčad Siucraid, mac Lotair, iarla Insi Orc, ar lar cat̆a Dal Cais, ica nairleač ocus ica nat̆cuma, ocus bá lunni latraind dar maig leis eturru, ocus ni geibtis renna no ilḟaibair é, ocus ni bid tend nač traigend, ocus ni bid tiug nač tanaicend. Is and sin rucastair Murčad̆ ruat̆ar ro tren dainsaigid, ocus ro tinlaic bulli borb, tren, brut brisceť, na lama leitmiči luat̆ečtaiči desi deg t̆apaid, dinsaigid coel in cuirp, ocus cengal in cat̆bairr gallta granemail bai fo čend, cor gerrastair na cnaip, ocus cengal, ocus iata, ocus na coraigt̆i batar ic congbail in cat̆bairr, ocus tucastair claidium na lama ailli aindeisi da airleč, ocus da atčuma, ar toitim a cat̆bairr ar a cul de, cor gerrastar coel in cuirp cor trascair in tren milid sin do da beim comtenna comdessa mar sen.

and slays him.

Ebric, son of the king of Lochlann, attacks the Dal Cais.

CXII. Is andsin tanic in cat̆milid curata, angbaid, allata, Anraid mac Ebric, mac rig Ločland i crislač, ocus i certmedon Dal Cais, ocus ba lat̆ir mileď, ocus ba bernd curad no leict̆ea do cač conair ma teged, ocus do rini sinnmaig do let cind in cat̆a imacuairt do bemennaib borba barbarda, ocus do bulledaib agmara aniarmartač̆a. Rodrecir Murčad in ni sin, ocus ba gal craidi leis, ocus ro impo fiart̆arsna fo cat̆ na lureač cor marb .u. gallu dec da deis, ocus i cuic dec da cli donneoč ima rabi lureač co riač̆t [mac] Elbric mac ri Ločland. Uair robesin cend gaili, ocus gaiscid sluaig Ločland, ocus gall uli arcena, ocus ro cuiresttair comlond feig feočair fuleač forderg, ocus gleicgarb gliḟideoč co hanmin agarb escardemail. Is

Murchadh rushes to meet him.

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[1] *Siucraid.* "Sitruic," B.

[2] *Neck.* Lit., "the narrow part of the body." This bombastical description is omitted in B.

[3] *Warrior.* It is possible that anrad, the word here rendered "warrior," may be intended as the proper name of this champion, and that we should read "Anrad, son of Ebric," &c. The romantic tale called *the Battle of Clontarf* so understands it. But there is evidently some confusion; for the hero here called "son of Ebric," is a little lower down called "Elbric," which ought to be "[son of] Elbric." B. calls him here, when he is first men-

than be drowned. It was then that Murchadh perceived Siucraid,[1] son of Lotar, Earl of Insi Orc, in the midst of the battalion of the Dál Cais, slaughtering and mutilating them; and his fury among them was that of a robber upon a plain; and neither pointed nor any kind of edged weapon could harm him; and there was no strength that yielded not, nor thickness that became not thin. Then Murchadh made a violent rush at him, and dealt him a fierce, powerful, crushing blow from the valiant, death-dealing, active right hand, in the direction of his neck,[2] and the fastenings of the foreign hateful helmet that was on his head, so that he cut the buttons, and the fastenings, and the clasps, and the buckles that were fastening the helmet; and he brought the sword of the graceful left hand to hew and maim him after the helmet had fallen backwards from him; and he cut his neck, and felled that brave hero with two tremendous, well-aimed blows, in that manner.

He attacks Siucrad, Earl of Orkney,

and slays him.

CXII. Then came the heroic, valiant, noble, renowned warrior,[3] the son of Ebric, son of the king of Lochlann, into the bosom and centre of the Dál Cais, and it was the clear stage of a warrior, and the breach of a hero was opened for him wherever he went; and he trampled to a litter one end of the battalion, dealing in all directions fierce, barbarous strokes, and victorious irresistible blows. Murchadh perceived this, and it was a heart-ache to him, and he turned obliquely upon the battalions of the mailed-men, and killed fifteen foreigners on his right, and fifteen on his left, who were mail-clad, until he reached [the son of] Elbric, the son of the king of Lochlainn, for he was the head of valour and bravery of the army of Lochlainn, and of all the foreigners also. And they fought a stout, furious, bloody, crimson combat, and a fierce, vehement, rough, boisterous, implacable battle. And the sword

Ebric, son of the king of Lochlann, attacks the Dal Cais.

Murchadh rushes to meet him.

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tioned, "Elbric, son of the king of Lochlann," and in the second place "Ebric, son of the king of Lochlann," transposing the names given him in D., but in neither place speaking of "the son of Ebric" or Elbric. The same person is evidently meant in both places, and the name intended was probably *Eohric* or *Eric*; or perhaps *Elfric*.

amlaid bai claidium Murčaid andsin ar na insma, ocus elta det batar aicci ro legsat re ro tesbač imualta, ocus do dluig in claidium te alaim illadair a mugairnd costell. Sellais in ni sin, ocus ro lae in claidium uad, ocus ro gab cendmullač in gaill, ocus ro huisc a lurič dar a cend sair, ocus ro cuirset gleic imrascala iarsin. Ro cuir Murčad fai in gall a nirt lamsigi, ocus ro gab claidium in gaill fein iarsin, ocus ro saitˇ i cleitˇ očta in gaill e co riačt talmain trit fotri. Taraid dan, in gall a scin fein, ocus tuc tadall do Murčad co ro tall a inni uli as, ocus cor tuitset ar lar ina fiadnasi. Ro tˇuitset cretˇa, ocus tama iarsin for Murčad, ocus ni ro fet imtečt, ocus ro comtuitit aroen andsin, in gall ocus Murčad, ačt oen ni cena ro ben Murčad a cend dun gall, ocus ni ro marb Murčad in adaich sin itir, co trat̆ eirgi arnabarač co taraid cretra, ocus comna, ocus atrigi, ocus cor čaitˇ corp Crist, ocus co ndernа aisiti, ocus a tˇimna.

Both mortally wounded.

Elric beheaded.

Murchadh lives to the following day.

CXIII. Imtus imorro Briain mic Cennetig, frisin re sin, ar comriačtain dona catˇaib ro scailed a pell fae, ocus ro oslaic a ṡaltair, ocus ro gab i clasecul allam, ocus ic airnagi dar eis na catˇ, ocus ni rabi neč na arud ačt a gilla fein .i. Latean a ainm, [o tait O Latean fos is in Mumain.] Asbert Brian fris in gilla, feg na catˇa, ocus na comlonna, co ngabusa na salmu. Ro gab .l. salm, ocus .l. ortˇan, ocus .l. pater, ocus ro imcomarc don gilla iarsin cinnas batar na catˇa. Ro recair in gilla, ocus asbert atcumacsi, ocus atcumsctˇa comdluti na catˇa, ocus ro siačt cač im glocan a cele dib. Ocus ni ro lia lemsa trostbeim i caill Tomair, ocus .uii. catˇa ica tescad inna trostbeim i cendaib, ocus i

The adventures of Brian, king of Ireland.

He kneels in prayer, desiring his servant to watch the battle.

He inquires of the servant the progress of the fight.

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[1] *Cushion.* Pell, *lit.* a skin, i.e. a carpet, rug, or cushion made of fur, or skin.

[2] *From whom.* The clause within brackets occurs in both MSS., but is inconsistent with the early date of this work; it is evidently the interpolation of some transcriber.

[3] *Prayers.* Lit., *Orate's:* meaning probably litanies, or prayers consisting of the words *ora*, or, *orate pro nobis.*

of Murchadh at that time was inlaid with ornament, and the inlaying that was in it melted with the excessive heat of the striking, and the burning sword cleft his hand, tearing the fork of his fist. He perceived that, and cast the sword from him, and he laid hold of the top of the foreigner's head, and pulled his coat of mail over his head forward, and they then fought a wrestling combat. Then Murchadh put the foreigner down under him, by the force of wrestling, and then he caught the foreigner's own sword and thrust it into the ribs of the foreigner's breast, until it reached the ground through him, three times. The foreigner then drew his knife, and with it gave Murchadh such a cut, that the whole of his entrails were cut out, and they fell to the ground before him. Then did shiverings and faintings descend on Murchadh, and he had not power to move, so that they fell by each other there, the foreigner and Murchadh. But at the same time Murchadh cut off the foreigner's head. And Murchadh did not die that night, nor until sunrise the next day; until he had received absolution, and communion, and penance, and until he had taken the Body of Christ, and until he had made his confession and his will.

Both mortally wounded.

Elric beheaded.

Murchadh lives to the following day.

CXIII. Let us speak now of the adventures of Brian, son of Cenneidigh, during this time. When the forces met in combat, his cushion[1] was spread under him, and he opened his psalter; and he began to clasp his hands and to pray after the battle had commenced; and there was no one with him but his own attendant, whose name was Latean [from whom[2] are the O'Lateans, still in Mumhain]. Brian said to the attendant, watch thou the battles and the combats, whilst I sing the psalms. He sang fifty psalms, and fifty prayers,[3] and fifty paternosters, and he asked the attendant after that what the condition of the battalions was. The attendant answered and said, "Mixed and closely confounded are the battalions, and each of them has come within the grasp of the other; and not louder in my ears would be the echoes of blows from Tomar's Wood, if seven battalions were cutting it down, than are the re-

The adventures of Brian, king of Ireland.

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He inquires of the servant the progress of the fight.

cnamaib, ocus i cendmullaigib etorro. Ocus ro iarfaig cinnas bi mergi Murčaid, ocus asbert in gilla, ita na sessum, ocus moran do mergedaib Dal Cais umi, ocus imda cend ca dibrugud cuci, ocus ilač coscair, ocus comaidmi leis do cennaib na ngall. Is mait̆ in scel sin, am, ar Brian.

Ro hatairge a pell faei, ocus ro gab na sailm, ocus na hort̆an, ocus na patri fon cor cetna, ocus ro iarfaig don gilla cinnas batar na cat̆a, ocus ro recair in gilla, ocus atbert:—Ni fuil beo ar talum nec do berad aič̆ni ar neč̆ seč̆ a č̆ele dib. Daig itrocair forgla in cat̆a ceč̆tarda, ocus innoc is beo ro linait do braengail na fola foruamnaidi eter cend, ocus corp, ocus etiud innas nač̆ tibred a atair aič̆ni ar a mac uar neč̆ dib, ocus batar mesc ar mesc. Bi ica iarfaigid cinnas bai mergi Murč̆aid. Asbert in gilla ri bata uad̆a e; ocus ro soč̆t tres na cat̆aib siar, ocus bai ina hessum fos. Asbert Brian is mait̆ betit fir Erend, arse, cen bias in mergi sin na hessum, daig biaid a mesneč̆ fein, ocus a nengnum in gač̆ duni dib i cen iticerat in mergi sin.

Ro hat̆irged a pell fo Brian, ocus ro gab .l. salm, ocus .l. ort̆an, ocus .l. pater, ocus ro bas icun imualad fos risin. Ro iarfaig iarsin, don gilla cinnas batar na cat̆a. Asbert in gilla. Is amail sin amail ro bi caill Tomair ar loscad a minbaig, ocus a hoc crund, ocus na seč̆t cat̆a coecais ar mis ica gerrad, [ocus a railge ro ṁóra, ocus a dairğe d̆íoṁora ina sessaṁ. Is aṁlaid̆ sin atád na cat̆a ceič̆tard̆a ar ttuitim a ffordb̆a uile, ač̆t uat̆ad̆ da ttréinḟeiraib̆, ocus da ttreinṁilead̆aib̆ na sessaṁ. Is aṁlaid̆ atad na cat̆a ceč̆tarda fós ar na ttollad̆, ocus ar na ttreağdad̆, ocus ar na sccaoiled, ocus atad go hanordaiğt̆e imaccuairt, ocus bleith muilinn tuait̆fil orra, ocus

[1] *From him*, i.e. from Murchadh.

[2] *Underwood.* Here the MS. D. ends imperfectly. The conclusion has been supplied from B.

[3] *A month.* B. reads, ocus na seċt ccaṫa caicṫiḋis ar mis aga caiṫeṁ, ocus a railge ro ṁóra, 7c., as in the text.

[4] *Wrong way.* Lit., "turning northwards," or to the left-hand.

sounding blows upon heads, and bones, and skulls, on both sides." Then he asked what was the condition of Murchadh's standard; and the attendant said—"It is standing, and many of the banners of the Dal Cais are around it; and many heads are falling around it, and a multitude of trophies, and spoils, with heads of the foreigners are along with it." That is good news, indeed, said Brian.

His cushion was readjusted under him, and he sang the psalms, and the prayers, and the paters, in the same manner as before. And he asked of the attendant, again, what the condition of the battalions was; and the attendant answered and said—"There is not living on earth one who could distinguish one of them from the other. For, the greater part of the hosts at either side are fallen, and those who are alive are so covered with spatterings of the crimson blood, head, body, and vesture, that a father could not know his son from any other of them, so confounded are they." He then asked what was the condition of Murchadh's standard. The attendant said that it was far from him,[1] and that it passed through the battalions, westwards, and was still standing. Brian said, "The men of Erinn shall be well while that standard remains standing, because their courage and valour shall remain in them all, as long as they can see that standard."

His cushion was readjusted under Brian, and he sang fifty psalms, and fifty prayers, and fifty paters; and the fighting continued all that time. He asked then of the attendant, in what state were the forces? The attendant answered—"They appear to me the same as if Tomar's Wood was on fire, and the seven battalions had been cutting away its underwood[2] [and its young shoots, for a month,[3] leaving its stately trees and its immense oaks standing. In such manner are the armies on either side, after the greater part of them have fallen, leaving a few brave men and gallant heroes only standing. Their further condition is, they are wounded, and pierced through, and dismembered; and they are disorganized all round like the grindings of a mill turning the wrong way,[4] and the foreigners are now defeated, and Murchadh's

Brian's lamentation on the fall of Murchadh.

ʀomuiɗ anoʃa aʀ na ʒallaiƀ, ocuʃ ɗo ƫuiƫ meiʀʒe Muʀchaɗ. Tʀuaʒ an ʃccel ʃin, aʀ Bʀian; ɗaʀ mo bʀeiƫiʀ aʀʃe, ɗo ƫuiƫ eineaƈ, ocuʃ enʒnam Eʀenn an ƫan ɗo ƫuiƫ an meiʀʒe ʃin, ocuʃ ɗo ƫuiƫ Eʀe ɗe ʒo ʃíʀ, ocuʃ noƈa ƫicʃa ƫaʀaéiʃ co bʀáƫ aon laoƈ a ionnʃam̆ail na coʃmaileiʃ an laoiƈ ʃin. Ocuʃ ca buɗ ʃeiʀɗe ɗam̆ʃa ciɗ aʃ ʃo ɗo ɗeaƈainn, ocuʃ ʒemaɗ é ʀicche an ɗom̆ain ɗo ʒ̆ebainn ƫaʀ eiʃ Muʀchaɗ, ocuʃ Conainʒ, ocuʃ maiƫe Ɗal cCaiʃ aʀ ƈena. Aleb aʀ an ʒiolla, ɗa nɗeiʀnƫa oʀmʃa ɗo ʀaʒƫa aʀ ƫeach, ocuʃ ɗo ʀachmaoiʃ ɗon lonʒpoʀƫ, ocuʃ ɗo beimiʃ iƫiʀ na ʒilliƀ, ocuʃ ʒaƈ aon ƫicʃaʃ aʃ ʃo aʃ ƈuccainn ƫiucʃaʃ. Ocuʃ aʃ umainn iaɗʃaiɗ uile, ɗoiʒh aƫáiɗ na caƫa meʃcc aʀ meʃcc aʀ na mbuaiɗʀeaɗ, ocuʃ ɗna ɗo éimʒ̆eɗaʀ ɗʀeam ɗo na ʒallaiƀ ƫeicheɗ iʃin ʃʃaiʀʀʒe, ocuʃ ní ʃ̇eiɗamaʀ cia ƫicʃa cuccainn am̆ail aƫám. A Ɗia a ƫoiʒ̆, aʀ Bʀian, ní maiʃi an ƫeicheɗ, ocuʃ ʀo ʃ̇eiƫƫaʀʃa ʃéin naƈ ʀaƈ aʃ ʃo beó, ocuʃ ʒa ƫaʀƀa ɗam ʒe ɗo ɗeachainn, uaiʀ ƫáinicc Aiƀell Cʀaicce leiƫe ƈuccam aʀáiʀ, aʀ ʃe, ocuʃ ʀo innis ɗam̆ ʒo muiʀʃiɗe mé aniú, ocuʃ aɗubaiʀƫ ʀiom an céɗ mac ɗom ƈloinn ɗo chiʃinn aniú ʒomaɗ é ɗo ʒ̆eƀaɗ ʀiʒ̆e ƫaʀ méiʃ, ocuʃ bíɗ é Ɗonnchaɗ eiʃein; ocuʃ imƫiʒ a laiɗeain, aʀ ʃé, ocuʃ beiʀ na heich ʃin leaƫ, ocuʃ beiʀ mo ƀeinnaƈƫ, ocuʃ ɗena mo ƫiomna ƫaʀ m̆éiʃ .i. mo ƈoʀp, ocuʃ manmain ɗo Ɗia, ocuʃ ɗo naom̆ Paƫʀaicc, ocuʃ mo bʀeiƫ co hAʀɗmaƈa, ocuʃ mo ƀeannaƈƫ ɗo Ɗonnchaɗ aʀ mo ƈeinnaiƫi ɗic ƫaʀ méiʃ .i. ɗa ʃiƈiƫ ɗecc bo, ocuʃ ʃin ɗó ƫabaiʀƫ ɗo ƈomaʀba Paƫʀaicc, ocuʃ ɗo muinƫiʀ Aʀɗamaƈa, ocuʃ a ɗuƫʀaƈƫ ʃéin ɗo Chill ɗa lua, ocuʃ ɗo ƈellaiƀ Muman, ocuʃ ʀo ʃ̇iɗiʀʃein ʒan ionnmaʃ accamʃa ɗóʀ, no ɗaiʀccеiƫ aƈƫ eiʃium ɗá íc ƫaʀ ceinn mo ƀeinnaƈƫan, ocuʃ mo ƈom̆aʀbaiʃ. Imƫiʒ̆ anoƈƫ co Soʀɗ, ocuʃ abaiʀ ʀiu ƫoƈƫ amaʀaƈ moƈ ƫʀáƫ in acchaiɗ mo ccuiʀpʃi, ocuʃ a

Brian's will.

[1] *Aibhell.* More correctly *Aibhinn*, as in the annals of Loch Ce, or Kilronan. This was the family spirit, or guardian *bannshee*, of the royal house of Munster, according to a well-known superstition of the Celtic tribes of Ireland and Scotland.

[2] *Succeeding me.* Mo ċom̆aʀbaiʃ. Lit., "my comharbus," or heirship. The word *comarba*, which usually

standard has fallen." "That is sad news," said Brian; "on my word," said he, "the honour and valour of Erinn fell when that standard fell; and Erinn has fallen now, indeed; and never shall there appear henceforth a champion comparable to or like to that champion. And what avails it me to survive this, or that I should obtain the sovereignty of the world, after the fall of Murchadh, and Conaing, and the other nobles of the Dál Cais, in like manner." "Woe is me," said the attendant, "if thou wouldst take my advice, thou wouldst mount thy horse, and we would go to the camp, and remain there amongst the servants; and every one who escapes this battle will come unto us, and around us will they all rally. Besides, the battalions are now mixed together in confusion; and a party of the foreigners have rejected the idea of retreating to the sea; and we know not who may approach us where we now are." "Oh God! thou boy," said Brian, "retreat becomes us not, and I myself know that I shall not leave this place alive; and what would it profit me if I did. For, Aibhell,[1] of Craig Liath, came to me last night," said he, "and she told me that I should be killed this day; and she said to me that the first of my sons I should see this day would be he who should succeed me in the sovereignty; and that is Donnchadh; and go thou, Laidean," said he, "and take these steeds with thee, and receive my blessing; and carry out my will after me, viz., my body and my soul to God and to Saint Patrick, and that I am to be carried to Ard-macha; and my blessing to Donnchadh, for discharging my last bequests after me, viz., twelve score cows to be given to the Comharba of Patrick, and the Society of Ard-macha; and its own proper dues to Cill da Lua, and the churches of Mumhain; and he knows that I have not wealth of gold or silver, but he is to pay them in return for my blessing, and for his succeeding me.[2] Go this night to Sord, and desire them

Brian's lamentation on the fall of Murchadh.

Brian's will.

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means an ecclesiastical successor, had never that meaning exclusively, but signified an heir or inheritor of land or office, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

ionlacaḋ uaṫaiḃrein co Daṁliacc Cianain, ocus tiondlaiceit sin me go Luġṁaġ, ocus ticceiḋ Maolṁuire mac Eochaḋa coṁarba Patraic, ocus muintir Ardamaċa im aiġiḋ go Luġṁaġ.

CXIV. An tan battar forran ccoṁráḋ sin atconairc an giolla buiḋein dona gallaiḃ ċuca. Ise do bí ann sin Brodar iarla, ocus diar óccláċ amaille friss. Daoine ċuccainn annso ḃar an giolla. Cionas daoine iad ale, ar Brian. Daeine glasa lomnoċta, ar in giolla. Truaġ sin, ar Brian, goill na luireaċ sin, ocus ni do denaṁ do leissasa ṫeigait. As cuma ro bai aga raḋa, ocus ro eiriġ, ocus rucc coisceim don ḟell amaċ, ocus do noċt a ċloiḋeṁ. Téitt Brodar seaċa, ocus ni tuc da uidh é. Asbert an trear fear bai ina ḟarraḋ, ocus roḃ óccláċ do Brian féin e, Cing, cing, ar sé, as é so an rí. Nó, nó, aċt príst, príst, ar Brodar, ni heaḋ, ar sé, aċt sagart uasal. Ac idir, ar ant ógláċ, an rí mór Brian, ata and. Ro impo Brodar ar sin, ocus is aṁlaiḋ ro bai, ocus tuaġ taiḋleach taitneiṁaċ trostánaċ ina laim, ocus ionnsma na samtaigte ina meḋon. Ot connairc Brian é, ro bai aga ḟeġaḋ, ocus tucc beim cloiḋiṁ dó gur teisc an cos ċlé ḋé aga glún, ocus an ċos deis aga ṫraigiḋ. Do bert an gall buille do Brian gur dluigh an cend co léir, ocus ro marḃ Brian an dara fer bai iffaraḋ Brodair, ocus ro tuitettar an diar sin comṫuitim.

Panegyric on Brian.

CXV. Nocha dernaḋ iar ccreideiṁ in Erinn aċt oirleċ chinn Corbmaic mic Cuilennain, aongnioṁ buḋ mó ina sin. Rob é sin, iaraṁ, an trear gein as ferr rugaḋ an Erinn riaṁ, ocus an trear fer soċair Erenn .i. Luġ Lamfada, ocus Fiond mac Cuṁaill, ocus Brian mac Ceinnéittiġ. Dóiġ isé ro fuaslaic fir Erenn, ocus a mná ó daeire, ocus ó doċar gall ocus allṁaraċ.

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[1] *Three.* This seems to include Brodar, who, with his two followers, made three. One of them had been in Brian's service, and called out in the language of the Norsemen, "Cing, Cing"—i.e., king; for the Irish C is always pronounced as the hard K. Brodar's answer, "No, no,—prist, prist," i.e. priest, is also an attempt to represent the language of the "foreigners."

to come to-morrow, early, for my body, and to convey it from thence to Damhliag, of Cianan; and then let them carry it to Lughmhagh; and let Maelmuire Mac Eochadha, the Comharba of Patrick, and the Society of Ard-macha come to meet me at Lughmhagh."

CXIV. While they were engaged in this conversation the attendant perceived a party of the foreigners approaching them. The Earl Brodar was there, and two warriors along with him. "There are people coming towards us here," said the attendant. "Woe is me, what manner of people are they?" said Brian. "A blue stark naked people," said the attendant. "Alas!" said Brian, "they are the foreigners of the armour, and it is not to do good to thee they come." While he was saying this, he arose and stepped off the cushion, and unsheathed his sword. Brodar passed him by and noticed him not. One of the three[1] who were there, and who had been in Brian's service, said—"Cing, Cing," said he, "this is the king." "No, no, but Priest, Priest," said Brodar, "it is not he," says he, "but a noble priest." "By no means," said the soldier, "that is the great king, Brian." Brodar then turned round, and appeared with a bright, gleaming, trusty battle-axe in his hand, with the handle set in the middle[2] of it. When Brian saw him he gazed at him, and gave him a stroke with his sword, and cut off his left leg at the knee, and his right leg at the foot. The foreigner dealt Brian a stroke which cleft his head utterly; and Brian killed the second man that was with Brodar, and they fell both mutually by each other.

Panegyric on Brian.

CXV. There was not done in Erinn, since Christianity, excepting the beheading of Cormac Mac Cuilennain, any greater deed than this. In fact he was one of the three best that ever were born in Erinn; and one of the three men who most caused Erinn to prosper, namely, Lugh Lamha-fada, and Finn Mac Cumhaill, and Brian Mac Ceinneidigh. For it was he that released the men of Erinn, and its women, from the bondage and

[2] *The middle.* The meaning seems to be that the axe was a double one, the handle being fixed in the middle between the blades.

Is é ro bris cuicc caṫa ficet for gallaiḃ, ocus ros marḃ, ocus ros inḋarb amail ro raidsemar roṁainn.

Compared to Augustus Cæsar; to Alexander; to Solomon; to David; to Moses.

Rob ésin an tOctauin[1] aoḃda ilbuaḋaċ imṡoċar, ocus imsaorḋaċt a aṫarrḋa ocus a ċineoil, rob é an tAlaxandar tailc, talcair tanairte ar treoir, ocus ar oirbert, ocus ar innsaighiḋ ar ċathaiḃ, ocus ar corccraiḃ, ocus rob é an Solaṁ sona, saiḋḃir, siodamail, na nGaoidel, rob é an Dauit dil diocra deiġmeinmnaċ deiġ gníomaċ na hErenn ar ḟirinne, ocus ar innracas, ocus ar coiṁeitt flaiteiṁnas. Rob é an Maoisi mórḋa minettroċt ar cundla, ocus ar ċaiḋe craibtiġe.

Brian's age and length of his reign.

CXVI. Cid tra aċt torcar an rí oirdearc ilbuadhaċ sin re gallaiḃ isin octmad bliaḋain octmogat[2] a aisi, ocus isin oċtmat bliadain tricat a flaitiusa a Muṁain, ocus isin dara bliadain deig ina airdricche na hErenn.

Prophecies of the fall of Ireland.

Ciḋ tra aċt ro tuit Ere don bás sin Briain, ocus tangadar na tircanta, ocus ro coṁaillit na fairtineḋa dErenn do réir na naemh, ocus na ffirén, aṁail asbert Berchan—

Do faoṫ an tsaoi isin daoi
  Bonn fri bonn.
  Goill is Gaoiḋil inulc de;
  Biḋ fordercc a ccomraicṫe.
Biḋ olc bias Ere de,
  Biḋ forderg a ccomraicṫe;
  O sin co laiṫe an braṫa,
  Meisa gaċa haentraṫa.
Ni bia cell na caṫair caiḋ,
  Ni bia dunaḋ na ríġráiṫ,
  Fíoḋglas na maġ na maiṫeis,
  Gan dul uile a nanflaiṫeis.

Effects of Brian's death.

Ro sceind da ttrian einiġ, ocus engnama o laoċaiḃ na hErenn le cloisteċt an sceoilsin. Ro sceind da

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[1] *Octavin.* Meaning, no doubt, Augustus Cæsar, whose original name was Octavianus.

[2] *Eighty-eighth.* Upon this authority the Four Masters record Brian's birth at A.D. 926; but the Ann. Ult.

iniquity of the foreigners, and the pirates. It was he that gained five-and-twenty battles over the foreigners, and who killed and banished them as we have already said. He was the beautiful, ever-victorious Octavin,[1] for the prosperity and freedom of his country and his race. He was the strong, irresistible, second Alexander, for energy, and for dignity, and for attacks, and for battles, and for triumphs. And he was the happy, wealthy, peaceable Solomon of the Gaedhil. He was the faithful, fervent, honourable, gallant David of Erinn, for truthfulness, and for worthiness, and for the maintainance of sovereignty. He was the magnificent, brilliant Moses, for chastity, and unostentatious devotion.

Compared to Augustus Cæsar; to Alexander; to Solomon; to David; to Moses.

CXVI. However, that illustrious, all-victorious king, fell by the foreigners, in the eighty-eighth[2] year of his age, and in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, in Mumhain; and in his twelfth year in the chief sovereignty of Erinn. In short, Erinn fell by the death of Brian; and the predictions came to pass, and the prophecies were fulfilled to Erinn, according to the saints and the righteous ones, as Berchan said—

Brian's age and length of his reign.

Prophecies of the fall of Ireland.

The noble and the plebeian fell
Foot to foot.
The Gaill and the Gaedhil will be the worse of it;
Blood-red shall be their conflicts.
Evil shall be to Erinn from it.
Blood-red shall be their conflicts;
Thence to the judgment day;
Worse shall they be every day.
There shall not be a pure church or city;
There shall not be a fortress or royal Rath;
A green wood, nor plain, nor good,
But all shall degenerate into lawlessness.

Two-thirds of the dignity and valour of the champions of Erinn fled on hearing this news. Two-thirds of the

Effects of Brian's death.

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tell us that he was born A.D. 941, which would make him 73 when he was slain. This is a very much more probable date.

ttrian connla, ocus crabhad̆ o cleirc̆ib̆ Erenn don scel sin. Do cuaid̆ a náire, ocus a ngeinmnaigec̆t ó mnaib̆ Erenn don scel cedna, amail asbert Beg mac Dé :—

Biaiḋ buar an domhain gan dáir.
Naire deasbaiḋ ar ógṁnaib̆,
Biaiḋ gaċ tír gan treabhaib trell.
Ni fuige rí eneclann.

Do cuaid̆ da ttrian lac̆ta o ceitraib̆ fos don scel sin.

The chieftains killed on the side of the enemy.

CXVII. Act ata ní c̆ena torcratar isin ccat̆ sin forgla lat̆gaile gall, ocus Gaoid̆el iartair Eorpa uile ar aon lat̆air. Torcair ann Brodar mac Oisli, iarla Cairi hEbroc, ocus torcair .x.c. Danar dibeirgac̆ Sacsanac̆ ocus Lochlannac̆ ar aon riusin. Torcair ann Sitriuc mac Ladair iarla Indsi hOrc. Torcair ann .xx.c. do gallaib̆ At̆a Cliat̆, im Dub̆gall mac Amlaib̆, ocus im Gilla Ciarain mac Gluiniarann, ocus im Donchad̆ Ua nEruilb̆, ocus im Amlaib̆ mac Lagmain, ocus im Ernail Scot.

Torcratt̆ar ann dna Oitir dub̆, ocus Grisin, ocus Luiminin, ocus Sioğrad̆, ceit̆re hurrad̆a gall, ocus ceit̆re taisiğ loingsi ; Torcair ann dna Carlus, ocus Ciarlus da mac riğ Loc̆lann, ocus Goistilin Gall, ocus Amond mac Duibginn, da rig Puirt Laircce, ocus Simond mac Tuirgeis, ocus Sefraid̆ mac Suinin, ocus Bernard mac Suainin, ocus Eon Barun, ocus Ricard, da m̆ac na hIngene Ruaid̆e, ocus Oisill, ocus Rağnall, da m̆eic Im̆air ua Im̆air. Robad̆ dutha d̆ do Brian a ttuitim sin leis, oir is le Mat̆ğam̆ain, ocus le Brian do marbad̆ uile a nait̆rec̆a ag cosnam̆ affeirainn dutaiğ friu.

Ní t̆ainic mac Amlaib̆ fein .i. ri At̆a Cliat̆ isin c̆at̆ an la sin, ocus isé sin fo dera gan a m̆arbad̆, uair ni

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[1] *Tribute.* Eneclann, "honor-price," the tax paid to a chieftain for his protection.

[2] *Grisin.* We ought, perhaps, to read *Grifin.*

purity and devotion of the clerics of Erinn vanished at that news. Their modesty and chastity departed from the women of Erinn at the same news, as Bec Mac De said:

The cows of the world shall be without the bull,
Modesty shall be wanting to young women;
Every territory shall be without mansions, for a time.
No king shall receive his tribute.[1]

Two-thirds of their milk also departed from quadrupeds at that news.

CXVII. Moreover, there were killed in that battle together the greater part of the men of valour of the Gaill and the Gaedhil, of all the west of Europe. There was killed there, Brodar, son of Osli, Earl of Caer Ebroc, and along with him were killed a thousand plundering Danars, both Saxons and Lochlanns. There was killed there Sitriuc, the son of Ladar, Earl of Innsi Orc. There were killed there two thousand of the foreigners of Ath Cliath, with Dubhghall, son of Amhlaibh, and with Gilla Ciarain, son of Gluniarann, and with Donnchadh O' hEruilbh, and with Amhlaibh, son of Laghman, and with Ernal Scot. The chieftains killed on the side of the enemy.

There were killed there, too, Oitir the black, and Grisin,[2] and Luiminin, and Siogradh, the four leaders of the foreigners, and the four commanders of fleets. There fell there, too, Carlus, and Ciarlus, the two sons of the king of Lochlainn, and Goistilin Gall, and Amond, son of Duibhghin, the two kings of Port Lairge, and Simond, son of Turgeis, and Sefraid, son of Suinin, and Bernard, son of Suainin; and Eoin, the Baron, and Rickard, the two sons of the Inghen Ruaidh; and Oisill, and Raghnall, the two sons of Imhar, grandson of Imhar.[3] It was the natural right of Brian that these should fall with him, for it was by Mathgamhain, and by Brian, in defence of their country and inheritance, that all the fathers of these were slain.

The son of Amhlaibh himself, king of Ath Cliath, went not into the battle on that day, and that was the reason

[3] *Grandson of Imhar.* Perhaps we should read here ᴅa meic Imaip ui Imaip, "two sons of Imhar, grandsons of Imhar."

ḋeachaiḋ gall máinech ar beó da ttainic ann; ocus ro ragṫai ar Ath Cliaṫ fós an la sin muna beiṫ mac Aṁlaiḃ, ocus an luċt bai maille fris. Torcair ann dna Maolmorḋa mac Murchaḋa, ri Laiġen, ocus Brogarban mac Conċoḃar, ri Ua Failge, ocus Doṁnall mac Feirgail rí Fortuaṫ Laiġen; ocus ro loiteiḋ Dunlaing mac Tuaṫail rí Life, conidh de robaḋ marḃ, ocus .xx.c. do Laiġneacaiḃ amaille friu, ocus én .c. decc díḃ Ceinnselaiġ. Aċt aon ní, se .c. ocus tri ficit .c. easbaiḋ an dara leiṫe don caṫ marsin.

The Irish chieftains slain on the Danish side.

Total loss of the enemy.

CXVIII. Torcair ann don leiṫ ele don caṫ Brian Boroiṁe, mac Cinneittiġ, meic Lorcain, airdri Erenn ocus Alban, ocus Saxan ocus Bretan, ocus iartair Eorpa, aṁail asbert an fili:—

The chieftains killed on Brian's side.

Ba rí ar Saxaiḃ na séd,
Mac Ceinneittiġ na ttroimċéd,
Ba hoirderc isin domain toir,
Imairċor Briain hi Frangcoiḃ.

Torcair ann Murchad mac Briain, ocus Toirrdelbach a ṁac. Torcair ann Conaing, mac Duinncuan, mic Ceinneittiġ, mac derbraṫar Briain, ríġ ṫanaiste toṫaċtaċ na hErenn. Torcair ann Eocha mac Dunadhaiḋ, ocus Cuduiliġ mac Ceinneittiġ, ocus Niall O Cuinn, tri cúlċoimeittiġe Briain, ocus forccla Dal cCais araon riu. Torcair ann Doṁnall mac Diarmata, rí Corcoḃaiscind, ocus Moṫla mac Faolain, ri na nDeisi, ocus mac Anmchaḋa, rí Ua Liaṫain, ocus Gebennaċ mac Dubagain, ri Fermuiġe, ocus Duḃdaborrenn mac Doṁnaill, ocus Loingseċ mac Dunlaing, ocus Sccannlan mac Caṫail, rí Eoġanaċta Loċa Léin, ocus Baedan mac Muirċertaiġ, ri Ciarraiḋe Luaċra, ocus Maolruanaiḋ Ua hEiḋin, rí Aiḋne, ocus Taḋg Ua Ceallaiġ, rí Ua

[1] *Niall O'Cuinn*, or O'Quin. See Geneal. Table in O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 341.

[2] *Rear-guards*. Coiṁṫe, *Ann. Ult.*; coeiṁṫiġ, *Four Mast.*, "companions."

[3] *Ua Liathain*. The MS. reads *Uathain*, and a later hand has written over the word "vel Uaithne." But both are wrong. The true reading is "king of *Ua Liathain*," which has accordingly been adopted in the text.

why he was not killed, for no foreigner of any rank appeared in it who left it alive; and Ath Cliath would have been attacked on that day also, were it not for the son of Amhlaibh and the party he had with him. There fell there also Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, king of Laighin, and Brogarban, son of Conchobhar, king of Ui-Failghe and Domhnall, son of Ferghal, king of Fortuaith Laighen; and Dunlaing, son of Tuathal, king of Life, received a wound of which he died, and two thousand of the Lagenians along with them, and eleven hundred of the Ui-Ceinnselaigh. In a word, six hundred and three score hundreds was the total loss of the enemy's side in this battle.

The Irish chieftains slain on the Danish side.

Total loss of the enemy.

CXVIII. On the other side of the battle there fell Brian Boroimhe, son of Cenneidigh, son of Lorcan, high sovereign of Erinn, and Albain, and of the Saxons, and Britons, and of the west of Europe, as the poet said :—

The chieftains killed on Brian's side

> He was king over the Saxons, the wealthy,
> The son of Cenneidigh of the heavy hundreds.
> Illustrious in the eastern world
> Was the conduct of Brian among the Francs.

There fell there Murchadh, son of Brian, and Toirrdhelbhach, his son. There fell there Conaing, son of Donnchuan, son of Cenneidigh, the son of Brian's brother, the wealthiest royal heir of Erinn. There fell there Eochaidh, son of Dunadhach, and Cuduiligh, son of Cenneidigh, and Niall O'Cuinn,[1] the three rear-guards[2] of Brian, and the greater part of the Dal Cais along with them. There fell there Domhnall, son of Diarmaid, king of Corco-Bhaiscinn; and Mothla, son of Faelan, king of the Desii; and the son of Anmchaidh, king of Ua Liathain[3]; and Gebennach, son of Dubhagan, king of Fera-Muighe; and Dubhdabhorrenn, son of Domhnall, and Loingsech, son of Dunlaing, and Scannlan, son of Cathal, king of the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein; and Baedan, son of Muirchertach, king of Ciarraighe Luachra; and Maelruanaidh Ua hEidhin, king of Aidhne; and Tadhg Ua Cellaigh,

Maine, ocus Domnall mac Eimin, ocus sé cét décc do maitib Erenn ar aon ríu. Ar marbad na maite sin uile ar gach leth, ocus ar maidm for gallaib ro tiomsaigedar fir Muman uile go haoin ionad; ocus ro gabad sosad, ocus longport leo ar faitce Ata Cliat, ocus ro bai cac díob acc iarrad a carat, ocus a coibnesta, ocus ro badar dá lá co na noidcib acc furnaide Donnchaid mic Briain; ocus do riactside cona creich moir leis im easpartain oidce domnaig cascc, dóig as dia haoine cáscca ro cuiread an cat, .i. a naoi calaind Maii, ocus minčaiscc hi sam̃rad an bliadain sin.

The army of Munster encamps on the Green of Dublin.

Tangas a nagaid Briain mar do ordaig, ocus rugad go hArdmača é, ocus Murchad amaille fris, ocus do íc Donnchad go mait a ccendaite, ocus ro čom̃aill a tiomna da éis mar do ordaig Brian féin.

Funeral of Brian and Murchadh.

CXIX. Očt ngabala fičet tucc Donnchad leis, ocus ro marb ar faitče Ata Cliat uile iad, ocus ro ṡobradar na goill do bí in At Cliat tečt amač do tabairt cata do Donnchad, ocus da raibe beó ann do Dál cCais, uair ba nit mór leó a mbuar do marbad ina fiadnaisi; ocus tangas amač o mac Am̃laib da rada riu mart gača fičet do breit leó, ocus na ba uile dfaccbáil ačt sin. Asbert Donnchad, ní ar tuarastal m̃eic Imair gus aniu atamaidne, ocus ní mo bemid o sunn amač, oir dar linn as troma a cač ar ffolta re čele, ocus an čuid do bí beo dona buaib do marbad annsin iad hi ffiadnaisi gall Ata Cliat, ocus ro eimgedar na goill an cat ar eccla Donnchaid ocus Dal cCais.

Slaughter of the enemy's cattle on the Green of Dublin.

Do rocstadar ar na marač gus in arm̃ač, ocus ro adlaicsiot gač aon ro aitnigedar da muinntir ann, ocus do ronsat fuaid, ocus cročair don lučt ro bai

Burial of the slain on the field of battle.

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[1] *Little Easter:* i.e., Low Sunday. The chronological data here mentioned prove that the battle was fought A.D. 1014, not 1013, as in the Four M.

[2] *Oxen.* The word is gabala, which signifies, literally, spoil or booty; the context shows that oxen are meant, and the word is therefore inserted.

king of Ui Maine; and Domhnall, son of Eimhin, and sixteen hundred of the nobles of Erinn along with them. When all these nobles were killed on both sides, and after the foreigners were defeated, all the men of Mumhain collected to one place; and they stationed themselves and encamped on the Green of Ath Cliath. And each sought for his friends and his acquaintances; and they remained two days and nights awaiting the return of Donnchadh, son of Brian; and he arrived with a great prey at the hour of vespers on the night of Easter Sunday; for it was on the Friday before Easter the battle was fought, viz., the ninth of the kalends of May; and little Easter[1] was in the summer of that year.

The army of Munster encamps on the Green of Dublin.

Brian was met, as he had directed; and he was taken to Ard-Macha, and Murchadh along with him; and Donnchadh paid in full their bequests, and fulfilled Brian's will after him as he had himself directed.

Funeral of Brian and Murchadh.

CXIX. Donnchadh brought with him a spoil of eight-and-twenty *oxen*,[2] and they were all slaughtered on the Green of Ath Cliath; and the foreigners who were in Ath Cliath threatened to come out to give battle to Donnchadh and to such of the Dal Cais as were alive there, because it was great pain to them to have their cows killed in their presence. And a message came out from the son of Amhlaibh telling them to take an ox for every twenty, and to leave all the oxen behind except that number. Donnchadh said, "We have not been hitherto in the pay of the son of Imar, nor shall we be so in future; for it appears to us that our hostility to each other is now greater than ever;" and such of the oxen as were yet alive were then slaughtered in the sight of the foreigners of Ath Cliath; but the foreigners declined the battle from fear of Donnchadh and the Dal Cais.

Slaughter of the enemy's cattle on the Green of Dublin.

On the next day they went to the field of battle and buried every one of their people that they were able to recognise, there; and they made sledges and biers for those of them who were alive although wounded; and they carried thirty of the nobles who were killed there

Burial of the slain on the field of battle.

beóġonta díḃ, ocus ruccaḋ deiċenḃar ar ḟiċit dona maiṫiḃ ro marḃaḋ ann da cceallaiḃ dúṫċusa féin gach dú hi raḃatar ar fud Erenn.

Revolt of the troops of Desmond, or South Munster.

CXX. Acht is longṗort ar leiṫ ro bai ag Desmuiṁneaċaiḃ in oiḋċe sin, ocus longṗort ar leiṫ ag Donnchaḋ, ocus acc Dál cCais. Ocus is iad do roine an ċoṁairle sin in aghaiḋ Dal cCais .i. Cian mac Maolmuaiḋ, ocus Doṁnall mac Duiḃdaḃoirenn. Tangatar rompa as sin co Maġ Mairsten, ocus ro scarsat re ċeile, ocus ro ceis menma Desmuiṁneċ ar Dal cCais ara nuaite ocus ar iomat a naesa gonta, ocus do bí caċ aga ráḋa re ċeile díoḃ. Biaiḋ menma meic Briain oraiḃ acc iarraiḋ tiġernais, ocus neirt aṁail ro gaḃ a aṫair, ocus da ria a teaċ, baḋ doilġe a freccra ina anosa. Asi coṁairle do ronsat Desṁuiṁniġ teċta do ċur go Donnchaḋ mac Briain, ocus braiġde diarraiḋ fair, ocus a duḃradar do ḃadarsan aga aṫairsium, ocus ag braṫair a aṫar, ocus nír bo furail leósan a beiṫsium acasoṁ gac re frecṫ, uair ba comdúṫaiġ dóiḃ an ríġe. Asbert Donnchaḋ mac Briain naċ da ndeóin ro batarsoṁ ag a aṫair ina ag braṫair a aṫar acṫ Muṁa uile do breiṫ do Brian o ġallaiḃ mar nar ṫualaing Desmuiṁniġ a cosnaṁ, ocus atbert naċ tiuḃraḋ féin geill no eidireḋa dóiḃ co bráṫ, ocus damaḋ cóiṁlíon éfein riúsan leiṫ ar leiṫ nach raċdais uaḋ gomaḋ riarac dó iat, ocus an uair do ḃiaḋ líon ba lia go ccuiṁneoċaiḋ dóiḃ an turaḋall sin.

The Desmond troops advance against the Dal Cais.

Rainic an fis sin go Desmuiṁneachaiḃ. Ro eirġedar, ocus do ġaḃadar a narma do ċur caṫa re Dál cCais, ocus tangadar da nionnsaiġiḋ. Ocus asbert mac Briain, Cuiriḋ ar se na fiora gonta, ocus oṫrais uile hi Ráiṫ Mairsten annsúd, ocus bíoḋ bar ttrian

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[1] *Father*. The MS. reads braṫairsium, "his brether:" but the Editor has taken the liberty of substituting aṫairsium, "his father," which the sense absolutely requires. They had been subject to Brian, Donnchad's father, and to Mathgamhain, Brian's brother, but now they thought it was Donnchad's turn to be subject to them. Cian, lord of Desmond, who headed

to their territorial churches, wherever they were situated all over Erinn.

Revolt of the troops of Desmond, or South Munster.

CXX. But on that night the men of Deas-Mumhain, and Donchadh with the Dal Cais, had separate camps And there came together to take counsel against the Dal Cais, Cian, son of Maelmuaidh, and Domhnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn. They marched forward from that to Magh Maisten, and they separated there; and the attention of the men of Deas-Mumhain was fixed on the Dal Cais—their small number and the great number of their wounded; and they said one to the other—"The attention of Brian's son will be on you to seek for lordship and power such as his father had, and should he reach his home it will be more difficult to meet him than now." The advice that the men of Deas-Mumhain then adopted was, to send a message to Donnchadh, son of Brian, and to demand hostages from him. And they said that they themselves had been subject to his father,[1] and to his father's brother, and that they insisted on his being subject to them in turn; for that the alternate sovereignty was their natural right. Donnchadh, son of Brian, said, that it was not voluntarily they had been subject to his father, nor to his father's brother; for the whole of Mumhain had been wrested by Brian from the foreigners, when the men of Deas-Mumhain were unable to contest it with them; and he said that he himself would never give pledge or hostage to them; and that if he had had equal numbers with them on his side, they should never have left him until they had submitted to him; and that when his troops became more numerous he would remember to them this insolence.

The Desmond troops advance against the Dal Cais.

This intelligence reached the men of Deas-Mumhain. They arose and took their arms to give battle to the Dal Cais, and they advanced towards them. And the son of Brian said—"Put the wounded and sick men,"

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this movement, was the son of Maolmuadh, or Molloy, by whom Mathgamhain was murdered. See above, chap. l., sq.

The Dalcassian sick and wounded insist on fighting.

ga ccoim̃éad, ocus freiccermaoidne an dá ttrian ele an luc̃t úd, ocus do ronad̃ sam̃laid̃. Ot cualadar na fiora gonta, ocus an luc̃t ot̃raig an sccél sin, ro eirg̃edar, ocus ro c̃uireadar caonnac̃ ina ccréc̃taib̃. ocus do g̃ab̃adar a ccloid̃m̃e, ocus a narmu arc̃ena, ocus ro bí a ccom̃airle an cat̃ do chur a ccedóir. Ot conncadar Desm̃uim̃nig̃ an menmanrad̃ do ronsat idir ṡlán ocus easlán, ro orlaic orra an cat̃ do t̃abairt; ocus ro fiarfaid̃ mac Duibdab̃oirenn do mac Maolm̃uaid̃, cionnas do béram an cat̃ so no ca soc̃ar ata duinne de. Ga soc̃ar iarrae d̃e, ar mac Maoilm̃uaid̃, ac̃t neirt Dal cCais do c̃ur dít. An ttiúb̃raissi com̃roinn leit̃e Mum̃an dam̃sa doneoch geb̃maid araon di. Ni t̃ib̃er itir ón, ar mac Maoilm̃uaid̃. Muna tuccae am̃ ar Dom̃nall mac Duib̃dab̃oirenn, as briat̃ar dam̃sa nach rach letsa hi ccenn cat̃a in agh̃aid̃ Dal cCáis, dóig ni ferr lem beit̃ accatsa inas beit̃ acc mac Briain Boroim̃e, munbad̃ tar cenn soc̃air criche, ocus ṡerainn dam̃ bud̃ d̃ein. Bid̃ eiccen duit tec̃t od t̃ig lemsa, ar mac Maolmuaid̃, gion go ttucca cat̃ anossa lem. Anadh ris an eiccen sin do g̃enam ar mac Duibdab̃oirenn. Do rala etorra mar sin, ocus nir c̃om̃raicetar aen longport co rangadar da ttig̃ib̃.

The Dal Cais remove their wounded to Athy, on the river Barrow.

CXXI. Imt̃usa Dal cCais, do cengladd̃ do rid̃isi a luc̃t gonta ocus ot̃raig, ocus ro t̃uit cret̃a, ocus tám̃a orra iar ndol a ffeirge díb̃, accas ar ffeimd̃ead̃ an c̃at̃a. Ro t̃ógb̃adar a luc̃t gonta rompa co hAth-í for Berb̃a, ocus ro turnait annsin a naes ut̃air, ocus ro ib̃siot uiscce an át̃a, ocus ro glanad̃ a ccréc̃ta. Is annsin do b̃i Donnc̃ad̃ Mac Giollap̃atraic rí Ossaig̃e, ocus laig̃si ina ccumang cat̃a a Muig̃ Cloinne Ceallaig̃ ara ccinn, ocus forcoim̃et uad̃a orra, dus cia héolus no g̃eb̃daig ar daig̃ co ttuccad̃ tac̃ar dóib uair rop eascarait bunaid̃ da c̃eile iad, óir as la Brian do

said he "all into Rath Maisten yonder, and let a third of you guard them, and we, the other two-thirds, will meet these people." And it was done so. When the wounded men and the sick heard this, they arose and stuffed their wounds with moss, and they took their swords and other arms, and they advised that the battle be immediately fought. When the men of Deas-Mumhain saw the spirit shown both by the unwounded and the maimed, they hesitated to give battle; and the son of Dubhdabhoirenn asked the son of Maelmuadh—"Why should we fight this battle, or what profit have we of it?" "What profit dost thou seek from it," said the son of Maelmuadh, "but to cast off the power of the Dal Cais?" "Wilt thou then give me an equal division of half Mumhain, as much of it as we may both conquer?" "That will I not give, indeed," said the son of Maelmuadh. "If thou give it not, then," said Domhnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn, "on my word I shall not go with thee against the Dal Cais, because I am not better pleased to be under thee than under the son of Brian Boroimhe, unless for the profit of land and territory for myself." "Thou shalt be compelled to come from thy home with me," said the son of Maelmuadh, "though thou join me not now in battle." "We shall wait for that compulsion," said the son of Dubhdabhoirenn. Thus did the contention between them remain, and they met not in the one camp till they reached their homes.

The Dalcassian sick and wounded insist on fighting.

Dissension among the Desmond chieftains.

CXXI. To return to the Dal Cais; their wounded and sick men were again bound, but tremour and faintness fell upon them when their excitement passed away, and the battle was not fought. They took their wounded with them to Ath-I, on the Berbha; and their sick were laid down there, and they drank of the water of the ford, and their wounds were cleansed. At that time Donnchadh Mac Gillapatraic, king of Osraighe, and the Laighsi were in battle array in Magh Chloinne Ceallaigh in wait for them, and they had scouts out to inform them of the path they should take that they might give them battle, for they were natural enemies to each other: for it was by

The Dal Cais remove their wounded to Athy, on the river Barrow.

The men of Ossory and Leix demand hostages from Donnchadh.

cuiḃriǯeḋ a aṫair, ocus bai bliaḋain aicce hilláiṁ. Ocus tainic mac Briain, ocus Dal cCais ina ndírim deiǯṙluaiǯ rompa co hAth-í for Bearḃa, aṁail ro raiḋemar roṁainn, ocus do conncadar Ossraiǯe sin, ocus ro cuiritt teċta diarraiḋ braiǯded ar mac Briain, no diarraiḋ caṫa muna ffaǯdais braiǯde. Ocus rangatar na teċta go mac Briain, ocus ro foċtaḋ scéla dibh, ocus ro innisetar na toscca mo ttangadar. Is annsin atbert mac Briain conár ḃiongnadh mac Maoilṁuaiḋ, ocus Desṁuṁa diarraiḋ braiǯdeḋ, ocus a sealaiǯeaċta ar Dal cCais, óir ba hionann fuil dóiḃ ocus do Dal cCais, ocus rob iongnaḋ leo Mac Giollapatraicc diarraiḋ na sealaiǯeaċta nar ḋuthċas dó dfágbáil. Ocus aṁail ro ċualadar an taos gonta sin ro ṡás a mbriǯ, ocus a mborrfaḋ gur ḃionċaṫaiǯṫe gaċ aoin ṡear dib. Ocus do raiḋedar re mac Briain, ocus re Dal cCais dol fon ccoill fa nesa dóiḃ, ocus indlaiǯe do ṫaḃairt leo combeidis a ndromanna riu ina sesaṁ an feḋ do beiṫ an caṫ aga ċur. Aṁail ro ċuala Mac Giollaṗatraic ocus Ossraiǯe an ṁeisneċ ṁór sin ag Dal cCais etir ṙlán, ocus essláin, do locadar tabairt an caṫa, ocus ro iongaiḃsiot Dal cCais. Ocus ar locaḋ an ċaṫa dOssraigib do ċuatar tri caecait don luċt gonta décc, ar maolad a ffeirge ó naċ ffuarataṙ caṫ. Gur haḋlaiceḋ ann sin iad, an méid naċ ruccaḋ da nuaislib da nduiṫċib da naḋnacal ina cceallaiḃ dúṫċais go honóraċ, ocus rangadar rompá go Cend Coraḋ. Conid coccaḋ Gall re Gaiḋealaiḃ, ocus cath Cluana Tarḃ conuicce sin.]

The wounded insist on being led to battle.

The men of Ossory intimidated decline the contest.

FINIS.

Brian his father had been put in fetters and kept a year in custody. And now Brian's son and the Dal Cais came in close martial array to Ath-I, on the Berbha, as we have said before; and when the Osraighe saw that, they sent messengers to demand hostages from Brian's son, or to demand battle should they not receive hostages. And the messengers reached the son of Brian; and they were questioned as to their errand; and they related the business on which they came. And then the son of Brian said that it was no wonder that the son of Maelmuaidh and the Deas-Mumhain should ask for hostages and alternate sovereignty from the Dal Cais, because their blood was the same as that of the Dal Cais; but they did wonder that Mac Gillapatraic should seek for a sovereignty to which he had no natural right. And when the wounded men heard this their strength and fury grew so, that every man of them was able for battle. And they said to the son of Brian and to the Dal Cais to go into the nearest wood to them, and to bring out with them stakes to which they could put their backs, standing during the battle. When Mac Gillapatraic and the Osraighe heard of that great courage in the Dal Cais, both whole and wounded, they declined the battle, and avoided the Dal Cais. And when the Osraighe failed to give battle, thrice fifty of the wounded men died when their excitement ceased as they did not receive battle; and they were buried there, except such of their nobles as were brought to their native places to be buried in their hereditary churches with honour; and they thus arrived at Cenn Coradh. And that is the war of the Gaill with the Gaedhil and the battle of Cluain-Tarbh so far.]

The men of Ossory and Leix demand hostages from Donnchadh.

The wounded insist on being led to battle.

The men of Ossory intimidated decline the contest.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

The Fragment of this Work preserved in the Book of Leinster.

The fragment of this work contained in the remains of the Book of Leinster,[1] a MS. of the 12th century, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is evidently a much older text, and in a more ancient orthography than that which is found in the Brussels MS. It has, therefore, been given here with a translation, in parallel columns. This, it will be remembered, is the MS. which is for shortness referred to by the letter L. in the notes, pp. 1–31. There are unfortunately several illegible words and passages in this MS. which has suffered greatly from age and damp; these defects are marked by dots, thus . . . . in the following transcript:— The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Ϸui ϸoċꝛaiτi móꝛ ꝼoꝛ ꝼeꝛaiϸ hΘꝛenn co ꝼoꝛlετan, o Lochlannċaiϸ ocuꝼ o Ϸanaꝛaiϸ ϸulϡiϸ ϸuꝛċꝛiϸeċaiϸ ꝼꝛi ꝛe cian ocuꝼ ꝼꝛi aimꝼiꝛ ꝼoτa .i. ꝼꝛi ϸeiċ ṁϸliaϸna ocuꝼ oċτ ꝼiċiτ. Ꞥo ϸa ceτ ṁϸliaϸain iaꝛ ꝼaiꝛinϸ, .i. ó Aꝛτꝛi co Ϸꝛían mac Cennediġ i Caꝼꝼiul; ó ꝛeimeꝼ Aeϸa mic Neill ꝼꝛoꝼꝼaiϡ i Τemꝛaiϡ, .i. ꝼe ꝛiϡ ϸeϡ ꝛiꝼ in ꝛe ꝼain i Caꝼꝼiul, ϸa ꝛiϡ ϸeϡ imoꝛꝛo i Τemꝛaiϡ ꝛiꝼ in ꝛe ceτna.

There was great oppression[2] on the men of Erin, throughout its breadth, from Lochlanns, and from fierce, hardhearted Danars, during a lengthened period and a long time, viz., for eight score and ten years. Or, two hundred years, according to some, i.e. from Airtri to Brian son of Kennedy, in Cashel; [and] from the time of Aedh, son of Niall Frossach, in Tara, that is, sixteen kings during that time in Cashel, but twelve kings in Tara during the same time. Chap. I. Chap. II.

[1] *Book of Leinster.* Class H., Tab. 2, No. 18, fol. 217. For an account of this MS. see Introduction.

[2] *Great oppression.* It will be observed that the text as given above (p. 2) from B., has "wonderful and awfully great oppression," with other considerable interpolations, which prove it to have been much more modern than the Book of Leinster. For expletives of this kind are the most common of all interpolations.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Chap. III.

Mor dedod ocus dimned dethar ocus dethaṙcaṙṙul ro ḟulṅgetaṙ fir [erenn] ri remeṙ na ṙíg ṙain o Lochlannaib ocus o Danaṙaib.

Great hardship and fatigue, contempt and indignity, did the men of Ireland sustain during the time of these kings from Lochlanns and from Danars.

Chap. IV.

Irremeṙ Aeda mic Néill ṙíg hErend, ocus Aṙtri mic Caṫail ṙíg Caṙṙil, ṙa thindṙcanṙat gaill indriud hErend aṙ tuṙ, a Cammuṙ h. Faṫaid Tire .i. fichi aṙ ċet long, ocus ṙa indṙetaṙ in tir uili. Ra airged ocus ṙa loṙcad leo Inis Labṙaind, ocus Daṙiniṙ. Tucṙat Eoganaċt Loċa Léin cath dóib, ocus ṙo maṙbad ṙe fir dec aṙ .cccc. di na gallaib, .i. in dechmad bliadain renéc Aṙtri.

Chap. V.

Tanic dna loṅgeṙ aili aṙṙain co ṙo innṙetaṙ Coṙcaig, ocus Inis Temli ocus Becherinn, ocus Cluainúama, ocus Roṙ niallain, ocus Scellic Míċil, ocus ṙucṙat Etgal in

Chap. IV.

It was in the time of Aedh, son of Niall, king of Ireland, and of Artri, son of Cathal, king of Cashel, that foreigners first began the devastation of Ireland, at Cammus Hui Fathaidh Tire, i.e. 120 ships, and the whole country was plundered. Inis Labhrainn and Darinis were plundered by them. The Eoghanachts of Loch Lein gave them battle, and 416 men of the foreigners were killed, in the tenth year before the death of Artri.[1]

Chap. V.

There came another fleet after that, and Cork was plundered, and Inis Temhli,[2] and Becherinn,[3] and Cluain Uamha, and Ros-niallain,[4] and Skellig Michael; and Etgal of the Skel-

[1] *Death of Artri.* The following note referred to from this word occurs in the margin of the MS. " . . . . bliadain ṙin aṙ maṙb ad diman aṙad, ocus in daṙ[a] bliadain ṙigi Fedilmid mic Crimthaind," which is no doubt the remark received by the later MS. into the text, iṙ in bliaḋam ṙin aṙ maṙbad Diman Aṙad, "this was the year after that in which Diman of Aradh was killed," with the addition of the words "and the second year of the reign of Fedlimidh Mac Crinthainn." It is doubtful whether the date thus described is not the date of the plundering of Cork, mentioned in the next chapter.

[2] *Inis Temhli.* In the margin at this word is the note, in daṙa bliadain ṙigi Fedilim mic Crimthainn, "the second year of the reign of Fedhlim Mac Crimhthann." This note has also been transcribed into the text in B.

[3] *Becherinn.* Written Bechep in the MS., with a line over ṙ. B. reads bendċaiṙ, i.e. Bangor, which is so far suspicious that all the other places mentioned are in the south of Ireland, and the plundering of Bangor is recorded in the next section. Beg-eire or Begery Island, in Wexford harbour, is evidently the place intended.—See 4 *Mast.* A.D. 819.

[4] *Ros-niallain.* B. reads *Ros-Maelain.*

Scelig leo i mbrait, conid tre mirbail atrulla uádib, ocus ba marḃ de gorrai ocus dítraid occo hé.

lig was carried off by them into captivity, so that it was by miracle he escaped from them, and he died of hunger and thirst with them.[1]

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Tanic loṅges aili i tuaiscirt ṅhErenn, .i. in cethramad bliadain ar nec Aeda ríg hErend; ocus ra argsetsaide Bendchuir Ulad, ocus ra brissetar scrin Chomgaill. Ra marbsat epscop in bali, ocus a ecnaidi, ocus a ṡruthi. Ra airgset Mag ṁBili.

There came another fleet into the north of Ireland, i.e. in the fourth year after the death of Aedh, king of Ireland; and they plundered Bangor of Uladh, and they broke the shrine of Comhgall. They killed the bishop of the place,[2] and his wise men, and his clergy. They plundered Magh Bile.

Chap. VI.

Tanic dna loṅges aili in huib Cendsalaig, ocus ra airgset Tech Munnu ocus Teċ Mollińg, ocus Inis Teoc. Tangatar arsain in Ossairgib, ocus ra hindred in tir leo; ocus tucsat Ossairge caṫ dóib, ocus torcair .clxx. dina gallaib. Ra airgset ocus ra loiscset Lessmor, ocus Cell Molassi, ocus Cluain Aird Mobeccóc. Ra toglad leo dún Dermaigi ocus Inis Eoganáin, ocus

There came another fleet into Hy Cennsalaigh, and plundered Tech Munnu, and Tech Molling, and Inis Teoc. They afterwards[3] went into Ossory, and the country was plundered by them; and the men of Ossory[4] gave them battle, and 170 of the foreigners were slain. They plundered and burned Lismore, and Cillmolash, and Cluain-aird-Mobecog. By them were demolished Dun-Derrow, and Inishannon, and Disert Ti-

Chap. VII.

[1] *Whilst with them.* This seems to contradict the statement that he escaped by miracle. The meaning possibly is, that although he miraculously escaped, he nevertheless died from the effects of the hunger and thirst to which he was exposed whilst in their power. But it is more probable that two different accounts are here combined, and that "according to others," or words to that effect have dropped out in transcription, before the words "he died of hunger, &c." The annals of Ulster, A.D. 823, make no mention of the miraculous escape; "Eitgail Sceiligg a gentilibus raptus est, et cito mortuus est fame et siti."

[2] *The place.* Literally "of the town" in bali. But this word is often used to signify a monastery or religious house.

[3] *Afterwards.* Arsain for iarsin. We may observe several peculiarities of spelling in this fragment, as ra for ro; iarsain for iarsin; sain for sin; leiss for les; also e for i in Lessmor, Cell Molaisi, &c.

[4] *The men of Ossory.* Ossairge, is in the other MSS. Ossaiġe, which is the more usual form.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Ɗiſiurt Tiprraiti. Ra gab rempo fa thuaid iartain co Snám Aigneċ, co ro millſet Land Leri ocuſ Cellẛleibi. Atuaid aríſi doib co ro airgſet Sord Coluimcille ocuſ Damliac Cianain, ocuſ Slani, ocuſ Cell auſailli, ocuſ Glenn da loċa, ocuſ Cluain uama, ocuſ Mungarit, ocuſ urmór cell hEren uile.

Chap. VIII. Tanic loṅgeſ aile i cuan Lumnig, ocuſ ra hindrit Corco baſcind uathuſaide, ocuſ Tradraigi, ocuſ .h. Conaill gabra. Aċt tucſat .h. Conaill cath dóib, [la Dondchadh ri .h. Conaill in tan ſa, ocuſ Doṁnall mac Cindfaelaid ri .h. Cairpri], ocuſ ni feſ ca lin do rochair and.

Chap. IX. Tancatar arſain rigloṅgeſ adbul mór la Tuirgeiſ i tuaſciurt ṅhEren. Ra gab in Tuirgeſ rigi gall hEren. Ra hindred tuaſcert ṅhEren leo, ocuſ ra ſcailſet fo Leth Cuind. Ra gab loṅgeſ dib for Loċ Echaċ. Ra gab loṅgeſ aile illugmud. Loṅgeſ aili for Loch Rí.

Ra hindred dna Ardmaċa fo ṫri ſinnóen miſ leo, ocuſ ro gab Turgeiſ féin abdaine Aird Macha, ocuſ ra innarb aſſ Forannan abaid Aird Maċa corroċt Muṁain, ocuſ

praiti. They afterwards went northwards to Snamh Aignech, so that they spoiled Lann Leri and Killeavy. They returned again and plundered Swords of Columcille, and Duleek of Cianan, and Slane, and Killossy, and Glendaloch, and Cloyne, and Mungret, and the greater part of the monastic churches of all Ireland.

Another fleet came into Limerick harbour, and by them were plundered Corca Bhaiscin, and Tradraighe, and Hy Conaill Gabhra. But the Ui Conaill gave them battle [under Donchadh[1] king of the Ui Conaill, at that time, and Domhnal, son of Cennfaeladh, king of Ui Carbre], and it is not known what number fell there.

There came after that a great royal fleet into the north of Ireland with Turges. This Turges assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Ireland. The north of Ireland was plundered by them, and they dispersed themselves over Leth Cuinn. A fleet of them took possession of Loch Neagh. Another fleet took possession of Louth. Another fleet on Loch Ree.

Moreover, Armagh was plundered by them three times in the same month, and Turges himself took the Abbacy of Armagh; and Forannan, Abbot of Armagh, was driven away

[1] *Under Donchadh.* The clause within brackets is added by a contemporary hand in the margin of the MS. See the Text, p. 8 supra, and note 4.

ꞅcꞃin Ꝑatꞃaic ꞇeiꞅꞅ; ocuꞅ baı Ꝑoꞃannan ceꞇhꞃı bꞇıaꞇna ı Mumaın, ocuꞅ Tuꞃʒeiꞅ ın Aꞃꞇ Maċa, ocuꞅ neꞃꞇ ꞇuaꞅcıꞃꞇ hEꞃenꞇ aıce.

and went to Munster, and the Shrine of Patrick with him; and Forannan was four years in Munster, and Turges in Ardmacha, and the power of the north of Erinn was with him.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Iꞅ anꞇꞅın ꞃa comaꞇꞇaꞇ ꝼaꞅꞇını Beꞃchaın ın pꞃım ꝼaꞇa .ı.—

It was then that the prophecy of Berchan the chief prophet[1] was fulfilled, viz.:—

Tıcꞃaıꞇ Ʒenꞇı ꞇaꞃ muıꞃ maꞇꞇ
Meꞅcꞃaıꞇ ꞃoꞃ ꝼeꞃanꞇ hEꞃınꞇ
Bıꞇ uaꞇıb abaıꞇ ꞃoꞃ caċ cıꞇꞇ
Bıꞇ uaꞇıb neꞃꞇ ꞃoꞃ hEꞃınꞇ.

Gentiles shall come over the noble sea,
They shall spread over the land of Erinn.
Of them shall be an abbot over every church,
Of them *shall be* power[2] over Erinn.

Seċꞇ ṁbꞇıaꞇna ꞇoıb, nı ꝼeıꞇm ꝼanꞇ
In aꞃꞇꞃıʒı na hEꞃenꞇ
Innabꞇaını caċa cıꞇꞇı,
Ꞇo ʒenꞇıb ꞇuın Ꞇubꞇínı.
Bıaıꞇ ab ꝼoꞃmċıꞇꞇꞅe ꞇe
Nı ṫaceꞃa ꞇıaꞃmeꞃʒe
Can ṗaꞇıꞃ can cꞃeꞇa
Can Ꞇaꞇın, aċꞇ ʒaꞇꞇ beꞃꞇa.

Seven years shall they be—not weak their power,
In the sovereignty of Erinn,
In the abbacy of every church
The Gentiles of the fort[3] of Dublin.
There shall be an abbot of them over this my church,
He shall not attend to matins,
Without Pater, without Credo,
Without Latin,[4] and only [knowing] a foreign language.

Iꞇem Coꞇum cıꞇꞇe—
In ꞇoṅʒeꞅ ꞅaın Ꞇoċa Rı
Maıṫ ꞇo moꞃaꞇ ʒaꞇꞇ Ʒenꞇı,
Bıꞇ uaꞇıb ab Aıꞃꞇ Maċa,
Bıꞇ oꞇꞇamnaċꞇ anꞃꞇaꞇha.

Also Columcille—
This fleet of Loch Ri
Has well exalted the foreign Gentiles,
Of them shall be an abbot of Ardmacha,
It shall be the rule of an Usurper.

Iꞇem Bec mac Ꞇe—
Ꞇaꞃ ben ċꞇoc ı Taꞇꞇın ꞇe,
Cıaꞃan ꞅen ꞅaıꞇbıꞃ ꞅaıʒꞃe,
Ra ʒeꞇꞇ ḋhEꞃınꞇ co ꞅa ꞇꞃı
Ꞇama Ꞇanaꞃ ꞇubꞇoṅʒꞅı.

Also Bec mac De—
When the bell was rung in warm Tailtin,
The aged wealthy Ciaran of Saighre,
Promised to Erinn, three times,
Parties of Danes of the black ships.

Chap. X.

.ı. ꞇam ın ınaꞇ ınnaꞃba Coꞇum cıꞇꞇı ꞇaꞃ muıꞃ, ocuꞅ ꞇam ın ınaꞇ ꞅaꞃaıʒṫı Cıaꞃaın

i.e. a party in consequence of Columcille being banished beyond the sea; and a party in

[1] *The chief prophet.* This is amplified in B. and D. into "chief prophet of heaven and earth."

[2] *Power.* A second hand has written under the word neꞃꞇ *power*, no ꞃı "*or* ꞃı" *a king*, which is the reading of D. and B.

[3] *The fort.* For ꞇuın "the *fort* of Dublin," B. and D. read ꞇub, "*black* Gentiles of Dublin." See above, p. 10.

[4] *Latin.* For *Latin*, B. and D. read ʒoeꞇıꞇʒ or ʒoıꞇeıꞇcc, "without *Irish*;" i.e. unable to speak Irish.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

ꝼeɪn ɪ Taltɪn, ocuꝩ ꝺam ɪn ɪnaꝺ tꝛoɪꝩcthɪ naem hΘꝛenn ɪ Temꝛaɪg aꝛ Ꝺɪaꝛmaɪꝺ mac Ceꝛbaɪll.

consequence of Ciaran himself being sacrilegiously wronged in Taltin; and a party in consequence of the fasting of the saints of Erinn, in Tara, against Diarmaid Mac Cerbhaill.

Chap. XI.

Tanɪc ɪaꝛꝩaɪn Tuꝛgeꝩ ꝼoꝛ Loch Rɪ, ocuꝩ ꝛa ɪnꝺꝛeꝺ Mɪꝺɪ uaꝺaꝩꝩ ocuꝩ Connaċta, ocuꝩ ꝛa hɪnꝺꝛeꝺ leɪꝩꝩ Cluaɪn mɪc noɪꝩ ocuꝩ Cluaɪn ꝼeꝛta Ꝺꝛenaɪnꝺ, ocuꝩ Loṫꝛa, ocuꝩ Tɪꝛ ꝺa gla꞉, ocuꝩ Ɪnɪꝩ Celtꝛa, ocuꝩ cella Ꝺeꝛg ꝺeɪꝛc aꝛċena. Tuc Cluaɪn mɪc noɪꝩ ꝺa mnaɪ. Ɪꝩ anꝺ ꝛa beꝛeꝺ a ꝼꝛecaꝛtha ꝺaltoɪꝛ ɪn temꝑoɪl móɪꝛ. Otta aɪnm mnaa Tuꝛgeɪꝩ. Tucꝩat Connaċtaċ cath ꝺó, ɪ toꝛcaɪꝛ Maelꝺuɪn macMuꝛgɪuꝩa ꝛɪgꝺomna Connaċt.

After this came Turges upon Loch Ri, and from thence were plundered Meath and Connacht; and Cluainmicnois and Clonfert of Brennan, and Lothra, and Tir-da-glas, and Inis Celtra, were plundered by him, and the churches of Loch Derg in like manner. Cluainmicnois was taken by his wife. It was on the altar of the great church she used to give her answers. Otta was the name of the wife of Turges. The Connaught-men gave him a battle, in which was slain Maelduin, son of Murghius, heir apparent of Connaught.

Chap. XII.

Tancataꝛ ɪaꝛꝩaɪn coɪc loṅga ocuꝩ tꝛɪ ꝼɪċɪt co Ꝺublɪnꝺ Ath Cliath, ocuꝩ ꝛa hɪnꝺꝛɪt Lagɪn co maꝛgɪ leo, ocuꝩ Mag ṁBꝛeg. Tucꝩat Ꝺalꝛɪataɪ cath ꝺon loṅgɪꝩ ꝩeɪn; uaɪꝛ ꝛa ċuataꝛ lam ċle ꝛɪ hΘꝛɪnꝺ ꝼathuaɪꝺ aꝛ mɪllɪuꝺ Lagen ocuꝩ Ꝺꝛeg. Ra maꝛbaꝺ ɪꝩɪn ċaṫ ꝩɪn Eoganan mac Oengusa ꝛí Ꝺaɪlꝛɪataɪ.

There came after that three score and five ships to Dublinn of Ath Cliath, and Laigin was plundered by them to the sea,[1] and Magh Bregh. The Dalriadans gave battle to this fleet; for they went, with the left hand[2] to Erinn, northwards, after the plundering of Laigin and Bregia. Eoghanan, son of Oengus, king of Dalriadai, was killed in that battle.

Chap. XIII.

Taɪnɪc tóla muꝛbꝛuċta

There came great sea-belched

[1] *To the sea.* Mr. W. M. Hennessy suggests that maɪꝛgɪ may here mean *Slievemargy;* but in the text (p. 12, above) the reading is co ꝼaɪꝛge, "to the sea;" and the reading here may, perhaps, be meant for co mꝼaɪꝛgɪ.

[2] *Left hand.* This passage has been wrongly translated, p. 13, *n.* 11, owing to a misreading of the text, which was pointed out to me by Mr. W. M. Hennessy.

moiṙ do Ʒaḷḷaib i Mumain, cona ṙabi aiṙd inti can loṅʒiṡ. Ra ʒab loṅʒeṡ dib i Caṙṙaiʒi Luaċṙa, ocuṡ ṙa hindṙetaṙ co Cill Iti, ocuṡ co Cill Eimni. Ra hindṙetaṙ dna loṅʒeṡ Lumniʒ Maṙthin Mumain, ocuṡ ṙucṡat Foṙannan comaṙba Patṙaic o Cluain Comaṙda leo co Lumneċ, ocuṡ ṙa bṙiṡṡiṡet ṡcṙin Patṙaic.

shoals of foreigners into Mumhain, so that there was not a point thereof without a fleet. A fleet of them came to Ciarriaghi Luachra, and they plundered as far as Cill-Ita and Cill-Eimni. And the fleet of Luimneach plundered the Martini of Mumhain, and carried off with them Forannan, successor of Patrick from Cluain Comharda to Luimnech, and they broke the shrine of Patrick.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Iṡ hi ṡeo bliadain ṙa ʒabad Tuiṙʒeiṡ la Maelṡeċlainn. Ro baided aṙṡain hé illoċ Uaiṙ .i. in bliadain ṙeṁbadud Neill Caille ṡain, ocuṡ in daṙa bliadain ṙenéc Feidilmid mic Cṙimthainḋ. Aṙ maṙbad Tuṙʒeiṡ dolluid Foṙannan aṡṡin Mumain co Aṙd Maċa, ocuṡ ṙa leṡṡaiʒed ṡcṙin Patṙaic.

It was in this year Turges was taken prisoner by Maelsechlainn. He was drowned afterwards in Loch Uair, i.e. in the year before the drowning of Niall Caille, and the second year before the death of Feidhlimidh, son of Crimhthainn. After Turges was killed, Forannan went from Mumhain to Ardmacha, and the shrine of Patrick was repaired.

Chap. XIV.

Tannataṙ dna ʒaill co Roṡṡcṙe ṡin bliadain ṡeo, laa feili Poil ocuṡ Petuiṙ, ocuṡ intoenaċ innilltı and, ocuṡ tucad caṫ doib, ocuṡ ṙomaid foṙṡ na ʒaḷḷaib tṙe ṙaṫ Poil ocuṡ Petaiṙ, ocuṡ ṙa maṙbad co diaṙmidi, ocuṡ ṙa bualad Onphile iaṙla and de ċloiċ, co ṙo maṙb é de. Ba ʒṙema dḟeṙaib Mumain in tṙoṡcud da ṙonṡaṫ ṙa Pol iṡ ṙa Petaṙ innaidche ṙeime. Iṡ moṙ dulc ocuṡ dimned fṙiṫ uathu ocuṡ fuaṙataṙṡum o ċaċ doneoċ naċ ṡcṙibthaṙ ṡund.

The foreigners came to Roscrea in this year, on the feast of Paul and Peter, and the fair had then begun, and they were given battle, and the foreigners were defeated through the grace of Paul and Peter, and immense numbers were slain; and Earl Onphile was struck with a stone there, so that he was killed thereby. Some of the men of Mumhain were fasting to propitiate Paul and Peter the night before. Much evil and distress was received from them and received by them all, which is not written here.

Chap. XV.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Chap. XVI.

Tancatar iarsain lon̓ges adbul mor de Northmannaib for Boind. Ra hindred Bregа ocus Mide. Tainic lon̓ges aile corragaib for Loċ nEthaċ. Ra' hindred leosaide co Ardmacha, ocus ra losgset Ardmacha fein, ocus ra hairged. Tainic dna lon̓ges aile co Athcliath ocus ra hindred leosaide Mag Laigen ocus Mag mbreg, etir thuaṫa ocus cella.

There came afterwards a very great fleet of Northmen on the Boind. Bregia and Midhe were plundered. Then came another fleet and settled on Loch nEochach. All was plundered by them as far as Ardmacha, and Ardmacha itself was burned and plundered. There came then another fleet to Ath-cliath, and by them were plundered Magh-Laighen, and Magh mBregh, both country and churches.

Chap. XVII.

Tanic dna lon̓ges ba liu andasaide co Athcliaṫ béos. Ra hindred leosaide urmor Erend uili. Ra hindred leo dna Hi Coluimcilli. Ra hindred leo Inis Muridaig, ocus Daminis, ocus Glenn da loċa, ocus Lagin uili co Aċadur, ocus co hAchadṁbo, ocus co Liaṫ Moċaemoc, ocus co Daire Mor, ocus co Cluain [Ferta] Molua, ocus co Ross cre, ocus co Lothra, co ro brissiset scrin Ruadain, ocus co Cluain mic nois, ocus co Saigir, ocus co Dirmag.

There came[1] also a fleet still more numerous than those to Ath Cliath. The greater part of all Erinn was plundered by them. Moreover, Hí of Columcille was plundered by them. There were plundered by them Inis-Muridhaigh, and Daimhinis, and Glenn da loch, and all Laghin to Achadhur, and to Aghamhbo, and to Liath Mochaemog, and to Daire Mór, and to Clonfert Molua, and to Rosscre, and to Lothra, where they broke the shrine of Ruadan, and to Cluainmicnois, and to Saighir, and to Dirmhagh.

Chap. XVIII.

Tanic lon̓ges o Luimniuċ i ndescert ṅhErend, cor inrisset Scelеg Michil, ocus Inis Fathlind, ocus Disiurt Donnain, ocus Cluain mor; co ro marbsat Rudgaile mac Trebṫaiḋi, ocus Cormac mac Selbaig anchora. Is desside ra hoslaic an̓gel fo di, ocus roscen̓glaitis na Gaill caċ

There came a fleet from Luimnech in the south of Erinn, they plundered Scelig Michael, and Inisfallen, and Disert Donnain, and Cluain Mór. And they killed Rudgaile, son of Trebhthaidhe, and Cormac son of Selbach, the anchorite. It was he whom the angel set loose twice, and the foreigners bound

[1] *There came.* I am indebted also to Mr. Hennessy for correcting the erroneous version of this passage given above, p. 16, *n.* 8.

ꞃuaiꞃi. Ra hiꞃꞃeꝺ ꝉeo ꝺna Coꞃcaiʒ ocuꞅ . . . . . ocuꞅ Cinꝺmaꞃa ocuꞅ Ꝏcaꝺ	him each time. Moreover, Corcaigh was plundered by them, and . . . . . and Cinnmara and Achad	The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

The remainder of this fragment is so much defaced that only a few words and sentences here and there can be read. All various readings of any consequence which have been detected in what is legible, have been mentioned in the notes under the text.

The following coincides with chapters xx and xxi of the text, p. 18–21, *supra*.

Taꞃcataꞃ iaꞃꞅain Ꝺubʒenti Ꝺanaꞃꝺa . . . . . ꞅat ꞅo hꞒꞃenꝺ, ocuꞅ ꞃabataꞃ oc ꝺiċoꞃ na Ꞅinꝺʒenti . . . . . ꞃo maꞃbꞅat coic miꝉi ꝺona Ꞅinꝺʒenti oc Snam Ꝏiʒneċ. Tanic ꝺna ꝉoṅʒeꞅ aiꝉe coꞃa ʒaib i Ciaꞃꞃaiʒi, ocuꞅ ꞃa hiꞃꝺeꝺ ꝉeo co Ꝉumneċ. Ra hiꞃꝺeꝺ ꝉeo Ceꝉꝉ Ita . . . . . Caꞅꞅeꝉ na ꞃiʒ, ocuꞅ aiꞃeꝺ Ceċtꞃaiʒe, ocuꞅ Ꝉiaṫ-mo-ċaemoc. In aimꞅiꞃ Ꞅeiꝺꝉimiꝺ mic Cꞃimthainn ꝺa ꞃonaiṫ na huiꝉc ꞅin.	After that came Black Gentile Danars, [and spread themselves] over Erinn, and they aimed at driving out the White Gentiles . . . . . they killed five thousand of the White Gentiles at Snamh Aighnech Another fleet then came and landed in Ciarriaghe, and all was plundered by them as far as Luimneach. And there were plundered by them Cill Ita . . . . and Cashel of the Kings, and the eastern district of Cechtraighe and Liath-mo-Chaemoc. It was in the time of Feidhlimidh, son of Crimhthann that these evils were done.	Chap. XX.
. . . . . oc Ꞓꞅꞅꞃuaiꝺ. Ra bꞃiꞅꞅeṫaꞃ ꝺna Ꝺaꝉcaiꞅꞅ caṫ ꞅoꞃꞃo ꞅoꞃ Ꝺeꞃʒꝺeiꞃc. Ra bꞃiꞅꞅeṫaꞃ ꝺna hui Neiꝉꝉ caṫ aiꝉe ꞅoꞃꞃo oc Ꝏꞃꝺ Ꝺꞃeccain. Ra maꞃbꞅat ꝺna hiChoꝉʒan Raaꝉb iaꞃꝉa. Tuc ꝺna . . . . . Caꞅꞅiꝉ áꞃ ꞅoꞃꞃo, ocuꞅ Ꝉoꞃcan ꞃi Ꝉaʒen caṫ ꝺoib oc Sciaiṫ Neċtain, ꝺu hi toꞃcaiꞃ taꞃaiꞅi . . .	. . . . . at Essruaidh. The Dalcais gained a battle over them at Dergdeirc. The Ui Neill gained another battle over them at Ard-breccain. The Ui Colgan killed Earl Raulbh . . . . of Cashel, made a slaughter of them; and Lorcan, king of Laghin [defeated] them in battle at Sciath Nechtain, where was killed the Tanist . . .	Chap. XXI.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Of chapter xxii only the following fragment remains:—

Ra briss dna . . . . . forro, du i torċair seċt cet. Ra . . . . . forro oc Daire Disirt da ċonna . . . . Ra briss dna Olchobar ocus Eoganaċt caṫ forro ac Dun Mael, du i torċair cóic cet, da rocratar dna .ccclxxuiii. la hui Fidginti. Da roċratar dna .cc. dib la Ciannaċta, oc Inis Find Maic. Da roċratar dna .ccc. la Ciannaċta beos icind mis . . . . . Fremond, oc Raiṫ Aldain. Ra briss dna Maelsechlainn caṫ forro oc Raiṫ Chommair. Ra brissetar Ciarraige Luaċra caṫ forro.

. . . . . . gained a battle over them in which were slain seven hundred . . . over them at Daire-Disert-da-chonna. Olchobhar and the Eoghanacht gained a battle over them at Dun-Mael, where were slain five hundred, and three hundred and seventy-eight were slain by the Hui Fidhgenti. Moreover, two hundred of them were slain by the Ciannachta at Inis Finn-Maic. There were slain also by the Ciannachta three hundred, at the end of a month . . . Fremond, at Rath Aldain. And Maelsechlainn gained a battle over them at Rath Chommair. The Ciarraighe Luachra gained a battle over them.

The following passage which gives an important correction of the text, in chapter xxiii (see note 3, p. 22, *supra*), is legible:—

Chap. XXIII.

Tainic afrain Aṁlaib mac rig Lochlann ocus loṅges lan mor leis .i. sin deċmad bliadain re nec Maelseċlainn, co ro gaib rigi gall hErend, ocus is leiss ra badad Conchobar mac Dondchada rigdomna Temraċ. Is lesin loṅges sain ra memaid cath Cluana daim forsna Deisib, du i torċair mathi na nDesi uili. Is leo ra marbad mac Cinfaelad ri Muscraigi Bregóin, ocus ra muċad Muċṫigern [mac] Reċtabrad in

Afterwards came Amhlaibh, son of the king of Lochlann, and a great full fleet with him, viz., in the tenth year before the death of Maelseachlainn, and he took the sovereignty of the foreigners of Erinn, and it was by him was drowned Conchobhar, son of Donchadh, heir apparent of Tara. It was by this fleet that the battle of Cluan-daimh was gained over the Desii, in which were slain all the chiefs of the Desii. It was by them was slain [the son of] Cenfaeladh,

uaim. Is leo ro marbad Caur Find lin a longport. Is leo ra marbad Maelguala mac Doindgaile ri Caisil .i. a druim do brissed imchloic. Torcratar tra torcratar na socaide sin ra firu hErenn, ocus na toesig seo Scolph, ocus Ona, ocus Tomrair, ocus Turgeis, 7c.

king of Muscraighe Bregoin, and that Muchtighern, son of Rechtabrad, was smothered in a cave. It was by them was killed Caur Finn with his garrison. It was by them was killed Maelguala, son of Dongaile, king of Cashel, viz., by breaking his back with a stone. But that army was wholly destroyed by the men of Erinn, and also their leaders, viz., Scolf, and Ona, and Tomrar, and Turges, &c.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Tanic iarsain Oisli mac rig Lochlann .i. longes lan mor aili, ocus ra millsetsaide urmor hErend. Da torcradar sain dna la firu hErend. Da rochair em Oisli . . . . . feraib Mumain. Is si sein bliadain i torcair Colphin ocus longes Duin Medoin . . . a Cinn Curric.

Afterwards came Oisli, son of the king of Lochlann, viz., another great full fleet, and they plundered the greater part of Erinn. But they were destroyed by the men of Erinn. This Oisli fell . . . . . men of Mumhain. It was in this year that Colphin was destroyed and the fleet of Dun Medoin . . . at Cenn Curraigh.

Chap. XXIV.

Here the MS. again becomes illegible, but after a few lines obliterated we can decipher what follows :—

ra briss Aed Findliat mac Neill cat forro [*Gloss.* .i. oc Loc Febail] du i torcair da ficet . . . . . ocus ruc Aed anuli indmas ocus mathius.

Aedh Finnliath, son of Niall, gained a battle over them [*a gloss adds* at Loch Febhail], in which fell two score . . . . and Aedh took all their wealth and goods.

Then follows what corresponds with chapters xxv and xxvi of the text.

Ra . . . . . dna Lagin ocus fir Mumain la longes mic Amlaib iartain, corrochtatar Ciarraig con-

There . . . . . Leinster and the men of Munster by the fleet of Mac Amhlaibh, afterwards, until they reached

Chap. XXV.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

na fagfat uaim . . . . . can telac, ocus ni farcfat ni . . . . . can indred, ocus ra lorcad Imlech Ibair, ocus ra indredfet na Desi tescirt de muir. Ra indretar in luct cetna Midi, ocus Connacht corancatar Corcomruad, ocus Leim Conculaind. Da rocratar fain uile beos la Feraib hErend. Ra cuired anar dna oc Ath-cliath la Aed Finnliath mac Neill, ac in fleid da fingned la Aed da mac Ragnaill in Ath-cliath. Ra cuirfet fein dna cat etuirru .i. Findgenti ocus Dubgenti .i. Barith ocus Mac Ragnaill, du i torcair Mac Ragnaill ocus rocaide imme. Ra gonad Barith and, ocus ba bacach riam iarsain he. Ra hindarbart dna Dubgenti a hErind iarsain ocus do chuatar in Albain, ocus ro brisfet cath for Feraib Albain, du i torcair Constantin mac Cinaeda ardri Alban, ocus rocaide mor malle riss. Is and sain ra raid in talam fo Feraib Alban.

Chap. XXVI.

Bui immorro araile cumsanad dferaib hErend fri .xl. mbliadan can indred Gall .i. o re Maelsechlainn mic Maelruanaid co sin bliadain re nes Flaind mic Maelsechlainn ocus co gabail Ciarraigh, so that they left not a cave . . . . . without exploring it, and they left not a thing . . . . . without plundering it, and they burned Imlech of Ibar, and they ravaged the southern Desii from the sea. The same party plundered Midhi and Connacht, until they reached Corcomruadh, and Leim-Conculainn. All these were likewise killed by the men of Erinn. And again they were slaughtered by Aedh Finnliath, son of Niall, at the banquet that was made by Aedh for Ragnall's son at Ath-Cliath. Then there was a battle fought between themselves, viz., the white Gentiles and the black Gentiles, i.e. Barith and Ragnall's son, in which fell Ragnall's son, and a multitude with him. Barith was wounded there, and he was lame ever after. The black Gentiles after this were driven out of Erinn and went to Alba, where they gained a battle over the men of Alba, in which were slain Constantine, son of Cinaeth, chief king of Alba, and a great multitude with him. It was then the earth burst open under the men of Alba.

There was, however, some rest to the men of Erinn, during forty years, without ravage from the foreigners, i.e. from the time of Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaid, to the year before the death of Flann, son of Mael-

ꝛıȝı ꝺu Nıall Ȝlunꝺub . . . ocuꝛ Ɵoȝanaċt, ocuꝛ Coꝛcoꝺuıbnı cath ꝼoꝛꝛo, oc . . . . . ꝺu ı toꝛcaıꝛ Aꝛcalt Putꝛall, ocuꝛ .ccc. ımmı, ocuꝛ Smuꝛull.

sechlainn, and until Niall Glunndubh became king . . . and the Eoghanacht and Corcoduibhni [gained] a battle over them, and . . . . . in which fell Ascalt Putrall, and 300 with him, and Smurull.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

We can then read very distinctly chapters xxvii and xxviii.

Tanıc ıaꝛꝛaın loṅȝeꝛ aꝺbull moꝛ ċloınnı Imaıꝛ ın Aṫcliaṫ, ocuꝛ ꝛa hınꝺꝛeꝺ auꝛmoꝛ hƟꝛenꝺ leo. Ra mılleꝺ em leo Aꝛꝺmaċa, ocuꝛ ꝛa bꝛıꝛꝛeꝛaꝛ caṫ ꝼoꝛ Flanꝺ mac Maelꝛeċlaınꝺ, ꝺu ı toꝛċaıꝛ Aeꝺ mac Conchobaıꝛ ocuꝛ Lerȝuꝛ mac Cꝛunꝺmael epꝛcop Cılli ꝺaꝛa, ocuꝛ Ꝺonꝺċaꝺ Mael abaꝺ̇ Ꝺelȝȝa. In bliaꝺaın ꝛa po maꝛb Maelꝛeċlaınꝺ ꝛaın, ꝛa haıꝛȝeꝺ ꝺna ocuꝛ ꝛa loıꝛceꝺ Leꝛꝛ moꝛ leo; ꝛın bliaꝺaın ceꝛna ꝛa haıꝛȝeꝺ Cluaın uama, ocuꝛ ꝛa maꝛbaꝺ Feꝛȝal mac Finnaċꝛa epꝛcob ocuꝛ abaꝺ Cluana uama, ocuꝛ Uanan Ceꝛın ın ꝛecnabb. Sın bliaꝺaın ꝛaın ꝛo maꝛbaꝺ Ꝺonꝺchaꝺ mac Ꝺuıbꝺabaıꝛenꝺ ꝛı Caꝛꝛıl, ocuꝛ Siuȝꝛaꝺ mac Imaıꝛ ꝛı Ȝall. Moꝛ ꝛꝛa ꝺ'ulc ꝺa

There came after this a prodigious great fleet of the sons of Imar to Ath-Cliath, and the greater part of Erinn was plundered by them. Ard-macha was spoiled by them, and they gained a battle over Flann son of Maelsechlainn, in which fell Aedh son of Conchobhar and Lergus son of Crundmael, bishop of Cilldara, and Donnchadh Mael, abbot of Delgga. In this year this Maelsechlainn[1] died, Lismor was plundered and burned by them; in that same year Cluain-uamha [Cloyne] was plundered, and Fergal Mac Finnachta, bishop and abbot of Cluain-uamha was slain, also Uanan Cerin the sub-abbot. In this year were killed Donnchadh son of Dubhdaboirenn, king of Cashel, and Siugrad, son of Imar, king of the foreigners.

Chap. XXVII.

[1] *Maelsechlainn.* The MS. contracts this word Maelꝛ. The sentence here seems evidently to want something; the confusion appears to have arisen from the contracted names Maelꝼ. for Maelfebhail [the daughter of Maelsechlainn], and Maelꝛ. for Maelsechlainn. There cannot be a doubt that the original was In bliaꝺaın ꝛa po maꝛb Maelꝼeḃaıl ınȝen Maelꝛeclaınn. See note [6], p. 29, *supra*.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Chap. XXVIII.

ronsat Gaill im hErenn is in bliadain sin.

Tanic mor ċoblaċ la Ragnall mac Imair ocus la hOttir iarla corragbaiset for Loch da Caeċ. Ra marbad leo Domnall mac Dunchada rigdomna Caisil, ocus ra raindset, ocus ra hindriset hua Carpri ocus Muscraigi eturra. Ra scailset iarsain; a trian i Corcaig, ocus a trian in Inis na hEidaigi, ocus a trian for Glaslind. Ra hindred imorro, . . . lassin loṅges sin, cona raba tene o Lui fodess. Is leissin loṅgis sin ra marbad Gebennaċ mac Aeda ri ua Conaill Gabra, ocus rucsat a ċend leo, unde

Mor . . . . . De do nim
A beiṫ oc Thomair
Fe . . . .
Mind amra iartair domain.

. . . . Anle mac Cathain ri Uathni . . . . ocus Longseċ mac S[etna] .

Great evils did the foreigners perpetrate in Erinn in this year.

There came a great fleet with Raghnall, son of Imar,[1] and with Ottir the Earl, and they landed at Loch da Caech [Waterford]. Domhnall, son of Dunchadh, heir apparent of Cashel, was killed by them, and they divided and ravaged Carbre and Muscraighi between them. They separated afterwards; one-third of them in Corcach, and a third in Inis na hEidhaighi, and a third in Glaslinn. [All Munster] was plundered by that fleet, so that there was not a fire from the Lee[2] southwards. It was by this fleet that Gebennach, son of Aedh, king of Ua Conaill Gabhra, was slain, and they carried his head with them, whence,

Great . . . . O God of heaven
That Tomar should have it
Behold . . . .
Illustrious gem of the west of the world.

. . . . Anle, son of Cathan, king of Uathne . . . . . and Longsech, son of Setna . . .

The two MSS. B. and D. which have been followed in the text, interpolate here (see chapter xxix, *supra*, p. 33) a long passage containing several chronological criteria which have caused great confusion, as they do not at all square with the exploits of Raghnall and Otter. In L.,

[1] *Son of Imar.* Called "grandson of Imar," p. 31 *supra.*

[2] *The Lee.* See above, p. 31. The word Lui signifies a river.

however, all this is omitted, and chapter xxix consists only of the following passage :— The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Ra ċuatar in Albain iarsain, ocus tucsat fir Alban caṫ doib, ocus ra marbad and, .i. Ragnall ocus Oittir.	They went after that into Alba, and the men of Alba gave them battle and they were killed there, viz., Raghnall and Otter.

Raghnall and Otter must have landed at Waterford about A.D. 916, and were slain in Scotland the year following. But the interpolated passage in the text speaks of events which must be dated about 866 to 869. This is a remarkable proof of the antiquity and value of the MS. L., and renders it matter of great regret that the fragment here published is all that now remains of it.

B.

Chronology and Genealogy of the Kings of Munster and of Ireland, during the period of the Scandinavian invasions.

The list of Kings of Munster, given in chap. ii. of the foregoing work, as also the list of the Kings of Ireland, given chap. iii., are no part of the original Chronicle, but were subsequently interpolated by some early transcriber. This is evident from the fact, that the older form of the text, in the fragment of the Book of Leinster (Append. A.) mentions only the first and last of the series of Munster Kings,[1] and the first only of the Sovereigns of Ireland, omitting all the intermediate names. Kings of Munster during the Danish Wars.

Oilioll[2] Olum was the first of the family of Heber, son of Milesius, who found himself in undisputed possession of the throne of Munster (A.D. 237), and by his will he ordained that his kingdom should descend in alternate succession, to the posterity of his sons, Eoghan (or Owen) and Cormac Cas[3]; provided only

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[1] *Kings.* See p. 221.

[2] *Oilioll.* His name is often written *Ailell* (as p. 59), or *Ailill*, and *Ailiol.*

[3] *Cormac Cas.* O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, Part III., c. 65, p. 326. Vallancey's Collect. Vol. I, p. 426, "On the Law of Tanistry."

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that the elder and more capable of governing, should always be elected out of each race.

This rule was observed for some generations with tolerable regularity, and it is alluded to in the account given of the valour and privileges of the Dal Cais, chap. xli. of the foregoing work. The rule, however, it should be observed, did not impose an absolute law of hereditary succession; the chieftain was elected[1] in every case by the tribe or clansmen: but they could legally elect only from among those who were entitled to the throne by hereditary descent.

It is easy to see that such a law of succession contained within it abundant elements of dissension: and it was not long until the sons of Eoghan and the sons of Cormac Cas regarded each other as rivals, and separated into hostile parties.[2]

Hence it happens that the lists of Munster Kings that have come down to us differ considerably[3]; the Chronicler, according as he was of the Dalcassian or Eugenian race, necessarily regarded some of the opposite succession as usurpers, and therefore omitted them from his list. The chronology of their reigns was also, in like manner, handed down with much uncertainty,

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[1] *Elected.* See *Ogygia*, p. 57, and Curry's preface to the *Battle of Magh Lena*, published by the Celtic Society (1855).

[2] *Parties.* The following Table may assist the reader to understand the politics of these rival clans :—

Oilioll Olum.

Eoghan mór. Sl. A.D. 250; ancestor of the Eoghanachts.	Cormac Cas. Sl. A.D. 260; ancestor of the Dal-Cais.	Cian. Sl. A.D. 250; ancestor of the Cianachta.

See *Ogygia*, p. 328, and the Genealogical Tables in Mr. Curry's *Battle of Magh Lena:* but especially the valuable Genealogical Table of the Munster families descended from Oilioll Olum, p. 341, of Dr. O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, published by the Irish Archæological Society in 1842. Oilioll Olum is said to have had seven sons by his wife Sadbh, daughter of Con of the hundred fights, and twelve by other women.

[3] *Considerably.* See some excellent remarks on this subject in the article already referred to, on the Law of Tanistry, in Vallancey's Collect., Vol. I., p. 469 sq. This valuable paper was written by Dr. J. O'Brien, titular or R. C. Bishop of Cloyne, author of the well-known Irish Dictionary. But it is published by Vallancey as his own, without any mention of the real author.

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from similar causes. The dates were usually ascertained by adding together the reigns of the kings who lived within a given epoch; but two such kings, each regarding the other as an usurper, frequently reigned over their respective partizans contemporaneously: and the lengths of their reigns were very differently computed according to the party to which the historian or bard who recorded their exploits belonged.

And these sources of confusion are unfortunately of great antiquity. In the Book of Leinster, a MS. of the 12th century, there is a list of the Kings of Munster, the most antient (I believe) that is now known to exist, having been written probably at the close of the 11th century. Nevertheless we find that even in that age the succession and chronology of the Munster Kings was obscure. The compiler of this list frequently inserts names, with the note "secundum quosdam;" and often omits the lengths of the reigns, probably because he was unable to ascertain them with accuracy.

It may be instructive, as illustrating what has been said, if we compare the list of Munster Kings, given above (ch. ii.) with the corresponding portion of this antient list of them:—

Book of Leinster.[1]	*Danish Wars, c.* ii.
1. e. Airtri, son of Cathal. xx.	1. Airtri, son of Cathal, son of Finghuine.
2. Tuathal, son of Airtri. xiiii. *Secundum quosdam.*	
3. e. Feidhlimidh, son of Criomthann. xxvii.	2. Feidhlimidh,[2] son of Criomthann [accepit regnum 819=820. Ult.]
4. e. Olcobhar, son of Cinaedh. iii.	3. Olcobhar, son of Cinaeth. [Ob. 849. 4 M.]
5. e. Algenain, son of Dongal. iii.	4. Ailgenain, son of Dungal. [Ob. 851=853. 4 M.]
6. m. Maelguala, son of Dongal. viii. A Northmannis occisus est Maelguala.	5. Maelguala, son of Dungal. [Sl. A.D. 857=859. 4 M.]
7. e. Maelfathartaigh. x.	

[1] *Book of Leinster.* In this List the Roman numerals at the end of the names denote the number of years of each prince's reign. It is to be observed also that the letters e or m are prefixed to each name, according as the individual in question died a natural death (éc) or was killed (marbad); in some cases, when the manner of his death was unknown, neither letter is prefixed; and there are some in which the letter seems to have been forgotten. The numbers prefixed to each name are added by the Editor for the convenience of reference.

[2] *Feidhlimidh.* He reigned 27 years, and died A.D. 847. See chap. xiv, p. 15, *supra*.

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Book of Leinster.	*Danish Wars, c.* ii.
8. e. Cennfaeladh, son of Mochtighern. xiii. Ri Muman, 7 abb Imleca Ibaire—["King of Munster, and abbot of Imleach of Ibar" (i.e. Emly)].	6. Cennfaeladh, son of Murchadh.[1] [Ob. 870=872. 4 M.]
9. e. Dunchad. xvi.	7. Donnchadh, son of Dubhdabhoirenn.
10. Dubhlachtna, son of Maelguala.	8. Dubhlachtna, son of Maelguala.
11. Finguine, son of Dubhlachtna.[2] i.e. Cendgegain. vi. *Occisus*[3] *per dolum. Anno Dni Dccccviii.*	9. Finguine, son of Laeghaire, surnamed Cenngegain, [or goose head.]
12. Cormac, son of Culennan. vii. La Cerbail, mac Muiregein, rig Laigen do rochad Cormac i cat Maige Alba. Fiach Albe rod marbad. "Cormac fell in the battle of Magh Alba, under Cerbhail, son of Muiregein, king of Leinster. Fiach Albe killed him."	10. Cormac, son of Cuilennan.
13. Flaithbhertach, son of Inmainen.	11. Flaithbhertach, son of Ionmhainen.
14. e. Lorcan. ix.	12. Lorcan, son of Connligan.
15. Ceallachan Caisil. x.	13. Ceallachan, son of Buadhachan.
16. Maelfaethartaigh, son of Donnchadh. iii.	14. Maelfathartaigh, son of Bran.
17. m. Dubhdabairend. ii.	15. Dubhdabhoireann, son of Domhnall.
18. m. Fergraidh, son of Ailgenan.[4] v.	16. Fergraidh, son of Clerech.
	17. Donnchadh, son of Cellach. [*Read* Cellachan].
19. m. Mathgamhain, son of Cenneidigh. xiiii.	18. Mathghamhain, son of Cenneidigh.
20. m. Maelmuadh, son of Bran. ii.	
21. Brian, son of Cenneidigh xxxiii. A marbad i cat corad Cluain tarb la Laigen 7 Galla: "Killed in the battle of the weir of Cluan-tarbh by the Leinstermen, and the foreigners."	19. Brian, son of Cenneidigh.

[1] *Murchadh.* He is called son of Maelguala, son of Mochtighern, in the Dublin Ann. of Innisfallen, 872. The 4 M. call him Ua Muictighern, i.e. grandson of Mochtighern. Keating and the Book of Leinster make him son of Mochtighern.

[2] *Dubhlachtna.* In the margin, in a later hand, Mc Laegaire, "son of Laeghaire."

[3] *Occisus.* The words printed in italics are added by a more recent hand in the MS.

[4] *Ailgenan.* In the list given, chap. ii., above, he is called "son of Clerech." To discuss or explain differences of this kind would be inconsistent with the rules laid down for editors of this series of Chronicles. But the reader must not conclude that such discrepancies cannot be explained.

Kings of Munster during the Danish Wars.

On comparing these lists it will be observed that the Book of Leinster gives three kings (Nos. 2, 7, and 20) who are not recognised in the list, chap. ii. *supra:* and this latter list on the other hand, has one king (No. 17) not found in the Book of Leinster. Of these Tuathal, son of Artri (B. of Leinster No. 2) is marked as doubtful, "secundum quosdam," and No. 20, Maelmuadh or Molloy, as having been the murderer of Mathgamhain, or Mahon, is not recognised by the Dalcassian author. Nevertheless there is no doubt that Maelmuadh was the legal successor to Mathgamhain's throne, notwithstanding his complicity in the crime which rendered that throne vacant[1]: and accordingly our author himself in one place (ch. lxvi. p. 107) gives him the title of King of Munster—although the compiler of the list of kings, in ch. ii., has omitted his name. He was of the Eugenian line, as Mathgamhain was of the Dalcais, and therefore according to the law of succession established by the will of Oilioll Olum, had a claim to the throne of his victim. He enjoyed it but two years,[2] having been slain by Brian in the battle of Belach Lachta, A.D. 978. Accordingly a reign of two years is rightly assigned to him in the antient list of the Book of Leinster.

Maelfathartaigh (No. 7 in the same list) is not mentioned in chap. ii: he is also omitted by O'Dugan,[3] in his poetical list of the Kings of Munster. The chronology of the Four Masters gives A.D. 857 as the year in which his predecessor Maelguala was stoned to death by the Northmen: and 870 as the year of his successor Cennfaoladh's death. This, if we give Cennfaoladh a reign of 13 years, as the Book of Leinster itself allows, leaves no room for the ten years assigned to Maelfathartaigh. This king's name is therefore most probably an interpolation.

The only remaining difference between the two lists is the insertion of the name of Donnchadh, son of Cellach, (which ought to be Donnchadh, son of Cellachan,) in chap. ii. He was the son of Cellachan of Cashel, and is set down as the immediate predecessor of the murdered Mahon. But he never was King of Munster, and is rightly omitted in the older MS. His name has evidently found its way into the list, by a misinterpretation

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[1] *Vacant.* See above, ch. lix. sq.

[2] *Two years.* Mathgamhain or Mahon was slain, 976. See Tighernach, and pp. 91 and 107 *supra.*

[3] *O'Dugan.* John O'Dubhagain, or O'Dugan, was chief bard to the O'Kellys, of Hy Many, and died A.D. 1372.

Kings of Munster during the Danish Wars.

of an entry in the Annals of Ulster. His death is there recorded at A.D. 962 (=963), in these words:—

Mac Cellachain ri Caisil moritur.	The son of Cellachan king of Cashel, dies.

where the words "King of Cashel" evidently apply to Cellachan, and not to his son; and we may make the same observation in reference to the record of the same event by the Four Masters. Their words at their year 961, are,

Donnchad mac Cellachain ri Caisil, do guin ó na bráṫair féissin.	Donnchad, son of Cellachan king of Cashel, was mortally wounded by his own brethren.

It is therefore clear that this name is a mistake[1] of the interpolator; and it is moreover inconsistent with the text, for the list of kings is prefaced by the statement that there were "eighteen kings in Cashel" during the period referred to: and yet nineteen are enumerated; the omission of this spurious name is therefore necessary to correct the discrepancy.[2]

But we are mainly concerned with the date of Airtri, son of Cathal, which fixes, according to our author's testimony, the era of the Scandinavian invasions.

He was tenth in descent[3] from Aongus, son of Nathfriach, the first Christian King of Munster. His father, Cathal, son of Finguine, who was also King of Munster, died,[4] according to Keating, during the reign of Aodh Ollan, King of Ireland, and therefore before the year 743. Two kings are said to have

[1] *Mistake.* The Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, published by Dr. O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.* tom. ii., give the same record at A.D. 948. "Mors Dunchada mac Cellachain ri Caisil." But the year ought to be 950, in consequence of a typographical error in all Dr. O'Conor's dates to these annals from A.D. 908 (p. 37 *sq.*); and by a further error in the chronology of the author of the annals, (pointed out by Dr. O'Conor himself, *note*, p. 43), the year 950 of this annalist corresponds to A.D. 963 or 964, which is no doubt the true date. The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen (compiled by Dr. O'Brien and John Conry) escape the ambiguity by calling this chieftain "Donnchadh, son of Ceallachan of Cashel," and record his death A.D. 961 or 962.

[2] *Discrepancy.* The copy of this work in the Book of Leinster, says "sixteen kings." See p. 221. This is, perhaps, some accidental error of transcription, unless it may mean 16, between Airtri and Brian, exclusive.

[3] *Descent.* See his genealogy in the Geneal. Table already referred to in Dr. O'Donovan's Battle of Magh Rath.

[4] *Died.* The 4 M. record his death A.D. 737. The Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, at 730, which is really 743, and the Dublin Annals of Inisfallen, at 742.

Kings of Munster during the Danish Wars.

intervened between Cathal and his son Airtri, to the sum of whose reigns O'Dugan assigns a period of 29 years. If this be so, and if Airtri reigned 20 years, as all the authorities assert, assuming that his father, Cathal, died in 743, the year 792 is the latest that we can possibly assign to Airtri's death.

But this calculation is far from satisfactory. The history of these petty sovereigns at this period is full of confusion, and the number of years assigned to their reigns cannot be depended upon. O'Dugan gives the series, thus:—

Cathal, son of Finguine, 31 years.
Cathasach, son of Edirsceoil [Driscoll], 16 years.
Maolduin, son of Aodh Bennain, 13 years.
Airtri, son of Cathal, 20 years.
Tnuathal, son of Dungal, 14 years.
Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, 7 years.

But the antient list in the Book of Leinster, already so often referred to, puts Cathasach *before* Cathal, son of Finguine, and gives the series, thus:—

Cathasach, son of Edirsceoil, 27 years.
Cathal, son of Finguine, 29 years [*adding this note*, "Some say that Maolduin, son of Aodh Bennain, was king of Munster."]
Airtri, son of Cathal, 20 years.
Tuathal, son of Airtri [sec^{m}. quosdam] 14 years.
Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, 27 years.

It is evident that from authorities exhibiting such discrepancies as these, both in the order of succession of the kings and in their regnal years, no safe conclusions can be drawn. But it fortunately happens that there is a date preserved in our authentic annals, which leads to a surer result. At the year 819, which is A.D. 820, the Annals of Ulster[1] record the accession of Feidhlimidh, the last of the above-named chieftains, in these words:—

Feidhlimidh mac Cremhthainn accepit regnum Caisil.

[1] *Ulster*. The same event in the same words is recorded in the Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, at their year 807, which, in consequence of the error of 13 years in these annals, already noticed, is equivalent to A.D. 820. But it is curious that at the very next year 808=821, we have a record of the death of Airtri. This, of course, is misplaced; perhaps the entry really belongs to the preceding year: in which case it would signify that there was no intervening reign between the death of Airtri and the accession of Feidhlimidh. Dr. O'Conor's edition of these annals is so full of careless blunders that it is dangerous, without reference to the original, to quote it as authority, and no inference in any disputed case can be drawn from its readings.

Kings of Munster during the Danish Wars.

This year A.D. 820 may therefore be taken as the year of Airtri's death, and 800 as the date of his accession to the throne, unless it be true that a reign of 14 years intervened; in which case his death must be placed in 806, and his accession to the throne of Munster in 786. It should be remembered, however, that the older list of kings marks this intervening reign as doubtful. The truth may be that the reign of Tuathal was an usurpation during the lifetime of his father, Airtri. If so, Airtri began his reign in 786 and died 820.

These latter dates agree very well with the express statement of our author, that the first devastation of Ireland by the Norsemen took place in Airtri's reign; and in this result we must acquiesce, as the nearest approach to accuracy which can be expected in the present neglected state of our Irish records.

Kings of Ireland.

It will not be necessary to make any lengthened remarks on the list of Kings of Ireland given by our author,[1] or rather by his interpolator, in chap. iii. Their genealogy and the chronology of their reigns, have been treated of by Keating, and corrected with great learning by O'Flaherty. But it may be convenient to the reader, to have here a list of these kings, with the dates (according to O'Flaherty's Chronology) at which they began to reign. And we shall commence the list somewhat earlier than the first king mentioned by our author, for a reason that will hereafter be apparent:—

A.D. 763. *Niall Frassach.*[2]
770. Donnchad mac Domhnall.
797. *Aodh Oirnidhe.*
819. Conchobhar.
833. *Niall Cailne.*
846. Maelseachlainn mac Maelruanaidh.
863. *Aodh Finnliath.*
879. Flann Sionna.
916. *Niall Glundubh.*
919. Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna.
944. Congalach, son of Maoilmithigh.
956. *Domhnall O'Neill.*[3]

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[1] *Our author.* See ch. iii. p. 5, *supra.*

[2] *Niall Frassach.* This king was 9th in descent from the celebrated Niall of the Nine Hostages, who was king of Ireland A.D. 379-405. See Table I, p. 245.

[3] *Domhnall O'Neill.* It was this Domhnall who first assumed, as a surname, the title of O'Neill [i.e. grandson of Niall,] from his grandfather Niall Glundubh, or Niall of the black knee, (not from his remote ancestor Niall of

A.D. 980. Maelseachlainn, son of Domhnall.
1002. BRIAN.
1014. Maelseachlainn, (restored to the throne:) died 1022.

Kings of Ireland during the Danish Wars.

The names printed in italics in this list are of the Northern Hy Neill, descended from Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. The others are of the Southern[1] Hy Neill, descended from Conall Crimhthann, also one of the sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages. One king only, whose name is printed in capitals, the celebrated Brian Borumha, was of the race of Heber, son of Milesius, and of the Munster family of the Dal Cais. His descent is given in the genealogical Table III.

It will be seen, from the foregoing list, that the rule of alternate succession between the two royal families of the Hy Neill was observed with tolerable regularity during the period of the Danish wars. The only exception occurs in the case of Congalach, son of Maoilmithigh, who with his predecessor Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, was of the Southern Hy Neill.

It is not improbable that this interruption in the order of alternate succession may have been owing to the ambitious intrigues of Muircheartach[2] of the leather cloaks, who, in 942, made a circuit of Ireland for the purpose of taking hostages from the provincial chieftains, in order to secure his right to the throne. As the then reigning sovereign, Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, was of the Southern Hy Neill, Muircheartach, according to the law of alternate succession, was the natural heir apparent. But when he was slain by the Danes, in 943, the hostages he had taken by violence were liberated, and the alternate right seems to have been set aside.

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the Nine Hostages). In the next century the family of Brian Borumha assumed the name of O'Brien; and patronymics of the same kind became usual as surnames from that time to the present day.

[1] *Southern.* The descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages were divided into the Southern Hy Neill, who settled in the county of Meath, and the Northern Hy Neill, who settled in Derry and Tyrone. The kings of the Southern Hy Neill were Laogaire (son of Niall) and his son Lugaid, with 17 kings of the race of Conall Crimhthann. The kings of the Northern Hy Neill were ten of the *Cinel Conaill*, descendants of Conall Gulban, son of Niall, and sixteen of the *Cinel Eoghain*, descended from Eoghan, son of Niall, with one king descended from Cairbre, son of Niall. See *Geneal. Tables* I. & II.

[2] *Muircheartach.* See the "Circuit of Ireland," edited for the Irish Archaeological Society by Dr. O'Donovan. *Tracts relating to Ireland*, Vol. I., Dublin, 1841. Comp. chap. xxxvii, p. 43, *supra*.

Kings of Ireland during the Danish Wars.

The following genealogical tables may be useful, in enabling the reader to understand the foregoing narrative. They are intended to exhibit the descent of the different clans, and the relationship of the chieftains whose jealousies and dissensions are chronicled in the present work.

In Table I. is shown the genealogical descent of the Kings belonging to the Northern Hy Neill, of the Cinel Eoghain race. The other dynasty, the Cinel Conaill, having become extinct before the period to which this work relates, are not given.

Table II. exhibits the descent of the Kings of the Southern Hy Neill, and their relationship with the Northern Hy Neill, as the offspring of a common ancestor, Niall of the Nine Hostages. The names of the *Kings* in Table I. and II. are printed in small capitals; the dates annexed are the years in which each King *began* his reign, according to O'Flaherty's Chronology.

It will be seen from these tables (compared with Table III.), that the revolution which placed Brian on the throne, was a violation of the hereditary rights of the Hy Neill, confirmed to them by a long prescription; and that the annalist Tighernach[1] was fully justified in calling it *a rebellion*, although perhaps he did not mean to express, by that word, the guilt which the modern use of it implies.

Brian's descent from the great Munster chieftain Oilioll Olum, King of Munster in the third century, has been traced by Dr. O'Donovan in the valuable genealogical table of the Munster families, which has been already referred to.[2] But for the convenience of the reader, we have here extracted in Tables III., IV., and V., the principal lines of descent, showing the relationship of the chieftains whose names are mentioned in the foregoing history.

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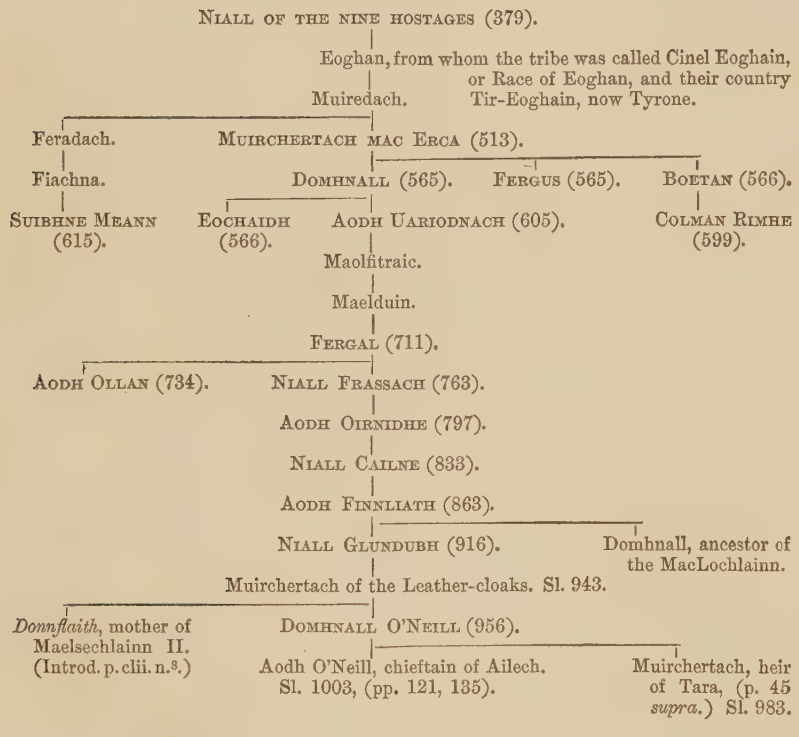
[1] *Tighernach.* Annal. A.D. 1002. *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.*, tom. ii., p. 269.

[2] *Referred to.* See p. 236, note; and see also Curry's *Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 174.

Genealogical Tables.

TABLE I[1].

KINGS OF IRELAND DESCENDED FROM THE NORTHERN HY NEILL (CINEL EOGHAIN BRANCH).

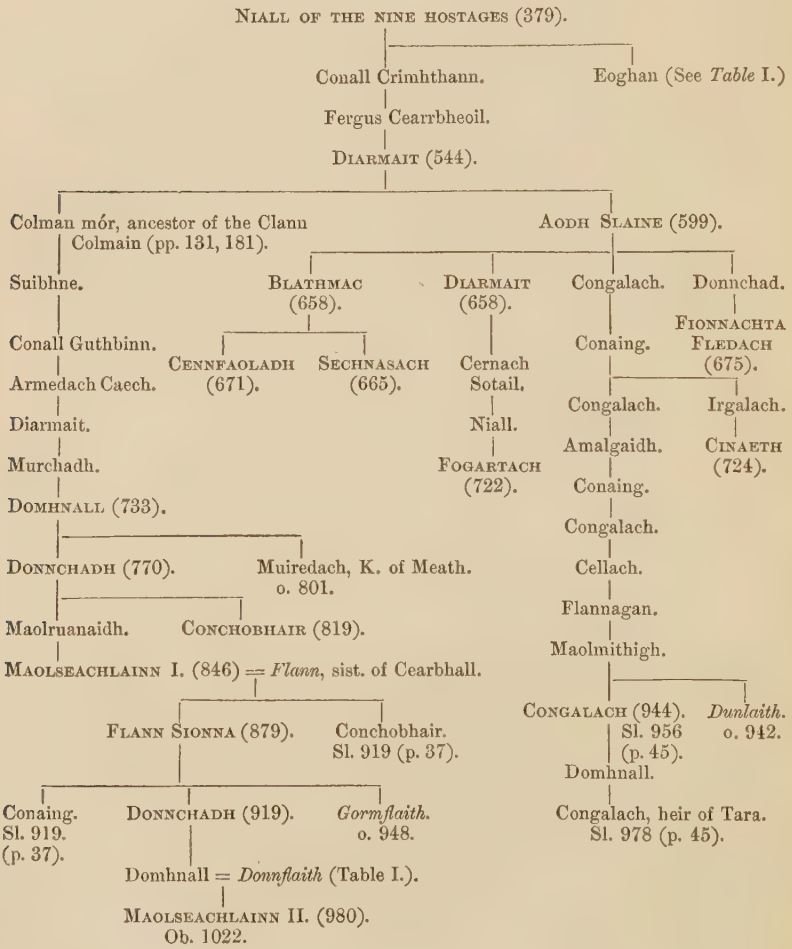


[1] *Table* I. This and the following Table exhibit the descent of the kings and chieftains who flourished during the period of the Danish wars, as enumerated in the foregoing list. The names of the kings of Ireland are printed in CAPITALS, and the years on which each reign began, within brackets. "Sl." signifies slain; "ob." or "o." obiit. The names of females are in Italics.

Genealogical Tables.

TABLE II.

Kings of Ireland descended from the Southern Hy Neill (the Clann Colmain of Meath, and the Clann Aodha Sláine).



Genealogical Tables.

TABLE III.

Genealogy[1] of the Dal-Cais.

1. Oilioll Olum, K.M. (234).
2. Cormac Cas, K.M. Sl. 260.
3. Mogh Corb, K.M.
4. Fercorb, K.T.
5. Aongus Tirech, K.T.
6. Lugaid Menn, K.T., ancestor of Dal Cais Borumha (p. 53), and Clann Luigdech (pp. 181, 189).
7. Conall Echluaith, K.M. (366).
8. Cas, called Mac Tail, K.T.

9. Blod, a quo Sil-mBlodh.
10. Carthenn Finn. First Christian chieftain.
11. Eochaidh Baillderg.
12. Conall Claon, [or Caemh].
13. Aodh Caemh, K.M.
14. Cathal, K.M. Ob. 620.
15. Torrdelbach, a quo Ui Torrdelbaigh (p. 97).
16. Mathgamhain.
17. Anluan.
18. Corc.
19. Lachtna.
20. Lorcan.
21. Cinneide, K.T.

9. Lugaid Dealbh-nAodh (from whom are the five Dealbhnas. See p. 75. Introd., p. cxvii., *n.*)

22. Donncuan. Sl. 948.
    23. Conaing. Sl. at Clontarf (pp. 185, 209).

22. Mathgamhain, K.M. Murdered by O'Donovan 976 (p. 91).
    23. Tadhg. Sl. 1023.
        24. Torrdelbach. o. 1089.
            25. Tadg.
            25. Muirchertach. o. 1119.
    23. Donnchad o. 1064.

22. Brian (1002). Sl. at Clontarf 1014.
    23. Murchadh. Sl. at Clontarf.
        24. Torrdelbach. Sl. at Clontarf.

[1] *Genealogy.* See p. 59 *supra.* The letters K.M. denote King of Munster; K.T. King of Thomond. The numbers prefixed to the names show the generations from Oilioll Olum.

Genealogical Tables.

TABLE IV.

Showing the Descent of Maelmuadh, or Molloy, Lord of Desmond, and his relationship to Brian and Mathgamhain.

1. Oilioll Olum, K.M.

2. Eoghan mór, from whom the Eoghanacht of Cashel (pp. 53 *n.* 71).
3. Fiacha Muilleathan, K.M. 260.
4. Oilioll Flannbeg, K.M.
5. Lugaid.
6. Conall Corc, K.M., ancestor of the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein (Killarney), and of Moghagerrgin, in Mar (Scotland).

2. Cormac Cas, a quo Dal Cais. See Table III.

7. Natfraich, K.M.
8. Aongus, K.M.
9. Fedhlimidh.
10. Criomhthann.
11. Aodh Dubh.
12. Fingin, K.M., *a quo* Cinel Fingine, or Eoghanacht of Cashel.
13. Sechnasach.
14. Colman.
15. Dubhdacrioch.
16. Criomhthann.
17. Fedhlimidh, K.M. o. 846. (p. 15).

7. Cas.
8. Eochaidh, from whom the Ui nEochadh of Munster (p. 137).
9. Criomhthann.

10. Aodh Uargarbh.
11. Tighernach.
12. Fedhlimidh, K.M., 577.
13. Fergus.
14. Bece, a quo Cinel mBece.
15. Ferdaleithe.
16. Conaicce.
17. Oilioll.
18. Cucongeilt.
19. Concobhar.
20. Cathladh.
21. Spellán.
22. Oilioll.
23. Bran.
24. Maelmuadh, Sl. 978 (pp. 65, *sq.* 103, *sq.*)
25. Cian. (See p. 213).
26. Mathgamhain, ancestor of Ui Mathgamhna, or O'Mahony.

21. Donnchadh, ancestor of O'Donoghue.

10. Laoghaire.
11. Aodh Clerech.
12. Cairbre Riastrim.
13. Clairenach.
14. Selbach.
15. Ealaithe.
16. Dunlang.
17. Anbleithe.
18. Flaithnia.
19. Aongus.
20. Dubhdaboirenn, K.M. Sl. 957.
21. Domhnall. Commanded the forces of Desmond at Clontarf. Sl. 1015. (p. 213).

TABLE V.

Genealogical Tables.

Showing the Descent[1] of the Family of O'Donnabhainn, or O'Donovan.

1. Oilioll Olum, K.M.
2. Eoghan mór.
3. Fiacha Muilleathan.
4. Oilioll Flannbeg.

5. Daire Cairbe.
6. Fiacha Fidhgente, a quo Hy Fidhgente.
7. Brian, K.D.

5. Lugaidh. (See Table IV., No. 5).

8. Daire.
9. Fintait.
10. Conall, a quo Hy Conaill Gabhra (p. 31 *supra*).
11. Arda.
12. Brennan.
13. Cennfada.
14. Nechtan.
15. Aengus.
16. Donennach.
17. Erc.
18. Flann. Ob. 755.
19. Scannlan. Ob. 781.
20. Dunadhach, C.H.F. and C.H.C.G. Ob. 835. [See p. 9].

8. Cairbre Aebhda, a quo Hy Cairbre (pp. 75, 79, 87).
9. Erc.
10. Cennfaeladh, C.H.C. First Christian chieftain.
11. Oilioll Cennfada [i.e. long-head].
12. Laipe.
13. Aongus.
14. Aedh.
15. Crunnmael.
16. Eoghan, C.H.F. Sl. A.D. 667.
17. Aodh Roin.
18. Dubhdabhoirenn, C.H.F. Ob. A.D. 750.
19. Cennfaeladh, C.H.F. Ob. A.D. 767.

20. Niall, C.H.C. Ob. 846. [See p. 9].

20. Cathal, C.H.C.
21. Uainighe, C.H.C.
22. Cathal, C.H.F.
23. Donnabhainn, C.H.C., a quo O'Donovan. Sl. 977 (pp. 75, 85 *sq.*)

24. Ingen (a daughter.)
25. Donnabhainn. Son of Imar, king of the Danes of Waterford. Sl. 995.

24. Cathal. Fought at Clontarf 1014.

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[1] *Descent.* The letters C.H.F. denote Chief of Hy Fidhgente. C.H.C.G. Chief of Hy Conaill Gabhra. C.H.C. Chief of Hy Cairbre: see p. 87. K.D. King of Desmond.

C.

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle.

Maelseachlainn's description of the Battle of Clontarf, from the Brussels MS.

The following is the passage from the Brussels MS. alluded to, page 182, note [2], *supra*, which is given here for the reason there assigned. The corresponding portion of the text extends from p. 182, line 1, to p. 198, line 28 :

Isead asbeart Maelseaċlainn;—Noċa nḟacasa caṫ mar é, ocus noċa cuala a macasaṁla, ocus cid aingel dé do niṁ do beraḋ a tuaruscbáil as díċreidiṁ lem má do beraḋ; aċt aon ní ara ttarla mairissi ann; an tan ro compaicettar na caṫa a ccedóir ro gab caċ ag treagdaḋ a ċéile so cedóir díb, ocus do ḃí gort dearg treḃṫa ettrainn ocus siad, ocus an ċruaḋġaoṫ eirchiḋe tairsiḃ cuccainn, ocus ni soide na feaḋ ris a mbleógta bó nó dá ba bamar an tan naċ ttiuḃraḋ duine don dá ċaṫ aiṫne for a ċéile giḋ é a mac no a bráṫair buḋ coṁfoccus dó, aċt muna ṫtuccaḋ ar a guṫ, nó a fios aige an tionaḋ i mbiaiḋ, ar na líonaḋ uile etir aġaiḋ ocus cend ocus édaċ, do braonġáil na fola forruamanda la foġluasaċt na gaiṫe glanḟuaire bái tairsiḃ cugainn. Ocus giḋ engnaṁ buḋ áil ḋúinn do ḋenamh ní ḟedfamais, dóiġ ro cenglait, ocus ro cuiḃriġit ar ngae ós ar

CIII. Thus said Maelseachlainn, "Never did I see a battle like it, nor have I heard of its equal; and even if an angel of God from heaven attempted its description, it seems doubtful to me that he could give it. But there was one thing attracted my notice there; when the battalions first met in conflict, each began to pierce the other, and there was a red ploughed field between us and them, and the sharp wind of the spring from them towards us; and we were not longer there than it would take to milk a cow or two cows, when no man in either host could recognise another, even though it were his son or his brother who was next him, unless he heard his voice, or knew the place where he was, so covered were all, both faces, heads, and garments, with drops of gory blood, borne by the clear cold wind that came from them to us. And even if we wished to perform any valorous deed, we could not do it, for our spears over our heads had be-

ccendaiḃ, dḟoltaiḃ na ḃfear, ro ḟéid ocus ro tafaind in gaoṫ cugainn ar na ttesccaḋ do claiḋṁiḃ coilgdírgiḃ, ocus do tuaġaiḃ taiḋleaċaiḃ, gur ḃo leṫ monair dúinn féin ḃeiṫ ag reiḋiúġadh ocus ag taiṫmeċ ar ccrandgaile ó ċéile.

Imṫúsa Conaing mic Duinncuan; do ionsaiġ Maolmorḋa mac Murchaḋa rí Laiġen, ocus do marḃaḋ moran da naes gráḋa leṫ ar leṫ ar a mbélaiḃ, ocus do gonaḋ i ccaṫ na lúireaċ Conaing an tan bói ag an ccoṁrac. Ocus gér ḃeḋ, tucc cumasc ocus rí Laiġen gur tuitetar comtuitim re ċéile do claoċlóḋ a cert buille .i. Conaing mac Duinncuan, ocus Maolmorḋa mac Murchaḋa rí Laiġen.

Imṫúsa Connaċt; do gabatar féin, ocus goill Aṫa Cliaṫ ar coṁmarbaḋ a ċéile, ocus ba suaill nar bó comtuitim dóiḃ uile leṫ ar leaṫ, ocus is é sin imbualaḋ deidenaċ bói ar Cluain Tarḃ. Ocus ní deachaiḋ don dana caṫ do cuatar goill Aṫa Cliaṫ ann ar aen rian aċt nonbar amáin, ocus ro lensat luċt tiġe Taiḋg í Ceallaiġ iad gur marbsat a ccinn droichit Aṫa Cliaṫ iad .i. droiċett Dubgaill.

came clogged and bound with the human hair, which the wind blew and forced against us, being cut away by well-aimed swords and gleaming axes, so that it was half occupation to ourselves to be disentangling and extricating our spear shafts from one another."

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

CV. The feats of Conaing, son of Dunncuan.—He attacked Maolmordha, son of Murchadh, King of Laighin, and a great number of the men of rank on both sides were slain in the front of them; and Conaing was wounded in the battle of the men in armour, while fighting them. In a short time he encountered the King of Laighin, so that they fell together, annihilated by the vehemence of each other's blows, *i.e.*, Conaing, son of Dunncuan, and Maolmordha, son of Murchadh, King of Laighin.

CVI. The feats of the men of Connaught;—They and the foreigners of Ath Cliath took to mutually killing each other, and there were few of them all that did not fall on either side. And this was the decisive defeat inflicted at Cluain Tarbh; for of all the foreigners of Ath Cliath, who went to that bold battle, there escaped not by any route but nine persons only; and the followers of Tadhg O'Cellaigh pursued them until they slew them at the head of the bridge of Ath Cliath, *i.e.*, the bridge of Dubhgall.

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

Ꝺaḷa ımoꝛꝛa comḷaınꝺ ocuꝛ eċꝛa an ċaṫa ꝛın, ní mó na aʒ Ꝺıa aꝛá a ꝼıꝛ, óıꝛ ʒaċ aon ıꝛ mó aʒa mbıaḋ a ꝼıꝛ ꝛoꝛcꝛaꝛaꝛ ꝛe ċéıḷe.

Imṫuꝛa ımoꝛꝛo Muꝛċaıḋ mıc Ꝺꝛıaın; ꝛo ʒaḃ ın ꝛıġ ṁíḷeaḋ ꝺa ċḷaıḋıṁ ċuıcce .ı. cḷaıḋeṁ ʒaċa ḷaṁa ꝺó, uaıꝛ ıꝛé ꝛın ꝺuıne ꝺéıġenaċ ꝛo ba coımꝺeꝛ ꝺá ꝺeıꝛ ocuꝛ ꝺa cḷí ın Eꝛınn, ocuꝛ ıꝛé ꝺuıne ꝺéıġenaċ aċ ıꝛꝛaıḃe an ꝼíꝛ ġaıꝛceaḋ ın Eꝛınn é. Iꝛ é ꝛucc a bꝛéıṫıꝛ ꝼíꝛ ḷaích naċ béꝛaḋ aen ꝛꝛoıġ ꝛeıchıꝺ ꝛe ꝛan cıneḋ nꝺaenna uıḷe aꝛ coṁa aꝛ bıṫ aċꝛ aꝛ aen ċoṁa .ı. ʒomaḋ cınnꝛe ḷeıꝛ ʒan éʒ ꝛꝛé bıṫe. Iꝛ é ꝺuıne ꝺeıġenaċ ıꝛꝛaıḃe coṁḷann céꝺ ın Eꝛınn é. Iꝛ é ꝺuıne ꝺeıġeanaċ ꝛo maꝛḃ céꝺ ın én ḷó ın Eꝛınn é. Iꝛ é coıꝛcéım ꝺeıġeanaċ ꝛucc an ꝼíꝛġaıꝛceꝺ a ċoıꝛcéım. Ꝺóıʒ ınnıꝛıꝛ ꝛenchaıḋe na nʒaoıḋeḷ ʒuꝛab móıꝛꝛeıꝛeꝛ amaıḷ Muꝛchaḋ coṁḷann mıc Saṁaín, ocuꝛ moıꝛꝛeıꝛeꝛ maꝛ mac Saṁáın coṁḷanꝺ Ḷóġa Ḷáġa, ocuꝛ moıꝛꝛeıꝛeꝛ maꝛ Ḷúġ Ḷáġa coṁḷanꝺ Conaıḷḷ Ceꝛnaıġ, ocuꝛ móıꝛꝛeıꝛeꝛ maꝛ Conaḷḷ Ceꝛnaċ comḷann Ḷuġa Ḷámꝼaꝺa, ocuꝛ móıꝛꝛeıꝛeꝛ maꝛ Ḷúġ Ḷáṁꝼaꝺa comḷanꝺ Ecꝛaıꝛ mıc Ꝓꝛıaıṁ, ocuꝛ ʒo maḋ ıaꝺꝛın uıḋeaḋa an ʒaıꝛcıḋ ó ꝛúꝛ ꝺoṁaın, ocuꝛ cona beıṫ an ꝓꝛıṁʒaıꝛceḋ ꝛoıṁ Ecꝛaıꝛ. Rob é ꝛın an ꝛEcꝛaıꝛ ınꝛꝛaṁ-

But the full events and exploits of that battle are known to God alone; for every one else who was acquainted with them fell there together.

CVI. The feats of Murchadh, son of Brian;—The royal warrior had with him two swords, *i.e.*, a sword in each hand; for he was the last man in Erinn who was equally expert in the use of the right hand and of the left, and he was the last man in Erinn that had true valour. He pledged the word of a true hero, that he would not retreat one foot before the race of all mankind, for any reason in the world, except this reason alone, that he could not help dying of his wounds. He was the last man in Erinn who was a match for a hundred. He was the last man who killed a hundred in one day in Erinn. His step was the last step which true valour took. For the historians of the Gaedhil relate that seven like Murchadh were equal to Mac Samhain, and seven like Mac Samhain were equal to Lugh Lagha; and seven like Lugha Lagha were equal to Conall Cearnach; and seven like Conall Cearnach were equal to Lugha Lamhfada; and seven like Lugha Lamhfada were equal to Hector, the son of Priam; and that these were the degrees of championship since the beginning of the world, and that before Hector

laiġṫeċ na hEṙenn aṙ ġaiṙ, aṙ ġaiṙceḋ, aṙ eineċ, aṙ enġnaṁ. Rob é an Ṡamḣṙon ṙuaiṙc, ṙeġainn, ṙoċumainn, ṙaeṙbéṙaċ na nEḃṙaiḋe ṙe a ṙé féin, ocuṙ ṙe a aimṙiṙ. Rob é ṙin an tEṙcoil toḋaċtaċ tanaiṙte ṙo ṙcṙiob ocuṙ ṙo diláiṫṙiġ ṙiaṙta ocuṙ toṙaḋaiṙ na hEṙenn, ṙo ḟíṙ loċa ocuṙ linnte ocuṙ uaṁa na Ḟoḋla ṙondaiṙḋe aṙ na ṙaiḃe díṁ no diġenn iṙin domain. Rob é an Lúġ Láṁḟada comḋoṙṁail ṙo linġ ġaċ docaiṙ, ocuṙ ṙo lomaiṙġeḋ tṙén eiṙiuṁ le lomṙaḋ ocuṙ le ṙcṙiob ġall ocuṙ allmaṙaċ a hEṙinn. Rob é an coṁla caṫa ocuṙ an doṙ diḋin, ocuṙ an tóṙḋ bṙúiṫe bíoḋḃaḋ a aṫaṙḋa, ocuṙ a ċineoil eiṙiuṁ ṙe a ṙé.

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

there was no illustrious championship. He [Murchadh] was the metaphorical Hector of Erinn in valour, in championship, in generosity, in munificence. He was the pleasant, intelligent, affable, accomplished Samson of the Hebrews, in his own career and in his time. He was the second powerful Hercules who destroyed and exterminated the serpents and monsters of Erinn, which infested the lakes, and pools, and caverns of Fodhla, whom no forts or fastnesses in the world could resist. He was the Lugh Lamhfada, who like him sprang over every obstacle, and by his prowess cut away and exterminated the foreigners and pirates out of Erinn. He was the gate of battle and the sheltering tree, the crushing sledge hammer of the enemies of his fatherland, and of his race during his career.

O ḋo connaiṙc ḋna, an ṙiġṁileḋ ṙo ċalma ṙoṁóṙ ṙin, ocuṙ an cuṙ cṙeċtaċ cṙoḋa comneiṫmaṙ in imeṙoṙcain, ocuṙ an ṙṙiṫolaṁ ṫucṙat Ḋanaiṙ ocuṙ allmaṙaiġ ṙoṙ Ḋál cCaiṙ. Ar maṙ báṙ, no maṙ biṫaiṁiṁ ḋo ṙonaṙṫaiṙ ḋoṙoṁ ṙin .i. comaṙḋaḋ ġall ṙṙiu. Ocuṙ ṙo ġaḃ ḟeṙiċc díoċṙa díṁóṙ é, ocuṙ ṙo ġaḃ méḋ menmain ocuṙ aiġenta, ocuṙ aṫṙaċt a én ġaile ocuṙ ġaiṙciḋ, ocuṙ ṫucc ṙuaṫaiṙ ṫṙic taiṙṙḋeċ tinneṙnaċ ṙo

CVII. When this very valiant, very great, royal champion, and plundering, brave, powerful hero, saw the crushing and the repulse that the Danars and pirates gave to the Dal Cais, it operated upon him like death or a permanent blemish, namely, the conflict of the foreigners with them, and he was seized with boiling terrible anger; and greatness of spirit and mind seized him; and his bird of valour and championship arose; and he made a brave,

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

caṫ na nallmaraċ, aṁail daṁ dian deinmnedaċ dasaċtaċ ar na ġabáil, no aṁail leoṁan lonn leadarṫaċ lúṫmar lán calma craiter má ċuilénnaiḃ, no mar borbruaṫar buinne dilenn ḃrises ocus ḃruiġes gaċ ní gusa ric. Ocus rug bern curaḋ ocus laṫar mílid tré caṫ na nallṁuraċ, ocus foirglit a eascaraitt dá éisi .i. senchaiḋe na ngall ocus Laiġen, gur ṫuit caoca dá ḋeis ocus caoca dá ċlí don ruaṫar sin, ocus ni ṫug béim do neoċ aċt aen beim, ocus nir gaḃ sciaṫ no lúireċ no caṫbarr fri beim díḃ gan leóḋ corp, ocus cendmullaċ maraen díḃ. Ciḋ tra aċt do ċuaiḋ trés an ccaṫ siar fo trí aṁlaiḋ sin.

Ro lensat é annsin daṁraiḋ dian diḟulaing cloinne Lugdaċ Mind, ocus gaṁanraiḋ glan gasta gérrata, galaċ, gníoṁaċ gairccbeoḋa .i. a ṫeġlaċ buḋ dein .i. seċt fiċit meic riġ bátar ina ṫeġlaċ, ocus fear trioċa céd an fer sa lúġa duthaiġ diḃ. Ro lensatar é go haiṫ, aṫlaṁ, imettrom, go mbenaḋ bonn fri meiḋe ocus meiḋi fri bonn,

vigorous, sudden rush at a battalion of the pirates, like a violent, impetuous, furious ox that is about being caught; or like a fierce, tearing, swift, all powerful lioness deprived of her cubs; or like the roll of a deluging torrent that shatters and smashes every thing that resists it; and he made a hero's breach and a soldier's field through the battalion of the pirates; and his enemies testified after him, namely, the historians of the foreigners and Laighin, that there fell fifty by his right hand and fifty by his left in that onset. Nor did he administer more than one blow to any of them; and neither shield, nor corslet, nor helmet resisted any of these blows, which clave bodies and skulls alike. Thus, three times, he forced his way backwards through the battalion in that manner.

There followed him then the great impetuous phalanx of the Clann Lugdach Menn,[1] and the purely brave, lively, valiant, active, fierce champions,[2] viz., of his own household; that is, seven score sons of kings who were in his own household, and the man of smallest patrimony among them was a man of a barony.[3] They followed him sharply, quickly, lightly, so

[1] *Clan Lugdach Menn.* See Geneal. Table III, No. 6.

[2] *Champions.* Lit., "Gamandraid." See note, p. 166, *supra*.

[3] *Barony.* See note, p. 190.

ocuſ cend ꝼꞃı cend, ocuſ cneſ ꝼꞃı cneſ da néıſ ʒaċ conaıꞃ ına ttéıʒ dıſ, ocuſ aſ ꝼꞃıſ ꞃo ſamlatταꞃ ſeın, ocuſ ſendaoıne Ꝺṫa Cliaṫ báɗaꞃ aꞃ na ſceıṁlıḃ aʒa ſꝼéʒaɗ, conáꞃ bo lıa leó ſeꞃꞃṫaı ó ṁeıṫıl móꞃ aɗbaıl eɗaꞃbuaſ aʒ buaın ʒuıꞃt cꞃíon abaıɗ, cíɗ ɗá ċéɗ ꞃo tꞃí ċéɗ ꞃo ʒꞃeıſtea ꝼaı dıaḃuaın, ına ꝼolt oſ ʒaoıṫ etaꞃbuaſ uaṫaıḃ, aꞃ na leoɗ ocuſ aꞃ na leɗꞃaɗ do ṫuaġaıḃ tꞃoma taıɗleaċa, ocuſ do cłaıɗínıḃ łaınneꞃɗa łaſaṁla.

that they touched foot to neck, and neck to foot, and head to head, and body to body, every step they went; and hence it is that this was compared by the old men of Ath Cliath,[1] who were watching from their battlements, *to a field of reapers, in which* not more numerous would be the sheaves whirled aloft over a great company reaping a dry ripe field, even though two hundred or three hundred were working at the reaping of it, than their hair whirled aloft from them by the wind, after having been hacked and cut away by heavy gleaming battle-axes and by bright flaming swords.

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

Conıɗ aıꞃe aſbeꞃt mac Ꝺṁlaıḃ baı aꞃ ſceıṁlıḃ a ġꞃıanaın ꝼéın ocuſ é, ʒá ſꝼeʒaɗ, aſ maıṫ benaıt na ʒoıłł an ʒoꞃt, aꞃ ſé, aʒ ꝼéʒaɗ aꞃ ınġın Ꝺꞃıaın .ı. ben ṁeıc Ꝺṁlaıḃ, oıꞃ aſ ıomɗa ſeꞃꞃṫałaċ eɗaꞃḃuaſ uaıſtıḃ.

Whereupon the son of Amhlaibh said, when he was on the battlements of his watch tower, and was watching them, "Well do the foreigners reap the field," said he, looking at Brian's daughter, who was the wife of the son of Amhlaibh, "for many is the sheaf whirled aloft over them."

Cıɗ tꞃa aċt baɗaꞃ aꞃ ın ımeſoꞃʒaın ſın, ocuſ aꞃ ın ıombuałaɗ ó ṫꞃáṫ eıꞃġe co hıaꞃnóın .ı. an ccéın bíoſ muıꞃ acc tuıłe ocuſ acc tꞃáġa.

CVIII. However now, the armies continued in that strife and fighting from sunrise to evening, *i.e.*, while the tide was flowing and ebbing. It was at

[1] *Ath Cliath.* This sentence is very much involved and the text probably corrupt. The word aʒuſ is perhaps a mistake of transcription, and ſeın is for ſın, as in p. 190, above: ſamlatταꞃ ſeın is in the passive instead of the active, as p. 190. "This was resembled by the old men of Dublin," i.e. it seemed to them to be represented by the similitude which follows; to make this intelligible, the liberty has been taken of inserting in the translation the words in Italics.

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

Ḋóiġ iṡ aṙ ḷán maṙa tanġataṙ na ġoiḷḷ amaċ ḋo ċuṙ an ċaṫa iṡin maiḋin, ocuṡ ḋo ṙoċt an muiṙ ina hionaḋ ḟein ḋo ṙiḋiṡi a nḋeiṙeaḋ ḷai an tan ṙo múiḋ aṙ na ġaḷḷaib, ocuṡ ṙucc an ḷán maṙa a ḷonġa uaṫaiḃ, cona ṙaiḃe aca ḟa ḋeóiḋ conaiṙ ṙo teiċḟiḋíṡ aċt iṡin ṡḟaiṙṙġe. Aṙ maṙḃaḋ imoṙṙo, ġaḷḷ na ḷuiṙeaċ uiḷe ocuṡ na nġaḷḷ maiṫ eḷe, ṙo muiḋ aṙ ġaḷḷaiḃ ocuṡ aṙ Laiġniḃ, co ḋíoġaiṙ a náinḟeaċt, ocuṡ ṙo ġaiṙeḋaṙ a ccoṁaiṙc cinnte, ocuṡ a caiṡmeṙta tinnenaiṡ ocuṡ teiċiḋ, ocuṡ iṡṡeḋ ṙo teiċṡeḋaṙ iṡin ṡḟaiṙṙġe, ḋóiġ ni ṙaiḃe aca ḷeṫ eḷe ṙo ṫeichḟetṫaiṡ ċena, uaiṙ ṙo baṡ etoṙṙa ocuṡ cenn ḋṙoichitt Ḋuḃġaiḷḷ, ocuṡ ṙo baṡ etoṙṙa ocuṡ coiḷḷ ḋon ḷeiṫ eḷe. Ciḋ tṙa aċt ṙo teiċṡioḋaṙ co ḋíoġaiṙ iṡin ṡḟaiṙṙġe, aṁaiḷ buaiḷe bó aṙ aiḃeḷḷ ṙe teṡbaċ, no ṙe cuiḷiḃ, no ṙe cṙeaḃṙaiḃ; ocuṡ ṙo ḷenaḋ co haṫḷaṁ imeḋtṙom iaḋ co ṙo báiḋit ġo ḋioġaiṙ ḋimóṙ iaḋ iṡin ḟḟaiṙṙġe, co mbiḋiṡ na ccaṙnaiḃ ocuṡ na ccéaḋaiḃ, ocuṡ na cceiṫeaṙnaiḃ co cumaṡcḋa aṙ na ṡccaṙaḋ ṙe a cceiḷḷ, ocuṡ ṙe a ccéaḋḟaiḋ ṙiṡ in tuaṙccain ocuṡ ṙiṡ an ccoṫuccaḋ, ocuṡ

full tide that the foreigners came out to fight the battle in the morning, and the tide had come to the same place again at the close of the day when the foreigners were defeated; and the full tide had carried off their ships from them, so that in fact they had not at the last any place whither they could go, but into the sea. Therefore after all the foreigners of the coats of mail and other chiefs of the foreigners had been slain, a rout took place of the foreigners and Laighin, so that they fled with one accord, and they shouted their peculiar cries for mercy, and their battle whoops, and fled; and they could only flee into the sea, for there was no other place where they could fly to, because *our forces* were between them and the head of Dubhgall's-bridge, and were also between them and the wood on the other side. Therefore they fled violently into the sea, like a herd of cows in heat from sultry weather, or from gnats, or from flies,[1] and they were pursued quickly and lightly into the sea, where they were with great violence drowned, so that they lay in heaps and in hundreds, and in battalions confounded, after parting with

[1] *Flies.* The word cṙeib, p. 192, line 3, was translated *gadflies*, on Mr. Curry's authority. It is here in the plural, ṙe cṙeaḃṙaiḃ. But it does not occur in any dictionary or glossary. cṙeim is *a scab;* and might perhaps have been written cṙeib.

ꝓıꞩ ın ccombuaḷaḋ ḋo ꝓonꞩaṫ Ḋaḷ cCaıꞩ ꝼoꝓꝓa, ocuꞩ maıṫe Ɛꝓenn maıḷḷe ꝼꝓıu.

their senses and their faculties, under the striking, and under the pressure, and under the beating inflicted on them by the Dal Cais and the Chiefs of Erinn that were with them.

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

Iꞩ annꞩın ḋo ċuaıḋ Toıꝓꝓḋeaḷḃaċ mac Muꝓchaıḋ ı nḋeaḋaıḋ na nꝫaḷḷ ıꞩın ḃꝼaıꝓꝓꝫe, co ṫucc an buınne ꝓoḃaꝓṫa coꝓ ḋe ım ċoꝓaıḋ Cluana Taꝓbh ꝫuꝓbáıḋeḋh é, ocuꞩ ꝫaḷḷ ına ḷaıṁ ḋeıꞩ, ocuꞩ ꝫaḷḷ ına ḷaım ċlı, ocuꞩ cuaıḷḷe cuıḷınn na coꝓaḋ ṫꝓíḋ. Ní ꝓaıḃe áṁ, ına aeıꞩ ın Ɛꝓınn aon ḋuıne buḋ ꝼeꝓꝓ eıneaċ ocuꞩ enꝫnaṁ ınáꞩ. Ḋóıġ enꝫnaṁ a aṫaꝓ ann, ocuꞩ ꝓíoġḋaċṫ a ṡenaṫaꝓ; ocuꞩ nıꝓ ṡḷán aċṫ cuıcc bḷıaḋna ḋécc ḋó an ṫan ꞩın; ocuꞩ ıꞩé an ṫꝓeaꞩ ḋuıne aꞩ mó ḋo ṁaꝓḃ ıꞩın caṫ ın ḷá ꞩın hé.

CX. It was then that Toirrdelbhach, the son of Murchadh, went after the foreigners into the sea, until the wave of a spring-tide struck him a blow against the weir of Cluain-Tarbh, so that he was drowned, and a foreigner in his right hand and a foreigner in his left hand; and the holly-stake of the weir through him. There was not of his age in Erinn a man superior to him in generosity and in munificence. For he had the munificence of his father, and the royal dignity of his grandfather; and he had not completed more than fifteen years at that time; and he was the third man who had killed most on that day in the battle.

Iꞩ annꞩın ꝓo ꝓáıḋ ınġen Ḃꝓıaın, ben ṁeıc Aṁḷaıḃ. Aꞩ ḋoıġ ḷımꞩa, aꝓ ꞩí, ꝓo benꞩaṫ na ꝫoıḷḷ ꝓé a nḋúṫċaꞩ. Cıḋ ꞩın, aꝓ mac Aṁḷaıḃ, a ınġen, ní ꝼuıḷ aċṫ na ꝫoıḷḷ acc ṫoċṫ ıꞩ ın ꝼaıꝓꝓꝫe ꝓeḋ aꞩ ḋuaḷ ḋóıḃ. Ní ꝼeḋaꝓꞩa an aoıḃeḷḷ

Then it was that Brian's daughter, the wife of Amhlaibh's son, said, "It appears to me," said she, "that the foreigners have gained their inheritance." "What is that, O girl?" said Amhlabh's son, "the foreigners[1] are only going into the sea, as is hereditary to them. I know not whether it is the

[1] *The foreigners.* This latter taunt is put into the mouth of Brian's daughter, p. 193, *supra*, but it is evidently intended here to be a part of the reply of Amlaff himself.

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

ꝼuıl ꝼoꝛꝛa aċt nı́ anaıd ꝛe a mbleoġan maꝼedh.

Ro ꝼeꝛccaıcced mac Amlaıb ꝼꝛıa, ocuꝼ tucc doꝛn dı ġuꝛ ben ꝼıacaıl aꝼa ceann.

Imtuꝼa Muꝛchaıd mıc Bꝛıaın; aꝛ ꝛoċtaın do tꝛe caṫ na ngall ocuꝼ don ġaꝼꝛaıd ꝼın aꝛ aon ꝛıꝼ, amaıl a dubꝛamaꝛ ꝛóṁaın, do badaꝛ dꝛeam do na ġallaıb .ı. da ccaıṫmıledaıb naꝛ teıch ꝛıaṁ aġa ꝛaıbe a ccıall ocuꝼ a ccuıṁne, ocuꝼ dobuꝼa leo ġaċ eıccendáıl dꝼulanġ ınáꝼ bádad da mbꝛeıṫ. Iꝼ ann ꝼın do ċonaıꝛc Muꝛchad mac Bꝛıaın, Sıtꝛuıc mac Lodaıꝛ, ıaꝛla Innꝼı Hoꝛc, aꝛ láꝛ caṫa Dál cCaıꝼ ġa naıꝛleaċ ocuꝼ ġa naṫċuma, ocuꝼ nı ġabdaıꝼ a naıꝛmꝼıṁ na a nıolꝼaobaıꝛ nı́ dó. Ocuꝼ ꝛucc Muꝛċad ꝛuaṫaꝛ da ıonnꝼaıġıd, ocuꝼ tucc béım anaenꝼeċt dó aꝼ a dílaıṁ ġuꝛ ġeꝛꝛ a ċenn, ocuꝼ a ċoꝼa an aeınꝼeċt dé aꝛ ın láṫaıꝛ ꝼın.

heat that is on them, but nevertheless they tarry not to be milked."

The son of Amhlabh became angered with her, and he gave her a blow, which knocked a tooth out of her head.

CXI. To return to Murchadh, son of Brian;—when he had passed through the battalions of the foreigners, and those champions[1] with him, as we have said before, there was a party of the foreigners, that is, of their soldiers, who had not fled before him,[2] who had retained their senses and their memory, and it seemed easier[3] to them to suffer every extremity rather than be doomed to be drowned. It was then that Murchadh, son of Brian, saw Sitruic, son of Lodar, Earl of Innsi Orc, in the midst of the battalion of the Dal Cais, slaughtering and mutilating them; but neither their arms nor their keen-edged weapons could do any harm to him[4]; and Murchadh rushed to attack him, and dealt him a blow at once, which cut off his head and his legs at once on the very spot.

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[1] *Those champions.* The MS. D. reads "the champions of the Dál Cais with him." See p. 193, *supra.*

[2] *Fled before him.* D. explains this, "who had not rushed into the sea as yet." See p. 193.

[3] *Easier.* D. reads ꝛo boꝼa, p. 192, *supra*, which perhaps ought to have been printed ꝛob oꝼa, for uꝼa, as here: the comp. of uꝛaꝼ or ꝼuꝛuꝼ, easy.

[4] *To him.* The Irish original leaves it doubtful whether this means harm to Murchadh, or harm to Sitruic. D. gives it the former interpretation. See p. 195. The bombastic amplification of

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

Ιγ αnnγιn τάιnιc Ellrιc, mac rίġ Loċlann, cenn ʒaιle ocuγ ʒaιγccιδ Loċlann, ocuγ na nʒall uιle hι ccrιoγlaċ, ocuγ hι cceιrτ ṁeaδon caτa Dál cCaιγ, ocuγ do rιnne coγaιr uιle do leιτċenn ιn ċaτa ʒur ṁarḃ ʒo haδḃal ιaδ. Ro δéċ Murchaδ ιn nί γιn ocuγ ba ʒalar craoιδe leιγ hé, ocuγ ro ιompo fόr fιarτarγna fo cath na luιreaċ ʒur marb cuιcc ʒoιll δécc δια δeιγ, ocuγ a cúιcc δécc ele δια ċlί δoneoċ mo raιḃe lúιrιġ, ʒo roċτ Ebrιc mac rίġ Lochlanδ. Ro ḟerγataγ coṁlann re roιle, ocuγ ιγé γιn coṁlann aγ croδa do rόnaδ γan ccaτ, uaιr ba comlann feιġ feόċaιr, fuιleaċ, forδerʒ, ocuγ ba ʒleιc ʒarḃ ʒlιfιδeaċ, aιnmιn, aʒʒarḃ, eaγccaιrδeṁaιl. Ιγ aṁlaιδ ro baι cloιδeṁ Murchaιδ ar na ιondγmaδ, ocuγ elτa δeδ baδar ann ro leġγaτ fri τeγbach ιn ιombualτa, ocuγ ro δluιġ an cloιδeṁ τe laδaιr a láṁa an τί Murchaδ. Sellaιγ Murchaδ ιn nί γιn, ocuγ ro la an cloιδeṁ uaδ, ocuγ ro ʒaḃ cennṁullaċ an ʒoιll, ocuγ ro ḟaιγcc a luιrιġ τara

CXII. Then came Ellric, son of the King of Lochlann, head of the valour and championship of Lochlann and of all the foreigners, into the bosom and centre of the battalion of the Dal Cais; and he made havoc[1] of the whole half end of the battalion, so that he slew them in prodigious numbers. Murchadh perceived this, and it was a heart-ache to him, and he turned himself obliquely upon the battalions of the mail-clad men, so that he slew fifteen foreigners on his right and fifteen others of the mail-clad on his left, until he reached Ebric [*sic*], son of the King of Lochlann. They fought a combat together, and that combat was the bravest that was fought in the battle; for it was a combat stout, furious, bloody, crimson; and it was a wrestling, rough, noisy, passionate, savage, heartless. The sword of Murchadh at that time was ornamented, and the inlaying that was in it melted from the heat of the striking, and the hot sword cleft the fork of the hand of the said Murchadh. Murchadh felt this, and threw the sword from him; and he laid

this passage in D. (see p. 194) is a good example of the liberties taken by the ancient bards with the authors whose works they transcribed.

[1] *Havoc.* I have taken the word coγaιr to be for coγʒar, havoc, slaughter. Coγaιr may signify a feast, which would make no sense, except by a somewhat violent figure. D. seems to translate it by the word γιnnmaιʒ, which, on Mr. Curry's authority, was rendered "a litter;" p. 195, *supra*.

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

ċenn sair, ocus tuccsat gleic iomrascala da ċéile, ocus ro ċuir Murchaḋ an gall faoi a niort iomrascala, ocus ro ġaḃ Murchaḋ cloiḋeṁ, ocus ro ṡaiṫ hi ccleiṫ oċta in ġoill é co riaċt talmain trítt, ocus ro ṫarraing dna, in gall a scin sium, ocus tucc taḋall do Murċaḋ gur ṫall a inne ass, ocus gur tuitsiot ar lár ina ḟiaḋnaise. Ro ṫuit crioṫ ocus táṁ ocus tairsi ar Murchaḋ, ocus nír ḟéd coisscéim as sin. Aċt aon ní, ar neirġe do Murchaḋ as a nell, do ḃen a ċenn don ġall. Ocus nir ḃo marḃ Murchaḋ co tráṫ eirġe ar na ṁarać, go nderrnaḋ a ḟaoisidin ocus gur ċaiṫ corp Críost.

hold of the top of the foreigner's head, and pulled his coat of mail over his head, and they fought together a combat[1] of wrestling; and Murchadh put the foreigner down under him by force of wrestling. And Murchadh took a sword,[2] and thrust it into the ribs of the foreigner's breast, so that it reached the ground through him: then the foreigner drew his knife, and gave a cut to Murchadh, so that he cut his bowels out, and they fell on the ground before him. There fell a shivering, and fainting, and weakness upon Murchadh, and he could not stir a step therefrom. But, at the same time, when Murchadh arose from his swoon, he cut off the foreigner's head; and Murchadh was not dead until sunrise the next morning, after he had made his confession, and received the Body of Christ.

Imṫusa Briain mic Ceinneide, airdrí Erenn, frís an re sin. Ar ccoiṁrioċtain do na caṫaiḃ ro sccaileḋ a ṗeall faoi, ocus ro ḟoslaic a psaltair ocus ro ġaḃ ag gabáil a psalm ocus acc ernaiġṫe tar és an ċaṫa, ocus ní raiḃe nech ina ḟarraḋ aċt Laidean giolla a eiċ féin ó sfuilitt í Laidean hi Muṁain. Atbert Brian friss in ngil-

CXIII. Now of the adventures of Brian, son of Cenneide, Chief King of Ireland, during that time. When the combatants met, his cushion was spread under him, and he opened his psalter, and began to recite his psalms and his prayers behind the battle; and there was no one with him, but Laidean, his own horse-boy, from whom are descended the Ui Laidean, who are

[1] *Combat.* Lit., "a wrestle of wrestling."

[2] *Sword.* D. says "the foreigner's own sword."

ꞁa, Ꝑeġ na caṫa ocuꞅ na coṁꞅaicti ꝫo nꝫaḃaꞅ ꞅa mo ꝑꞅaꞁma. Ro ꝫaḃ Ḃꞅian caeca ꝑꞅaꞁm, ocuꞅ caeca oꞅṫa, ocuꞅ caeca ꝑaiteꞅ, ocuꞅ ꞅo ıommcomaiꞅc don ꝫioꞁꞁa cionnaꞅ baꞇaꞅ na caṫa. Ro ꝑꞅeccaiꞅ an ꝫioꞁꞁa, Atċimꞅi iad ocuꞅ aꞅ cumaꞅcda coṁdꞁúꞇa iad, ocuꞅ ꞅo ꞅiaċꞇ cáċ i nꝫꞁoꞇain a ċéiꞁe diḃ, ocuꞅ níꞅ ꞁia ꞁimꞅa beim hi ccoiꞁꞁ Tomaiꞅ, ocuꞅ na ꞅeċꞇ ccaṫa ꝫa teꞅccaḋ, iná ꞇꞅoꞅꞇ béime hi ccennaiḃ, hi ccnáṁaiḃ ocuꞅ hi ccennmuꞁꞁaiġiḃ ꞁeo. Ocuꞅ ꞅo ꝑiaꞅꝑaiḋ Ḃꞅian cionnaꞅ do ḃí meiꞅꝫe Muꞅchaiḋ. Atá na ꞅeꞅaṁ, aꞅ in ꝫioꞁꞁa, ocuꞅ meiꞅꝫeḋa Ḋaꞁ cCaiꞅ ina ꞇimċeꞁꞁ, ocuꞅ cinn iomḋa da ꞇꞇeiꞁccen ocuꞅ ꝫa ndiuḃꞅaccaḋ ċuicce, ocuꞅ ioꞁaċ coꞅcċaiꞅ ocuꞅ coṁmaidme ꞁeó. Rá haṫdeꞅꝫaḋ a ṗeaꞁꞁ ꝑo Ḃꞅian, ocuꞅ ꞅo ġaḃ caeca ꝑꞅaꞁm ocuꞅ caeca oꞅṫa, ocuꞅ caeca ꝑaiteꞅ, ocuꞅ ꞅo ꝑiaꞅꝑaiḋ don ꝫioꞁꞁa cionnaꞅ baꞇaꞅ na caṫa. Aꞅbeꞅꞇ an ꝫioꞁꞁa, Ni ṗuiꞁ beó duine do ḃeꞅa aiṫne aꞅ neaċ ꞅeach a ċeꞁe díoḃ, oiꞅ ꞇoꞅcꞅaꞇaꞅ ꝑoꞅccꞁa na ccaṫ cceċꞇaꞅḋa, ocuꞅ in neoc aꞅ beo díoḃ ꞅo ꞁíonaiḋ do ḃꞅaenġaiꞁ na ꝑoꞁa ꝑoꞅ ꞅuaiḋe iꞇiꞅ ċeann, ocuꞅ ċoiꞅ ocuꞅ éiꞇeaḋ, ionnaꞅ naċ

in Mumhain. Brian said to the attendant,[1] "Watch thou the battle and the combatants, while I recite my psalms." Brian then said fifty psalms, fifty prayers, and fifty paters; and he asked the attendant how the battalions were circumstanced. The attendant answered, "I see them, and closely confounded are they, and each of them has come within grasp of the other; and not more loud to me would be the blows in Tomar's wood, if seven battalions were cutting it down, than are the resounding blows on the heads, and bones, and skulls of them." Brian asked how was the banner of Murchadh. "It stands," said the attendant, "and the banners of the Dal Cais around it, and many heads cut off are falling around it, and a multitude of trophies and spoils are with it." His cushion was readjusted under Brian, and he said fifty psalms, fifty prayers, and fifty paters; and he asked the attendant how the battalions were. The attendant said, "There lives not a man who could distinguish one of them from the other, for the greater part of the hosts on either side are fallen; and those that are alive are so covered,—their heads,

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

[1] *Attendant.* Ꝫioꞁꞁa: the boy, or servant. This word does not imply *youth*, as our English word *boy*. The word *boy*, in the sense of servant or attendant, is still applied in Ireland to men of any age.

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

ttiuḃraḋ an taṫair aiṫne ar an mac ann. Ocus ro bai ag fiarfaiḋe cionnas do bi meirge Murchaiḋ. Asbert an giolla, Ro pa fada ó Murchaḋ é, ocus rainic tres na caṫaiḃ siar, ocus ata se crom ar cclaonaḋ. Atbert Brian, Ro claon Ere de sin, ocus giḋeaḋ, an ccomḟad do ċífid fir Erenn an meirge sin biaiḋ a engnaṁ, ocus a ṁeisneċ féin in gaċ aoinḟer ḋíoḃ. Ro haṫdergaḋ peall Briain, ocus ro gaḃ caeca psalm, ocus .l. orṫa, ocus caeca paiter, ocus ro bás fós acc an iombualaḋ friss in re sin. Ro iomcomairc Brian don giolla cionnas bai meirge Murċaiḋ, ocus cionnas batar na caṫa. Asbert an giolla, Is samail liom amail buḋ í coill Tomair ar na tesccaḋ, ocus ar na losccaḋ, a mionbaċ ocus a hócc ċroinn, ocus na seċt ccaṫa caictiḋis ar mis aga caiṫeṁ, ocus a railge ro ṁóra ocus a dairġe díoṁora ina seasaṁ.

and legs, and garments, with drops of crimson blood, that the father could not recognise his own son there." And again he asked, how was the banner of Murchadh. The attendant answered, "It is far from Murchadh, and has gone through the hosts westward, and it is stooped and inclining." Brian said, "Erinn declines on that account; and, nevertheless, so long as the men of Erinn shall see that banner, its valour and its courage shall be upon every man of them." Brian's cushion was readjusted, and he said fifty psalms, and fifty prayers, and fifty paters, and the fighting continued during all that time. Brian cried out to the attendant, how was the banner of Murchadh, and how were the battalions? The attendant answered, "It appears to me like as if Tomar's wood was being cut down and set on fire, its underwood, and its young trees; and as if the seven battalions had been unceasingly destroying it for a month, and its great trees and its immense oaks left standing."

D.

Genealogy of the Scandinavian Chieftains named as Leaders of the Invasions of Ireland.

Genealogy of the Scandinavian Leaders.

To avoid confusion the following tables are numbered in continuation of the Irish Genealogical Tables, Append. B., pp. 245–249. As in the former tables, the names of females are printed in italics; the sign = denotes marriage or concubinage; s., son; dr., daughter; k. or K., king; L., lord; E., earl; sl., slain; o., obiit.

Table VI. is divided into two, (A) containing the genealogy of Olaf Hviti, (or the White,) King of Dublin; (B) the genealogy of Gormo Gamle (or the Aged), called Tomar by the Irish.

Table VII. exhibits the genealogy of "the Sons of Ivar," Kings of Limerick, and "the Grandsons of Ivar," Kings of Dublin and Waterford. To avoid the inconvenience of a folding sheet this table has been broken into separate genealogies, which are marked (A), (B), (C).

Table VIII. exhibits the descendants of Cearbhall, or Carroll,[1] Lord of Ossory, and Danish King of Dublin, showing his close connexion and alliances with the Norsemen. His Irish descent from Connla, called by O'Flaherty[2] "Ossoriorum sator," will be found in Dr. O'Donovan's "Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory." See Introd., p. lxxx., *n.* [6].

This Connla was the grandson of Crimhthann Cosgrach [the Victorious] King of Ireland, and flourished, according to O'Flaherty, about a century before the Christian era. Cearbhall was the son of Dunghal (or, as he is also called, Dunlaing, *Fragments of Ann.*, p. 129), who died A.D. 843 (841 of the Four M.) Cearbhall married a daughter of Maelsechlainn or Malachy I. (son of Maelruanaidh), King of Ireland; and his sister Lann or Flann was married to the same King Malachy, by whom she was the mother of Flann Sionna, King of Ireland, who reigned from 879 to 916. See Geneal. Table II., p. 246.

1 *Carroll.* This name affords a good example of the process of eclipsing or dropping letters in Irish pronunciation. The name was, no doubt, at first pronounced Cerball, or Carball (the C as K); then the b became aspirated, and pronounced v; this change must have taken place before the middle of the ninth century, as appears by the Scandinavian spelling of the name, *Kiarvall.* In more modern times the *bh* or *v* was entirely dropped in pronunciation (as the *b* in our word *doubt*), and the name is now Carroll. The same thing occurs in other languages: as in the French name for Christmas, *Natale*=Nathal =Noel. *Pater*, *Mater*, *Frater*=Père, Mère, Frère. *Festum*=Fête. *Spadum* =espée=épée, &c.

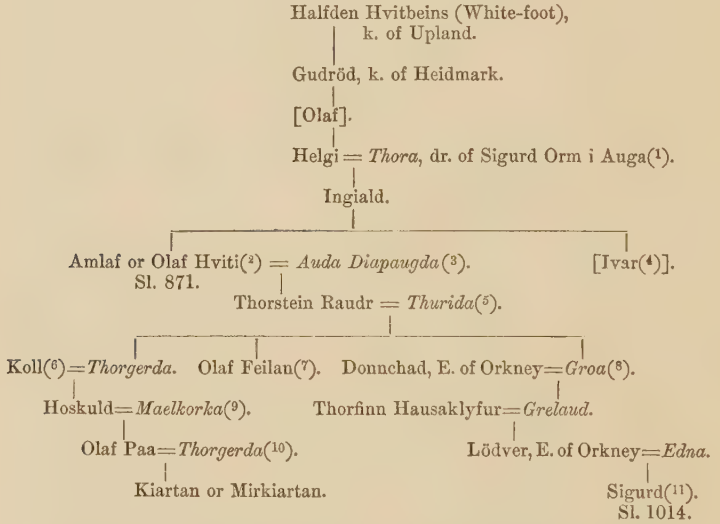
2 *O'Flaherty*, Ogygia, p. 118–264.

TABLE VI.

Genealogy of Olaf the White, King of Dublin, and of Gormo Gamle, called by the Irish Tomar.

Genealogy of Olaf the White.

(A). *Genealogy of Olaf the White.*



(1) Sigurd Orm i Auga, or "Serpent-eye," was the son of Ragnar Lodbrok by *Aslauga* dr. of Sigurd Fofnisban. Landnama, p. 385. Introd. *supra*, p. vi. In the genealogy given Landnama, p. 106, an Olaf occurs as the father of Helgi and son of Gudröd, but is omitted in the Table given Scriptt. Hist. Island. tom. iii., Tab. 2. The name is therefore enclosed in brackets.

(2) Olaf Hviti, or the White; Landnama, p. 106. His arrival in Ireland is thus recorded by the Ann. Ult., at 852=A.D. 853 (4 M. 851): "Amlaimh, or Amlaiph, son of the King of Lochlainn came to Erinn, and the Gaill of Erinn gave him hostages, and tribute from the Gaidhil." See above, Introd., p. lxix., lxx. There were "Gaill" in Ireland, as we have seen, before Olaf, who are called the "White Gentiles." Dublin was occupied by them about 837 or 838. See p. xlix., *supra*. Olaf the White is called "Amlaoibh Conung," (Fragm. of Ann., p. 127), the same name for King which we find on the Danish coins. Soon after his arrival in 852 he left suddenly, but returned in 856, ibid., p. 135. The same year Ivar [Beinlaus, or the Boneless,] appears in Ireland as his ally. See Ann. Ult., 856, and Table VII. Olaf the White was slain in Ireland, (Landnama, p. 107), about 871 or 2. We do not meet with him in the Irish Annals after 870=871.

(3) *Auda Diapaugda* [the very rich], called *Auduna*, Eyrbyggia, p. 5, and *Unura*, Laxdæla, p. 3. She was dr. of Ketill Flatnef (Flatnose) son of Biörn Buna. Laxd., p. 3., Eyrbyg. p. 37, Kristni., p. 189. Table VI. (A).

Genealogy of Olaf the White.

(4) This is doubtless a mistake; there is no Ivar brother of Olaf the White mentioned in the Sagas, but he is spoken of in the Fragm. of Annals, pp. 127–171. See Introd., p. lxxix *supra*. Mr. Lindsay (Coinage of Ireland, p. 8), having stated that he had met with no coins of Anlaf or Olaf the White, first King of Dublin, notices certain coins "which," he says, "I am strongly inclined to think belong to his brother Ifars or Imar I., who was at first K. of Limerick, but at the death of his brother Anlaf in 870, King of the Danes of all Ireland." There is no evidence however that this Imar was Anlaf's brother, or that the Ivar who was at this time King of Dublin had ever been K. of Limerick; no doubt Ivar (Beinlaus) son of Regnar Lodbrok is the same who was K. of Northumbria and of the Danes of Ireland and Britain, Ult., 872; see Table VII. A son of Olaf the White, named Carlus, is mentioned in the Four M., 866 (A.D. 869), but neither does his name occur in the Sagas.

(5) *Thurida* was the dr. of Eyvind Austmann by *Rafertach* dr. of Cearbhall, or Carroll, Lord of Ossory and King of Dublin, Eyrbyg. p. 5, Landnama, pp. 4, 228. See Table VIII. Her husband Thorstein is called Oistin (or Eystein) in the Ann. Ult. at 874 or 875, where he is said to have been killed in Scotland "per dolum." Landnama, p. 107, Laxdæla, cap. 4. Thorstein is surnamed Raudr (the Red) in the Sagas.

(6) Koll is called Dala Koll, Landnama, p. 108.

(7) Olaf Feilan, Landnama, p. 13, Kristni, p. 191.

(8) *Groa*. From her were descended the Earls of Orkney. Kristni, ibid., Laxd. p. 9. See Heimskringla (Saga, vii., c. 99), Laing's transl. ii., p. 130. Her son-in-law Thorfinn was surnamed Hausaklyfur, or Skull-cleaver. See Table VIII. (B) No. (13), p. 302.

(9) *Maelkorka*. She was the dr. of "an Irish King," (called Mirkiartan, Landnama, p. 114, Laxd., p. 37); was sold as a slave to Hoskuld by a Russian merchant. She was singularly beautiful; and being ashamed of her position, affected to be deaf and dumb, until after the birth of her son, when she betrayed herself, by being overheard conversing with him. She was probably the daughter of Muircheartach Leather cloaks, who was slain by the Danes in 943. When her son was 18 years of age, his mother, who had taught him the Irish language, sent him to Ireland, giving him a golden ring, and other things that would be recognised as hers. He arrived before his grandfather's death, (Laxdæla, p. 71, *sq.*), and therefore before 943. He was called Olaf Paa, or the Peacock, from his great beauty. He afterwards gave to his son the name of Kiartan or Mirkiartan (Muircheartach) from his grandfather, Landnama, p. 109, Heimsk. (Saga, vi., c. 88, Laing, i., p. 449), Kristni, p. 191. Olaf Peacock's gifts to Gunnar were, a gold armilla, a cloak which had belonged to Mirkiartan (Muirchertach) King of Ireland [Irakonungr], and a hound named Sam [happy, or summer], which had been given him in Ireland. Nial's Saga (Lat.), p. 217. Burnt Njal, i. 223.

(10) *Thorgerda*, was the dr. of Egil-Skalagrimmson, Egils-Saga, p. 597.

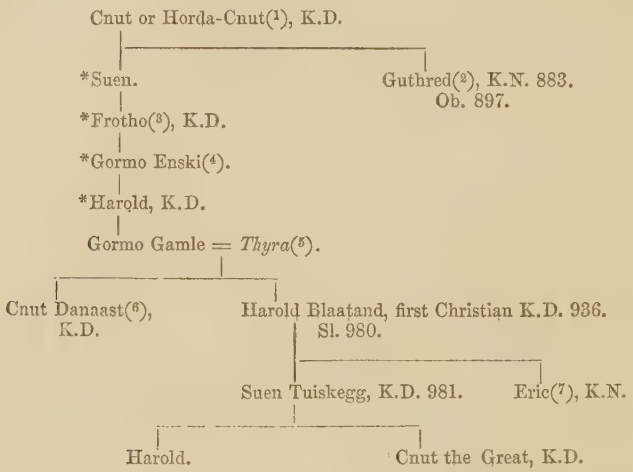
(11) Sigurd Earl of Orkney and Shetland, surnamed Digri, or the Fat, slain at Clontarf 1014. See above p. 153. Introd. p. clxviii. Burnt Njal, ii., p. 11, 327 *sq.* For the descent of his mother *Edna*, dr. of Cearball, see Gen. Table VIII. (B) No. (13), p. 302.

Table VI. (B).

Genealogy of Gormo Gamle.

(B). *Genealogy of Gormo, called by the Irish Tomar.*

[K.D. signifies King of Denmark; K.N. King of Northumberland.]



(1) In the Table given by Langebek, II., p. 415, Cnut or Horda-Cnut is made the son of Sigurd Serpent-eye, and the father of Gormo Gamle, the four generations marked with an asterisk above being omitted; see also Scriptt. Hist. Island. tom. iii., Tab. 2. Others make Cnut the grandson of Sigurd Serpent-eye, by a daughter, who had married Eric, son of Harold Klag; and retain the four generations marked with an asterisk above; see Saxo Gramm. and Series Regum XIII. apud Langebek, I., p. 66; Petri Olai Chron. Ibid. p. 112, where Cnut is made son of Eric-Barn (or the Boy) who died 892, son of Sigurd Serpent-eye by a dr. of Guttorm or Gunthram, son of Harold Klag. See Saxo Gramm. ed., Müller, p. 466. Cnut is called Lothe-knut or Lota Cnut. In the Hist. Regum Dan. by Suen Aggoson, Suen and Gormo Enski are omitted and Gormo Gamle is called Gormo Loghæ (ignavus). Langebek, I. p. 48.

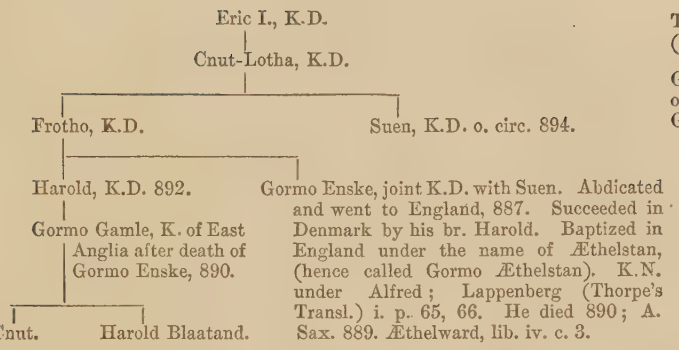
(2) Guthred "ex servo factus est rex;" Simeon Dunelm. De gestis regum Angl. ad an. 883. Hist. Eccles. Dunelm. ii., 13. Monum. Hist. Brit., p. 682, 683 *n.* Ethelwerd (Chron. ad an. 896) says of him "Transeunte etiam anni unius decursu obiit et Guthfrid rex Northymbriorum in natalitia S. Bartholomæi apostoli Christi; cujus mausoleatur Evoraca corpus in urbe in basilica summa."

(3) Frotho is called "Victor Angliæ," by some writers. Saxo Gramm. (ed. Müller, p. 467) makes him son of Cnut.

(4) *Gormo Enske*, or the English, so called because he was born in England. Saxo Gramm., p. 468. We have seen that some exclude him from the above genealogy, on the ground that it would otherwise be too long. The Series Regum by Corn. Hamsfort (Langebek, I., p. 34), makes him to have been descended from Eric I., thus

Table VI. (B).

Genealogy of Gormo Gamle.



Tomar mac Elgi.

The Irish records speak of a chieftain, probably the same as Gormo Gamle, under the name of Tomar, or Tomrair, perhaps for Thor-modr (Thor's man); they call him Mac Elgi, or Mac nAilchi, son or grandson of Enske [the English], of which Elgi or Ailchi, is a corruption. See above, p. lxiv. *n.* and p. lxvii. *n.* The arrival of Tomar Mac Elgi, at Limerick, is mentioned above p. 39, and is dated 922 (Ann. Ult.) His coming seems to have given umbrage to the Danes of Dublin, who sent an expedition against him, under their King Godfrey Ua Imhair, which was repulsed with loss, 924 (Ibid.) There was a Tomar at Dublin almost a century before, from whom the people of Dublin were called "Muinntir Thomair," or "Family of Tomar." See Book of Rights, p. xxxvi. This may have been Turgesius the reputed founder of Dublin (see Introd., p. lii.), and Tomar, probably a name given by the Irish to all Thor-worshippers. In the A. Sax. Chronicle Gormo is called Guthrum. A lord deputy of Turgesius, appointed to rule over Regnar Lodbrok's dominions, is called Gormund, Langebek I., p. 16, II. p. 281. Giraldus Cambrensis, Topogr. Hib. Dist. iii., cap. 38, says that Gurmund was supposed to be *an African*. This mistake may have arisen from hearing the Irish call him Dubhgaill, "a *black* foreigner."

(5) *Thyra* is said by some authorities to have been dr. of Æthelred K. of England; Ann. Island, p. 13; Saxo Gramm., p. 469. Others tell us that she was the dr. of Harold Klag, K. of Jotia; Scriptt. Hist. Islandor., tom. iii., Gen. Tab. 5. Her son Harold was surnamed Blaatand, or Blue-tooth, and her grandson Suen was distinguished by the appellation of Tuiskegg, Double-beard, or Furcobarbus.

(6) Cnut Danaast (Amor Danorum), is said to have been slain near Dublin, whilst besieging that city. Being engaged with his followers at nocturnal games (probably some Pagan celebration) he was struck with an arrow, but commanded his men not to desist from their games, lest the enemy should learn his danger; Saxo. Gramm., p. 472. The Ann. Island., p. 13, date this event 875, the year in which Cearbhall of Ossory became K. of Dublin: p. lxxx. *supra.*

(7) Eric succeeded Olaf Cuaran as K. of Northumbria in 952, in which year "the Northumbrians expelled King Olaf and received Yric [Eric] Harold's-son;" but in 954 Eric was himself expelled, and was the last K. of Northumbria of the Norsemen; A. Sax. Henr. Huntingd. (ap. Monum. Hist. Brit., p. 746. E), Langebek II., p. 148, *n. s.* Some of the Northern historians confound this chieftain with Eric Bloody-axe, son of Harold Harfagr, (Heimskringla, Saga iv., c. 4). See Hodgson's Northumberland, vol. I., p. 151, where this error is corrected; and Lappenberg (Thorpe's Transl.) ii., p. 124.

TABLE VII.

Genealogy of the Hy Imhair.

Genealogy of the Hy Imhair, or Descendants of Ivar, Kings of Limerick, Dublin, and Waterford.

The common ancestor of all these chieftains was most probably the Ivar who was King of Northumbria and Dublin in the middle of the ninth century, and may with great probability be identified with Ivar Beinlaus, son of Regnar Lodbrog. He is said to have gone to England to avenge his father's murder. The Ann. Island. give 861, and the English Chronicles 866, as the year of his arrival in England. If so he must have remained at home for upwards of twenty years, after his father's death, a delay which is not explained. But if his father had perished in Ireland, as we have some authority for believing (see p. lv. *n.* [1]), Ivar's thirst for vengeance ought to have led him in the first instance to that country instead of to England. Accordingly we find him in Ireland, in alliance with Olaf the White, some ten years at least before he appeared in England.

Exploits of Ivar Beinlaus in Ireland.

The following List of his exploits in Ireland in conjunction with Olaf the White, is taken from the Irish Annals[1] :—

852. Olaf the White arrives in Ireland (Ult., Four M.), and leaves suddenly. Fragm., p. 127.

856. Olaf returns, ib., p. 135. Victory by Olaf and Ivar over Caittill Find and the Gaill-gaedhil in the territories of Munster. (Ult.) See Introd. p. lvii.

858. Victory by Cearbhall or Carroll, lord of Ossory, and Ivar, in Aradh-tire (co. of Tipperary), over the Cinel Fiachach (Westmeath), and the Gaill-gaedhil of Leth Cuinn (the northern half of Ireland). Four thousand was the number that came with Carroll, and Ivar; (Ult., Four M.) A great expedition in Meath by Olaf, Ivar, and Carroll.

861. Aedh s. of Niall [i.e., Aedh Finnliath, s. of Niall Cailne, afterwards K. of Ireland] with the Kings of the Gaill in Meath, plundering Meath, along with Flann, s. of Conaing [lord of Bregia in Meath]. (Ult.)
Carroll leads an army to assist King Malachy I. against Aedh son of Niall, and Olaf. (Ult.)

862. Olaf, Ivar, and Auisle (Flosi ?) the three Kings of the Gaill, plunder the territory of Flann, s. of Conaing. (Ult., Four M.)

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[1] *Irish Annals.* The references to the Annals are abbreviated thus:— *Ult.* means Annals of Ulster; *Four M.*, Four Masters; *Clonm.* Annals of Clonmacnois; *Fragm.* the Three Fragments of Annals, copied from ancient sources by Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh, and edited by Dr. O'Donovan (Irish Archæol. and Celtic Society, 1860); *Cambr.* Annales Cambriæ; *Brut.* Brut y Tywysogion; *A. Sax.*, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

863. Conchobhair [s. of Donnchadh, s. of Flann Sionna] half-k. of Meath, drowned by Olaf at Cluain-iraird [now Clonard]. (Ult., Four M.)

865. Amlaf and Auisle go to Fortrenn [in Scotland] with the foreigners of Ireland and Scotland. They plunder all Pictland and take its hostages. (Ult.)

Ivar is not mentioned as on this expedition, he was therefore probably now in England, where he seems to have been joined by Olaf. The invasion of Pictland may have had some connexion with the death of Domhnall Mac Ailpin, K. of the Picts, 862 (Ult.), and the succession of Constantine son of Kenneth Mac Ailpin, 863. O'Flaherty, Ogyg., p. 484.

866. The battle of York, in which fell Alli (Ælla), K. of the "Northern Saxons." (Ult.) In this date the English Chronicles all agree. (A. Sax. 867. Asser. 867. Sim. Dunelm. De Gestis, 867). Ethelward expressly names Ingwar or Ivar as the leader of the Northmen (866, 867).

"Auisle tertius rex gentilium dolo et parricidio a fratribus suis jugulatus est." (Ult. Fragm., p. 171–173). See p. lxxii.

During Olaf's absence the Irish burnt his fort at Clondalkin and 100 heads of the chieftains of the foreigners were taken. (Ult., Four M.) See p. lxxx. *n.* 3.

867. Olaf's son Carlus was slain at the battle of Cill-ua-nDaigri [Killineer, near Drogheda]. (Four M. 863.) See p. 33. Carlus is not mentioned in Ult. nor in the Ṣagas, but his sword was preserved in Dublin to the reign of Malachy II. He was probably born of an Irish or Scottish wife or concubine. Olaf is said to have married a dr. of Aedh Finnliath; Fragm., p. 151. Another of his wives was the dr. of Cinaoth (ib. p. 173), i.e. of Cinaoth or Kenneth Mac Ailpin, K. of Scotland.

868. Olaf returned to Ireland; his English troops being in winter quarters, burned Armagh with its oratories; after making great havoc, and leaving 1,000 men wounded or slain. (Ult., Fragm., p. 185.)

869. Leaving their army at York for a year (Asser., Flor. Wig., A. Sax.) Olaf and Ivar again united; Ail Cluathe (Alclyde, the *Rupes Glottæ*, now Dumbarton) was besieged by them for three months, and at length plundered. (Ult., Fragm., p. 193. Cambr. and Brut. 870.)

870 or 871. Olaf and Ivar returned to Dublin from Scotland with 200 ships and a great number of prisoners, Angles, Britons, and Picts, carried off in captivity (as slaves) to Ireland. (Ult.) Hinguar and Ubba seem to have been left in command of the Danish forces in East Anglia, and Egbert in Northumbria. By these chieftains Edmund King of East Anglia was slain in battle (A. Sax. 870), and has since been regarded as a martyr. Flor. Wigorn. says that the King was slain on *Sunday*, Nov. 20, and if so, the year must have been 869.

On their way back to Dublin, Olaf and Ivar seem to have taken the fortress of Dun Sobhairce (now Dunseverick, near the Giants' Causeway) "quod antea non perfectum est" (Ult.), thence proceeding southwards they slew Ailioll, son of Dunlaing, King of Leinster; but possibly these exploits, although recorded by Ult. in connexion with the return of Olaf and Ivar, may have been the deeds of another body of Norsemen.

Table VII. Genealogy of the Hy Imhair.

Olaf was slain somewhere in Ireland (Landnama, p. 107). His wife *Auda* and his son Thorstein immediately afterwards emigrated to the Hebrides, where Thorstein married *Thurida*, dr. of Evind Austmann. (Ibid). The Chron. Pictor. (ap. Pinkerton I., p. 495), says that Olaf was slain in Scotland by Constantine, son of Kenneth Mac Alpin, in the third (or perhaps the meaning may be the fifth) year of his reign. This, if we follow the true chronology, would be 866 or 868; even the later date would be four or five years too soon. Olaf's death is not recorded in the Irish Annals, but must have taken place between 870 and 873.

873. Ivar "Rex Nordmannorum totius Hiberniæ et Britanniæ vitam finivit." (Ult., 872=873. Four M., 871=873). Ethelward says that Ivar died the same year in which St. Edmund was slain, i.e., 870 or 871. The Fragm. at 873, say that Ivar "died of an ugly, sudden disease, sic enim Deo placuit," p. 119. Comp. Cornel., Hamsfort (Series Regum), ap. Langebek, I., p. 36.

In 874, on the death of Ivar, Cearbhall (or Carroll) lord of Ossory, succeeded as King of the Danes of Dublin. See above, p. lxxx., and Geneal. Table VIII.

For the coins supposed to belong to the reign of Ivar in Dublin and Northumbria, see Lindsay's Coinage of Ireland, pp. 3–10.

Halfdane, brother of Inguar and Ubba.

The English Chronicles speak of another chieftain named Halfdane, who is said to have been a "brother" of Inguar and Ubba, (Ethelw. lib. iv. c. 3, A.D. 878); and therefore, if this be literally understood, a son of Regnar Lodbrok. So Mr. Hodgson Hinde, continuator of Hodgson's Hist. of Northumberland, i., p. 154, who gives the genealogy thus:—

Regnar Lodbrok. Sl. 850–60.

Ingwar [or Ivar] invaded Northumberland, A.D. 866. Died 871 [873].	Ubba. Sl. in Devonshire 871. [873].	Halfdene succeeded Ingwar 871 [873]; established himself on the Tyne 875; perished 881–2 [877].

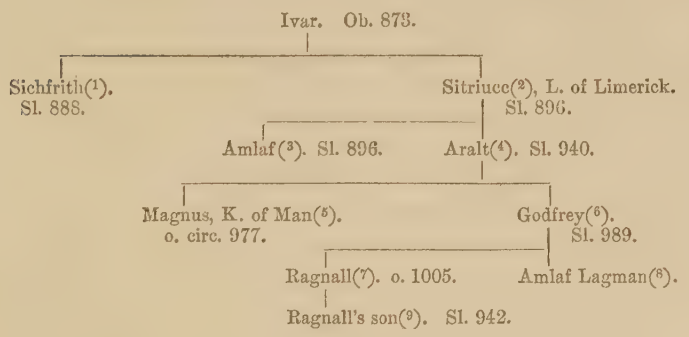
Bægsec slain.

After the death of Ivar, Halfdene and his companion Bægsec seem to have become Kings of Deira and Bernicia respectively. Bægsec was slain in the battle of Reading in 871 (A. Sax.) In 875 Halfdene invaded Northumbria, and "harried on the Picts and Strath Clyde Britons," (ib., Ult. 874=875). Then, having divided Northumbria amongst his followers, and commenced by their means the cultivation of the land, he sailed to Ireland, probably with a view to recover Ivar's kingdom there; but he was slain in a battle with "the White Gentiles," at Loch Cuan, now Strangford Lough, A.D. 877. (Ult. 876. Four M., 874 =877.) In the Irish Annals this chieftain is called Alban or Alband=Halfdane.

Halfdene slain.

(A). *The Sons of Ivar (Limerick Branch.)*

Table VII. (A). Genealogy of the Sons of Ivar of Limerick.



(1) Sichfrith. So his name is written, Ult. 887=888, in which year he was slain by his brother; "Sichfrith Mac Imair rex Nordmannorum a fratre suo per dolum occisus est." The old English translation of the Ulster Annals in the British Museum (Cod. Clarendon. tom. 47. Ayscough, 4795), renders the name Jeffrey; it is often written Godfrey. Much confusion has been caused by not distinguishing this name from that of his brother Sitriucc or Sitric; see p. 29 n. 9. But the error has been avoided by Mr. Hodgson Hinde, continuator of Hodgson's Northumberland (i. p. 138–154); he has fallen however into a different mistake in making the sons of Sitriucc, sons of Jeffrey or Godfrey (see p. 276). The Editor had not perceived the cause of this confusion, when he wrote the note 2, p. lxxxi. *supra*. The first Sitric, mentioned in that note, and called son of Ivar, is really Sichfrith, or Jeffrey, whom Mr. Hodgson Hinde always calls Godfrey, and who was slain 888. There is great difficulty however in the Chronology; for if Sichfrith was the leader of the party opposed to Sitriuc in 893, he could not have been murdered in 888; and if Sitriucc was in command of those who fled to Scotland in 902, he was not slain in 896. This latter Sitriucc is expressly called "Son of Ivar" (p. 29), and therefore must have been the Sitriucc No. (2) *supra*. It was Sitriucc Gale, grandson of Ivar, who fled to Scotland in 902. See Table VII. (B.) No. (2), p. 279.

(2) This Sitriucc is called "lord of the foreigners of Limerick," and father of the Aralt or Harold who in 940 (Four M., 938) was slain in Connaught, by the Conraighe of Aidhne, in the co. of Galway. Sitriucc was slain by his own countrymen, "ab aliis Nordmannis occisus," in 896 (895 Ult., 891 Four M.)

(3) This Amlaf is most probably the "Amlaimh Hua Imair," or Olaf, grandson of Ivar, who perished in a slaughter of the foreigners by the Conaille (people of Louth) and by Athdeidh son of Luigne, 896 (895 Ult., 891 Four M.)

(4) Aralt or Harold is called "Aralt grandson of Ivar and son of Sitric lord of the foreigners of Limerick;" Four M. "Harold O'Hymer King of the Danes of Limerick was killed in Connaught at Rath-eyney." Clonm. 933 (A.D. 940), See No. (2).

Table VII. (A).

Genealogy of the Sons of Ivar of Limerick.

(5) Magnus "son of Aralt, with the Lagmanns of the islands," plundered Inis Cathaigh [Scattery island at the mouth of the Shannon] and carried off Ivar lord of the foreigners of Limerick, A.D. 974 (972, Four M.) In 973, he is mentioned by Flor. Wigorn. under the name of "Maccus plurimarum rex insularum," as one of the eight "subreguli" who followed King Eadgar to Chester; after which he seems to have sailed round to Limerick. Monum. Hist. Brit. p. 578 A. Lagmann seems to have been originally a title of office, (Lagamadr, is jurisconsultus); see Olaf the Saint's Saga, (Heimskringla, Saga, vii. c. 76, 80, 81. Laing, ii. pp. 86–94). But the Four Masters speak of the Lagmans as a tribe of the Norsemen from the Insi Gall or western islands of Scotland. The first mention of them is under the year A.D. 962 (960 Four M.), when they came with the fleet of the son of Amlaibh and plundered the coast of Louth, Howth, and Inis Mac Nessain (now Ireland's Eye). They afterwards went to Munster "to avenge their brother, i.e., Oin." The son of Amlaibh who was their leader on this occasion may have been a son of Amlaf (son of Sitriucc), No. (3) *supra*, whose name is not recorded. But it is more probable that we should read Amlaf, instead of son of Amlaf, in the text of the Four M., meaning Amlaf Lagman No. (8). "The fleet of Lagman," taking Lagman, apparently, as the name of a man, is mentioned p. 41 *supra*.

(6) Godfrey Haroldson is called "King of the Insi Gall" or Western Islands of the foreigners, by Tigernach and Ult., A.D. 989, in which year he was slain by the Dalriada. The Ann. Ult. record a great battle at the Isle of Man in 986; "by the son of Harold [Mac Arailt] and the Danes" in which 1,000 were slain. This Battle is mentioned by the Ann. Cambriæ at 978: "Gothrit filius Haraldi, cum nigris Gentilibus, vastavit Mon [Man], captis duobus millibus hominum;" and in Brut y Tywys. A.D. 970, (where Man is called Mon or Mona) a second entry of the same event is given under the year 986, which agrees with the date given in Ult. See also Brut. 979, 981.

(7) Ragnall Godfreyson is called "King of the Isles," Ult., A.D. 1004–5, in which year his death is recorded.

(8) Amlaf Lagman, "son of Godfrey," is mentioned above, p. 165, and Introd. p. clxxiv. "Amlaf son of Lagman," is mentioned, p. 207, as one of the heroes on the Danish side killed in the battle of Clontarf. See above No. (5), and Ult. 1014.

(9) Ragnall's-son is not named, and it is difficult to believe that the chieftain so called, and said to have been slain 942, Ult. (940, Four M.), could have been the son of the Ragnall Godfreyson, who lived to 1005. But the mention of "his islands" seems to show that this Ragnalson was of the branch of the Hy Ivar which settled in the Isles. The account of his death in Ult. is as follows:—"Dunlethglais [Downpatrick] was plundered by foreigners; God and Patrick took vengeance upon them. He [viz., God] brought foreigners across the sea, who took their islands;"—[not *island*, as Dr. O'Donovan, following the old translation, renders the word];—"the King escaped, but was slain by the Gaedhil [Goidil] on the main-land." Here it will be observed the King is not named. It is from the Four M. we learn that he was the son of Ragnall, which possibly may be a mistake, as it does not appear whence the Four M. derived their information; there will be no difficulty if we read Ragnall, instead of Son of Ragnall. It is possible however that the date 1005 assigned to Ragnall's death in Ult. may be wrong. The Four M. have not repeated it.

There are some names mentioned in the Annals, which from their connexion with Limerick would seem to have belonged to this branch of the Hy Ivar. These will require a few remarks. Table VII. (A).

Genealogy of the sons of Ivar of Limerick.

I. Barith is probably the same who is said to have been slain and burnt at Dublin for his sacrilege in plundering the oratory of St. Cianan, A.D. 880 (=878 Four M.) He is called "Lord of Limerick" by the Four M. at 922 (=A.D. 924). Three sons of this chieftain are mentioned:—1. Uathmaran, who landed with 20 ships in Donegal, but committed no depredation, A.D. 922 (=919 Four M.) 2. Colla, who is mentioned as in command of a fleet on Loch Ribh, 924 (=922 Four M.) 3. Elair, who fell in battle against the Ui Amhalgaidh, or inhabitants of Tirawley, 891 (=888 Four M.)

The Baraid or Barith, mentioned ch. xxv. pp. 25–27 is probably the same. He appears to have been connected with the White Gentiles of Dublin, and is said to have plundered all the southern coast of Ireland from Dublin to Kerry in conjunction with "Amlaihh's son," i.e., the son of Olaf the White, probably Thorstein Raudr (see Table VI.) His plunder of the caves and sepulchral chambers on this expedition is particularly mentioned (p. 25, Introd. p. lxxiv). A battle between "the Fair Gentiles and Black Gentiles," the former under the command of Barith, the latter under "Ragnall's son," is next recorded (p. 27). Who Ragnall's son was does not appear, but he fell with many of his followers in this engagement, and there is reason to think that the battle was fought not long before the year 877, when the Black Gentiles, after the death of their leader Ragnall's-son, took refuge in Scotland (see p. lxxv.) Elsewhere (Fragm. p. 173) we read of Barith marching through the middle of Connaught towards Limerick (A.D. 866). His troops are there called "Lochlanns," or White Gentiles. He met with such resistance in Connaught that he was forced to return "to the place from which they had set out;" the place however is not named. In 873, the settlement of Barith, with his fleet on Lough Ree is mentioned by the same Annals (Fragm. p. 197). These dates will square very well with the history of the Barith, lord of Limerick, who was burned at Dublin in 880; and all these adventures apparently belong to the same person. Barith probably arrived in Ireland, and took the command of the Limerick colony, soon after the death of Turgesius. At all events

Table VII. (A).

he was in possession before the sons of Ivar, whose genealogy is given in the present Table.

Genealogy of the sons of Ivar of Limerick.

There is mention of another Barid, called Mac nOitir, or son of Ottar, who was slain by Ragnall of Waterford, grandson of Ivar, in a battle at the Isle of Man, A.D. 913; (see p. lxxxiv). This must have been a different Barid, not in any way perhaps connected with Limerick.

Ivar, grandson of Ivar, at Limerick.

II. The arrival at Limerick of "Ivar, grandson of Ivar, Chief King of the foreigners, with an immensely great fleet," is mentioned, p. 49, *supr.* This event is not noticed in the Annals, probably owing to the difficulty of fixing its exact date (see p. cii). Ivar is said to have landed at Inis Sibhtonn[1], or King's Island, the same place which had been occupied by a former party of invaders under Tamar son of Ailgi or Elgi in 922 (see ch. xxxiii. p. 39, *supr.*) He was probably the same who was carried off from Scattery island in 944, by Magnus son of Harald and the Lagmans of the isles; Four M. See No. (5) *supra.* But the Editor is not able to supply the link between him and Ivar his grandfather, or to determine whether in this case, by the word "grandson" a more remote descendant may not be intended. The Four M. at 928 and 929 (=A.D. 930, 931) mention him as in command of the foreigners of Limerick encamped at Magh Roighne[2], a celebrated plain in Ossory. He was therefore at Limerick before that year, and probably came with the expedition under Tomar, son of Ailgi, in 922. See Introd. p. cv, cvi.

The Dublin Danes were hostile to the party of the Limerick Danes, under Tomar, as well as to those under Ivar, which seems to favour the supposition that these were at least allies. In 923 or 924, Godfrey came from Dublin to attack the Limerick foreigners, called sons of Ailgi, but was defeated, with loss; and in 931 we read of the same Godfrey going to Magh Roighne in Ossory to displace Ivar grandson of Ivar. The curious thing in this was that Godfrey was also himself a grandson of Ivar; and

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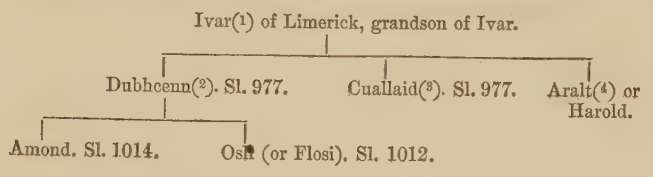
[1] *Inis Sibhtond.* The Four M. (A.D. 965, 969) call this place Inis Ubhdonn, whence some have conjectured that its real name was given it by the Scandinavian settlers, and was Inis Odinn or Woden, corrupted by the Irish to Inis Ubhdonn and Inis Sibhtonn.

[2] *Magh Roighne.* An ancient fair was held here, which seems to have been suspended, owing perhaps to the disturbed state of the country, but it was renewed by Cearbhall, king of Ossory, in A.D. 861 [859 of the Four M.]

the cause of this enmity between the kindred tribes remains to be explained. Table VII. (A).

The descendants of this Ivar, grandson of Ivar (see above p. 49. Introd. p. cii), are shown in the following Table :— Genealogy of the sons of Ivar of Limerick.



(1) This Ivar is represented by our author (if the text, as printed, p. 103, be correct) to have been slain by Brian,—whose bitter enemy he was,—and his two sons, Dubhcenn and Cuallaid, by the O'Donnells of Corcobhaiscinn; but the reading of the Brussels MS. represents them as having been all slain together by the O'Donnells; and Tighernach (A.D. 977), whose words are copied by the Four M., speaks of the sanctuary of Inis Cathaigh having been violated by Brian, "against the Gaill of Limerick, i.e., Ivar and his son Amlaf and his other son Dubhcon," but does not say that they were slain. See Introd., p. cxxxv. Ivar had been active in inciting the Munster chieftains to rise against Brian, and was the head of their organization against the Dal-Cais. (See p. 71.) Mathgamhain or Mahoun had expelled Ivar from Inis Ubhdain in 967 (=965 Four M.) and plundered Limerick, 971 (=969 Four M.) See chap. liii., p. 79. The Brussels MS. states that Ivar and his sons were slain a year after the murder of Mathgamhain, i.e., in 977. This agrees with Tighernach. The murder of Mathgamhain is said to have been instigated by Ivar and his son Dubhcenn; see ch. lviii., p. 87. Introd., p. cxxv.

(2) Dubhcenn, is Celtic (Blackhead), and was probably a nickname given by the Irish. His original Scandinavian name is unknown. See ch. xl., p. 48. He is called Dubh*con* by Tighernach (977), which is probably the misinterpretation of a contraction. His son Amond is enumerated among the slain on the side of the Danes in the battle of Clontarf (p. 207), and is there said to have been one of the two kings of Port Lairge or Waterford; "Goistilin Gall," who is not elsewhere mentioned, having been the other. Osli, the second son of Dubhcenn, appears to have been on Brian's side. He is called "an officer of Brian and one of his high stewards," and was slain in Meath by Flaithbhertach O'Neill, about the year 1012. Four M. See p. 147. Introd., p. clxv.

(3) Cuallaid, is also apparently an Irish nickname. Tigern. (at 977) and Four M. (at 975), call him Amlaimh, or Olaf. See Introd., p. ciii., n. 1, where it is suggested that he may have been the same as Olaf Cenncairech [Scabby-head] of Limerick, who is mentioned under that name in the Four M. and in the Annals of Clonmacnois. See Four Mast., 935, p. 632, note. Introd., p. ciii., note 1.

(4) This Aralt or Harold, after the death of his father and his two brothers, appears to have been recognised as King of the Munster Danes. Donovan, after the murder of Mahoun, made alliance with him, and both were slain by Brian, at the battle of Cathair Cuan, 978; see ch. lxiv. p. 103, and Introd. p. cxxxvi. We have no further mention of this Aralt mac Ivar in the Annals.

Table VII. (A).

Genealogy of the sons of Ivar of Limerick.

III. In the account given of the sacking of Limerick, after the victory of the Dal Cais at Sulcoit, A.D. 968, (see ch. lii., liii., p. 76–79), we have a list of the Danish leaders slain in the town. But the names are evidently so corrupt (see p. 78, note 3), that this list gives us no real information; among them are found Manus or Magnus of Limerick, and Somarlid, names afterwards common among the chieftains of Man and the Oirir Gaedhel of Argyle; also Tolbart, for which we should probably read Torolf; and Ruamond or Redmond. Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, who was slain at Clontarf, had a son Somarlid, who may have been the Somarlid slain at Limerick on this occasion; Heimsk. (Sag. vii., c. 99. Laing ii., p. 131). The Heimsk. indeed says that Somarlid, son of Sigurd, lived not long, but died in his bed (ibid., c. 100); but the Sagas are often misinformed respecting those who went to England or Ireland and never returned. In the poetical account of the victory (p. 81) Manus is called "Magnus Berna," which Keating understands as two names, Magnus (or as he reads Muiris), and Bernard.

(B). *Grandsons of Ivar (Dublin Branch).*

The Hy Ivar of Dublin and Waterford.

It is not known from what son of Ivar Beinlaus the Danes of Dublin and Waterford were descended; nor does it necessarily follow that their original leaders were all brothers, or sons of the same father; some may have been first cousins only, and all nevertheless grandsons of Ivar. It has been suggested indeed, in consequence of the silence of the Annals as to their father, that they were descended from a *daughter* of Ivar, married to some Scottish chieftain; and it is certain that the Egils-Saga (cap. li., p. 266) favours this conjecture by describing Olaf the Red (i.e., Olaf Cuaran, King of Dublin and Northumbria) as "paterno genere Scotus, materno Danus, ex stirpe Ragnaris Lodbrok;" (see Robertson's Scotland under her early Kings, i., p. 56, *n.*) Mr. Hodgson Hinde, in the first vol. of Hodgson's Northumberland (p. 154), makes the Dublin Danes sons of Sichfrith (whom he calls Godfrey), son of Ivar. This is an instance of the confusion between the names Sichfrith and Sitric already noticed (see p. 271), and is the more curious because Mr. Hodgson Hinde was himself (the Editor believes) the first to detect and correct that confusion. But after having pointed out the distinction between the two brothers, he erroneously applies

to Sitric a passage in the historian Ethelward,[1] which really belongs to Sichfrith, or Godfrey, and then he adds—"Sitric is not known to have left any descendants, but Godfrey had four sons." In these words the truth is reversed. Sichfrith (or Godfrey) is not known to have left descendants. Sitric had two at least, if not three or four sons, and left a numerous posterity, who are all ignored by Mr. H. Hinde. See Table (A), p. 271.

Table VII. (B).

The Hy Ivar of Dublin and Waterford.

A genealogy of those descendants of Regnar Lodbrok, who had settled, or "harried" in England, is given in the notes on the celebrated Anglo-Saxon poem about the battle of Brunanburh, Langebek, tom. ii., p. 413. In this genealogy there is curious confusion; the Dublin Danes, called by the Irish grandsons of Ivar, are made sons of Guthred,[2] son of Horda Cnut, see Table VI., (B), No. (2), p. 266; and Ivar does not appear in their genealogy at all. Sitric, the father of Olaf Cuaran, K. of Dublin and Northumbria, is made to have had a brother, who was slain by him at 921, viz., Niall or Nigellus, "King of Northumbria." This, as Mr. H. Hinde has shown, was no other than Niall Glundubh, King of Ireland, who never was King of Northumbria, and was no Dane, nor brother of Sitric, but a genuine Irishman of the race of the Northern Hy Neill or Cinel-Eoghan (see Table I. p. 245). This Niall was slain by Sitric in a bloody battle near Dublin, in 919. See ch. xxxi. p. 35 *supr.* The mistake, however, is pardonable in a foreign author; for it has the authority of the Saxon Chron. (A.D. 921) Henr. Huntend. (Monum. Hist. Brit. p. 745, B), Simeon Dunelm. (ib., p. 686, B), and other English historians.

In the following Table no opinion is expressed as to the father or fathers of the original invaders, Sitric; Gotfrith, or Godfrey, of Dublin; Ragnall of Waterford; and Ivar, who perished in Scotland. They are generally regarded as brothers, and the Irish authorities unanimously call them all "grandsons of Ivar," or Hy Ivar.

[1] *Ethelward.* "His ita gestis, Sigeferth piraticus de North-hymbriorum advehitur ardua cum classe per littora vastat bis tempore in uno, vela post vertit ad proprias sedes."—Chron. lib. iv., A.D. 895. (Monum. Hist. Brit., p. 518, D). Ethelward's text seems to need some emendation.

[2] *Guthred.* For this mistake may be quoted the authority of the lost "Gesta Anglorum," cited by Adam. Bremen., lib. ii. 15, where we read "Anglia autem, ut supra diximus, et in Gestis Anglorum scribitur, post mortem Gudredi a filiis ejus Analaf, Sightric, et Reginold, per annos fere centum, permansit in ditione Danorum." Nevertheless Lappenberg, although he quotes this passage as his authority, calls the supposed sons of Guthred "*Niel*, Sihtric, and Regnald."

Table VII. (B).

The Hy Ivar of Dublin and Waterford.

(1) This Ivar, who is expressly called "grandson of Ivar," was slain in Fortrenn, A.D. 903 (=904 Ult.) See Reeves, Adamn. p. 332, 3. This was about a year after the expulsion of the Danes of Dublin by Maelfinnia, K. of Bregia, and Cearbhall, son of Muiregan, K. of Leinster. They fled to Scotland under the command of Sitriuc, "son of Ivar," who had murdered his brother Sichfrith, the leader of the party opposed to him in Dublin. The Ivar slain in Fortrenn was probably one of this party. See Introd., p. lxxxii, and Table (A), No. (2) p. 271. Robertson, *Scotland under her early Kings*, i. p. 55, 56.

(2) Sitric, called Caoch [blind, or one-eyed], by our author, and Gale [hero?] by the Four M., arrived in Dublin "with a prodigious royal fleet" in 888. See p. 29, and Introd., p. lxxviii. In 902 or 903 he left Ireland and took refuge in Scotland, but returned in 917 (=915 Four M.), and settled at Cenn Fuait. See p. 35, c. xxx, and Introd., p. lxxxix. In 918 he recovered Dublin, and in 919 fought the battle of Kilmashogue (called also the battle of Dublin), where King Niall Glundubh and many other chieftains were slain. See ch. xxxi., p. 35. Introd., p. xc, xci. Four M. At this battle the commanders on the Danish side were "Imhar and Sitric Gale," according to the Four M., who are the only authority for this mention of an Imhar or Ivar at the battle. Keating says that the battle was gained "by Sitric and the Clann Ivar," which is probably the true reading. The Ann. Ult. do not name the Danish leaders, but simply record (918=919) "a battle (bellum) gained by the Gentiles over the Gaedhil." The next year Sitric was forced to quit Dublin, "per potestatem divinam," as the same Annals (920) say. He seems to have gone over to Mercia, for Simeon of Durham (at 920) mentions his having plundered Davenport in Cheshire in that year. He is called King of the Northumbrians, Sax. Chr. 925. The same authority, and Flor. Wigorn. tell us that in that year he married Æthelstan's sister, but in 926 (=A.D. 927) he died—"Sitric, grandson of Imhar, King of Dubhgall and Finngall, immatura ætate mortuus est." Ult. 927.

(3) Gothfrith, Guthred, or Guthferth, has by some been called son of Sitric, on the authority of Flor. Wigorn., who at 926 says "Cujus [Sitrici] regnum rex Æthelstanus, filio illius Guthfirdo, qui patri in regnum successerat, expulso, suo adjecit imperio." The A. Sax., Sim. Dunelm., and Henr. Huntend. at 927, mention the expulsion of Guthred, but do not call him the son of Sitric. Huntend. says that Guthred was the father of the Reginald, who, in 926, had acquired York, and in 943 was confirmed by the bishop. See also Flor. Wigorn. 943, 944. But this was Ragnall, No. (12), son of Gothbrith or Godfrey, No. (4), in the foregoing Table. Godfrey, Gothfrith or Gofraidh, son of Sitric, is mentioned by the Four M. as having escaped from the great slaughter of the Danes of Dublin at the battle of Muine-Brocain in 950, (see Introd., p. xcvi, *n.*); in the next year, with the Danes of Dublin, he plundered Kells and several other churches of Meath; (Ult. 951. Four M. 949=951). If he was old enough in 950 to take the lead in battle, he could not have been son of Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, the hero of Clontarf [No. (16)], who lived to 1042 (Tig.) He must, therefore, have been son of the elder Sitric [No. (2)], and brother of Olaf Cuaran. He does not appear to have had any connexion with Northumbria, and must not be confounded with his father's brother or cousin-german, Gothfrith, No. (4), who is spoken of in the authorities now to be quoted.

(4) This Gothbrith, as his name is written in the Irish Annals, (called Gothrin,

Table VII. (B).

The Hy Ivar of Dublin.

p. 37 *supra*), was no doubt the same as the Guthred, Guthfrith or Godfrey, supposed to have been the son of Sitric, (see preceding note), but called always "grandson of Ivar" in the Irish Annals, and therefore really Sitric's brother or cousin-german. The MS. D., of the present work, calls him "son of Ivar," but in B. he is correctly called "grandson." See p. 37, *n.* [9]. He was one of the leaders with Ragnall of Waterford, Ottir, and Gragaban, who invaded "the men of Alba" and North Saxons in 918. (Ult.) See Introd., p. lxxxvi. Reeves's Adamnan, p. 332, n. f. He plundered Armagh and the North of Ireland in 921 (see Introd., p. xcii, Circuit of Muircheartach, p. 6), and the same year, Sitric having abandoned Dublin in 920 [see No. ([2])], and Ragnall of Waterford having died in 921, Gothbrith became K. of Dublin and probably of Waterford (Ult. 920=921), for we find "the son of Gothfraith" plundering Kildare "from Waterford;" Four M. 926. In 923 Gothbrith was defeated, and many of his people slain, by the son of Ailche (Ult.); and in 927, on the news of Sitric's sudden death, he left Dublin, and succeeded as K. of Northumbria, but was there for six months only, (Four M. 925 = A.D. 927), having been expelled, as we have seen, from Northumbria by Æthelstan; A. Sax. 927. In 930, Ult. (928 of the Four M.), he plundered and demolished Dearc Fearna, probably the cave of Dunmor, near Kilkenny (O'Donovan, note in loc.) In 931 (929 Four M.) he went to Ossory to expel Ivar, grandson of Ivar, from Magh Roighne. See Table (A), p. 274, 275. In 934 (Ult.) his death is thus recorded, "Gothfrith Ua hImair rex crudelissimus Nordmannorum dolore mortuus est." See also Four M. 932 (=A.D. 934), who call him simply "Gothfrith, lord of foreigners." The Reginald, mentioned in the foregoing note, who was expelled from Northumbria with Olaf Cuaran in 944 (A. Sax.) and confirmed by the bishop in 943, was the son of this Gothbrith. See No. ([12]) in the Table, p. 278.

Olaf Cuaran.

([5]) Olaf or Amlaiph was surnamed Cuaran, (Quaran, or Kuaran in the Sagas), i.e. Olaf of the Sandal, for the word is Irish; (see above, Introd., p. ci, *n.*) He is surnamed also Olaf the Red (Rufus[1]), Egils. cap. li., p. 266. He is called by the Sax. Chron. "Anlaf of Ireland," and by Flor. Wigorn (A.D. 938) "Hibernensium multarumque insularum rex Paganus Anlafus." He is frequently distinguished both in the Irish and English Chronicles as "Sitricson;" and great difficulties have been occasioned by ignorance of the fact that Olaf Cuaran, and Olaf Sitricson, are one and the same person. His history, both in England and Ireland, is also so mixed up with that of Olaf, son of Godfrey, No. ([3]), who was, like Cuaran, King of Dublin and Northumbria, that much additional confusion has been the result. The Irish Annals, however, assist greatly in clearing up this confusion. Upon the death of Sitric [No. ([3])], in 927, "the Danes of Dublin left Ireland" (Clonm.), and Gothbrith or Gothfrith, King of Dublin [No. ([4])] went over to secure his succession to the throne of Northumberland.

[1] *Rufus.* The Four M., in Dr. O'Conor's translation, (at 978), call him Amlaf of the "blood red colour," sanguinei coloris, which erroneous version has misled Mr. Robertson (Scotland under her early Kings, i., p. 63, *n.*), who finds in this appellation a parallel to the *Rufus* of the Egil-saga. But the real meaning of the Irish phrase an tsainriudh (translated by O'Conor "blood-red"), is "in particular," as Dr. O'Donovan has rightly endered it. See O'Donovan's Gramm. p. 266, and Zeuss, pp. 823. Dr. O'Conor's *an t sannr.* is a contracted word, which (if written in full) ought to be, as in O'Donovan's text, *an tsainriudh.*

Olaf Cuaran seems to have been there already, but was expelled on this occasion with Gothfrith, and returned to Dublin. And now began the great effort to recover Northumbria from the hands of Æthelstan. Olaf Cuaran disappears for at least ten years from the Irish Annals, and Olaf Guthfrithson or Godfreyson, on the death of his father in 934, became King of Dublin. Cuaran was probably in Scotland during this interval, where he married a daughter of Constantine III., son of Aedh, son of Kenneth Mac Ailpin. He was supported and urged on to the war by his father-in-law, "a socero suo rege Scotorum Constantino incitatus," says Flor. Wigorn. at 938, and he became so identified with Scotland, as the leader of the expedition, that Scandinavian authorities call him "King of the Scots;" Egils. cap. li. In 933 Æthelstan invaded and plundered Scotland both by land and sea; (A. Sax. 933. Sim. Dunelm. 934). Constantine was compelled to make peace and to give his son as a hostage.[1] Flor. Wig. 934. This victory, however, proved ephemeral, and did not interrupt the active preparations for the coming struggle, made by Constantine in conjunction with the Irish Norsemen. Meanwhile Olaf Godfreyson was not idle in Ireland. In 929 he plundered Kildare "from Port Lairge," or Waterford harbour, that is to say, with the help of the Danes of Waterford, of whom he seems to have been then commander; (Four M. 927). In 933 he plundered Armagh, aided by the foreigners of Loch Cuan (Strangford Lough); and in alliance with Madudan,[2] son of Aedh, lord of Ulidia, he plundered what is now the co. of Monaghan; but was met and vanquished by Muircheartach of the Leather cloaks, lord of Ailech; (Four M. 931=A.D. 933). In the same and following year Olaf Cenncairech (Scabby Head) of Limerick, had gained a victory in the co. of Roscommon over the chieftains of the Hy Many, and had plundered as far as Boyle to the north, and Slieve Baune to the east, (Four M. 931=A.D. 932), continuing to harrass that county for two or three years. Olaf Godfreyson was at this time in Meath, and in 935 had taken the fortified island of Loch Gabhair (now Logore, near Dunshaughlin), and the cave of Cnoghbhai (or Knowth) near Slane; Ult. 935. Four M. 933 (=A.D. 935). Donnchadh, king of Ireland, resenting this invasion of his territory, and taking advantage of Olaf's absence, burnt Dublin, whereupon Olaf seems to have immediately returned thither. Meanwhile, Olaf Cenncairech, had crossed Breifne (Fermanagh and Leitrim) from Loch Erne to Loch Ribh. He arrived at the Shannon on Christmas night, A.D. 936, and remained seven months, or until the end of July in the following year. Then, on Lammas Day, 937, Olave Godfreyson came "*from Dublin*," as the Four M. expressly tell us, "and carried off Olaf Cenncairech with the foreigners who were with him, after breaking their ships." The object, evidently, was to compel Cenncairech and his followers to serve in the coming war[3] for the recovery of Northumbria, and

Table VII. (B).

The Hy Ivar of Dublin.

Olaf Cuaran.

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[1] *Hostage.* The son's name was Cellach; Ann. Clonm. (quoted Four M. 935, p. 634, *n.*) He was afterwards slain at the battle of Brunanburh. The completeness of Æthelstane's victory is evidently exaggerated. Robertson, Scotland, vol. i., p. 62.

[2] *Madudan.* See Dr. Reeves's list of the chieftains of Ulidia, No. 40. *Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 355.

[3] *Coming war.* The Ann. Clonm. (quoted by O'Donovan, Four M., p. 632), say "the Danes of Lough Rie [i.e. the followers of Olaf Cenncairech] arrived at Dublin"—evidently on their way to England with Olaf Godfreyson.

Table VII. (B).

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The Hy Ivar of Dublin.

—

Olaf Cuaran.

the Four M. add, (immediately after the words just quoted), "the foreigners of Dublin left their fortress and went to England." On his way to the Shannon, on this occasion, or more probably on his return, Olaf Godfreyson had plundered Clonmacnois, and quartered his soldiers there for two nights, a thing, says the annalist, hitherto unheard of, "quod ab antiquis temporibus inauditum est," Ult. 936. In 937 or 938 was fought the famous battle of Brunanburh, or Brunan-byrig. The exact site and modern name of this place is unknown, but it was probably in Yorkshire, and not far from the mouth of the Humber, where Olaf Cuaran[1] is said to have entered (Flor. Wig.) with 115 ships; (Sim. Dunelm.)

Olaf Godfreyson was certainly at this battle (Clonm.[2]), but it is not clear whether he or his name-sake Sitricson was the Olaf who is said in the poetical account preserved in the Sax. Chron. to have fled with the shattered remains of his troops to Dublin. It is probable that both chieftains took refuge in Ireland. The Ann. of Ulster tell us that in 938, the year after the battle of Brunanburh, "Olaf, son of Godfrey, came again (i.e., returned) to Ireland;" and, they add immediately afterwards, "Cell-cuilinn[3] was plundered by Olaf Ua Imair, quod non auditum est ab antiquis temporibus." In the next year, 939, the Four M. repeat this entry: "Plunder of Cell-Cuilinn by the foreigners of Dublin;" but without any mention of Olaf Ua Imair, or any other leader of the plundering party. They appear evidently to have assumed that in the former entry Olaf Godfreyson and Olaf Ua Imair were one and the same,[4] for they make mention of but one Olaf and omit the second plundering of Cell-Cuilinn altogether, or rather, perhaps, transfer it to their year 944 (=A.D. 946), where they distinctly mention Olaf Cuaran as the leader: their words there are, "Plunder of Cell-Cuilinn by the foreigners, i.e., by Amlaibh Cuaran." It is remarkable that the second plundering of Kilcullen is said in both Annals to have occurred in the year in which Æthelstan died; the Ann. of Ulster, however, placing that

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[1] *Olaf Cuaran.* A romantic story is related of him to which much credit cannot be given, as it seems to have been copied from a similar adventure told of Alfred. A couple of days before the battle, Olaf, disguised as a harper, entered Æthelstan's camp, and was brought before the king to display his minstrelsy. He marked well the situation of the king's tent, but Æthelstan, warned by a soldier, who had formerly served under Olaf, removed his tent to another part of the camp. In the night an assault was made, and the bishop of Shireburn with his followers were slain. The bishop had unwittingly taken up his quarters in the place vacated by the king. Olaf, finding his mistake, then rushed upon Æthelstan's tents, but was repulsed after a sharp contest. The story is told by W. Malmesb., ii. 6, and De Gestis Pontiff, lib. ii.; Lappenberg (Thorpe's Transl.) ii., p. 115; Hodgson's Northumberland, i., p. 145; Turner, Anglo Saxons, i., 335.

[2] *Clonm.* Quoted by O'Donovan, Four M., 935 (p. 633, *n.*)

[3] *Cellcuilinn.* Now Old Kilcullen, barony of Kilcullen, co. of Kildare: a place formerly of great importance and wealth, where there are still the remains of a round tower, and considerable Anglo-Norman fortifications.

[4] *The same.* Four M. 936 (=938), p. 935. Their words are "Amhlaibh, son of Godfrey, came to Dublin again, and plundered Cill-Cuilinn, and carried off ten hundred prisoners from thence."

event in 939 (the true year being 940), and the Four M. in 946. We can perhaps reconcile these discrepancies by supposing[1] that the two Olafs returned together from Brunanburh in 938; and that Olaf Cuaran plundered Kilcullen the same year in which Æthelstan died, viz. 940; the discrepancy was probably caused by the mistake as to this latter date, which occasioned a double entry of the plunder of Kilcullen under two different years. Table VII. (B). — The Hy Ivar of Dublin. —

That Olaf Godfreyson joined in this plunder is rendered probable by the language of the Four M. (937 = A.D. 939) where they say, "the foreigners (Gaill) deserted Athcliath, i.e., Amlaoibh, son of Godfrey, by the help of God and Mac-Tail." As Mac-Tail was the patron saint[2] of Kilcullen, this seems to prove that Olaf Godfreyson was held responsible for the sacrilege. Why the Gaill deserted Dublin is explained by the fact that in this year Olaf Cuaran had gone to York, followed by Olaf Godfreyson and his troops. Blacaire or Blacar No. ([11]), also a son of Godfrey, was left behind to govern Dublin; Four M. 939 (=A.D. 941). Olaf Cuaran, on his arrival at York, besieged Hampton (Northampton), and took Tamworth; (A. Sax. 943. Sim. Dunelm. 939). King Eadmund came out to meet him at Legracester (Leicester). A battle was prevented by the interposition[3] of the Archbishops Odo of Canterbury, and Wulstan of York. It was agreed that the kingdom should be divided, Eadmund taking the south and Olaf the north, the boundary between them being Watling-street (Sim. Dunelm.) In 941, Olilaf, as Sim. Dunelm. calls him, having plundered St. Balther's Church and burnt Tiningaham, in Scotland, died there. This must be Olaf Godfreyson, for the historian adds, "Filius vero Sihtrici, nomine Onlaf regnavit super Northanhymbros." The death of Olaf Godfreyson is recorded by the Annals of Clonmacnois at the year 934, which is really[4] 941, Olaf Cuaran.

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[1] *Supposing.* This supposition assumes that, in the Ann. of Ulster, Olaf Ua Imair denotes Olaf Cuaran or Sitricson, although Godfreyson was equally entitled to be so called, and that the second record of the plunder of Kilcullen is a duplicate entry of the same event, a thing not uncommon in those Annals. Also that in the Four M. the plunder of Kilcullen by Olaf Cuaran is out of its place, and really belongs to the year in which Æthelstan died, or 940. These suppositions render unnecessary Dr. O'Donovan's suggestion that the Four M., at 944 (=946), have confounded the death of Æthelstan with that of his successor Eadmund.

[2] *Patron saint.* His real name was Aenghus, surnamed Mac-Tail, or son of an adze [i.e., son of a carpenter]; see Martyrol. of Donegal (11 June) p. 167. Dr. O'Donovan (Four M., 937, p. 638 *n.*) suggests that Mac-Tail was also patron of St. Michael le Pole's church, Dublin, "Mac-Tail" having been corrupted to "Michael," by the English.

[3] *Interposition.* The A. Sax. Chron. (at 943, which is probably the more correct date), gives a different account. It tells us that Eadmund "beset King Olaf and Archbishop Wulstan," (who seems to have openly espoused the Danish cause in Leicester), and would have captured them had they not escaped from the town by night. Both stories, however, may be true; and the peace may have been effected after his escape by Wulstan, aided by Archbishop Odo, who was himself of a Danish family.

[4] *Really* 941. There is an error of seven years in the dates of Clonm. The Ann. Cambriæ, at 942, have "Abloyc [i.e., Amlaf] rex moritur;" [c for f, as usual in the Welsh dialect of Celtic].

Table VII. (B).

The Hy Ivar of Dublin.

Olaf Cuaran.

(quoted by O'Donovan, Four M., p. 645 *n.*), showing that the compiler of those Annals so understood the English chronicles. Dunnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, was at this time King of Ireland, and on the departure of the garrison of Dublin, or perhaps a little before, for the date given is 938, he united his forces to those of Muircheartach Leather cloaks, son of Niall Glundubh (see Geneal. Table I., p. 245), and plundered the Danish territory around Dublin as far as Ath Trusten, a ford on the River Greece, near Athy, in the south of the co. of Kildare; (Ult., 938. Four M., 936=938). In 941 Olaf Cuaran was chosen King by the Northumbrians, and in 943, or immediately after the peace of Leicester, was received into the favour of Eadmund, and baptized, Eadmund himself being his godfather. Shortly after, Regnald, King of York, son of Gothfrith [see No. (12)], was confirmed, having probably received baptism some time before, and Eadmund adopted him as his own son; Flor. Wigorn. Henr. Huntend. But this peace was of short duration. The next year (944) Eadmund subdued Northumbria, and having expelled Olaf and Regnald (A. Sax., Ethelw., Flor. Wigorn.,) took Northumbria into his own jurisdiction. In 945 he reduced Cumberland, but in 946 was murdered at Pucklechurch, on the mass-day of St. Augustine of Canterbury (May 26). Eathred, his brother, succeeded to the throne, and was received by the Northumbrians, who by their "witan" and Archbishop Wulstan, gave him their oaths of fealty, A.D. 947. In the interval Olaf Cuaran appears in Ireland. The Annals describe a great plunder of Dublin by Congalach, son of Maelmithigh, in 944, a few months before that chieftain became King of Ireland. He was joined in the assault by the troops of Leinster; and the Four M. represent the destruction of Dublin as complete. Its houses and shipping were burned, the male inhabitants and warriors put to death, the women and boys carried off; a few men escaped in boats to Dealginis (translated by the Norsemen Deilg-ei, now Dalkey island), where the Danes had a fortress; comp. Ult. 944. This, it will be remembered, was the year in which, according to the English chronicles, Olaf was expelled from Northumbria. The next year we find him in Ireland. "Blacar renewed Dublin, and Olaf along with him," say the Annals of Ulster, at 945; if the old English translation[1] be correct. But the Four M., the translator of the Ann. Clonm., and Dr. O'Conor understand this passage to mean that Blacar *was expelled* from Dublin, and that Olaf became king of that city in his place. In the same year some of the people or tribe of O'Canannan (whose chieftain laid claim to the throne of Ireland, see Introd., p. xcvi), were slain by the actual King Congalach, in alliance with Olaf Cuaran, in Conaille Muirtheimhne

[1] *Translation.* Cod. Clarendon, tom. 49 (Ayscough, 4795). The words in the original are, "Blacair do thelcudh Atha Cliath ocus Amlaip tar a eisi." The difficulty is in the word "thelcudh," which if derived from the verb "teilgim" to cast, to cast out, may signify "was expelled;" and so the Four M. render it "do ionnarbhadh a hAthcliath." The old English translator of Ult. seems to have taken it as the consuetudinal præterite of *telcaim*, or *tealcaim*, I maintain, support, sustain, restore; a word of rare occurrence, not found in our existing dictionaries. See Book of Rights, p. 52, line 1. It should be observed however that *Atha-Cliath*, the name of Dublin, is in the genitive case, which seems to favour the version given by the Four M., and their authority is, of course, of great weight.

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The Hy Ivar of Dublin.

Olaf Cuaran.

(co. of Louth) Ult. 944. Such sudden alliances between the bitterest enemies were common, both in England and Ireland, in those days, and were broken, even though ratified by oaths, as readily as they were made. In 946 the Danes of Dublin, doubtless under their King Olaf, plundered Clonmacnois and other churches "of the men of Meath," from which phrase we may, perhaps, infer that these acts of hostility were directed against "the men" and their King Congalach, rather than undertaken for mere plunder's sake; (Ult., 945, Four M., 943 = A.D. 945). In 947 Ruadhri O'Canannain advanced into Meath, but was met at Slane by Congalach and Olaf Cuaran, again apparently in alliance, unless we suppose each party to have come on its own account, both being, for different reasons, hostile to O'Canannain. If so, Olaf was no match for the double enemy; his Dublin Danes were defeated, and many of them slain or drowned.[1] The same year (Four M.), 948 (Ult.), Dublin was again plundered and Blacar slain, by Congalach, taking advantage, no doubt, of Olaf's absence, whom we find in Northumberland again in 948, the second year[2] of King Eadred, where he seems to have maintained himself until 952, when he was expelled by the fickle Northumbrians, and Eric, son of Harold Blaatand, made King. See Table VI. (B.), No. (7), p. 266, 267. Eric was himself driven away, and Eadred's sovereignty once more acknowledged in 954. Hoveden says that on this occasion the Northumbrians slew Amancus, No. (19), son of Olaf, and from that time forth Northumbria was governed by Earls, and not by Kings; (Savile, *Rer. Angl. Scriptt.*, p. 423).

In 953, the year after his expulsion from Northumbria, Olaf Cuaran re-appears in Ireland, and in conjunction with Tuathal, or Toole, son of Ugaire, King of Leinster, (see Introd., p. lxxxix), plundered Inis Doimhle and Inis Uladh.[3] In 956 Congalach, King of Ireland, was slain by the foreigners of

[1] *Drowned.* The Ann. Ult. thus record the event: "An expedition by Ruadhri O'Canannan as far as Slane, where the Gaill and Gaedhil met him, i.e., Congalach, son of Maelmithidh, and Amlaibh Cuaran, and a victory was gained over the Gaill of Ath Cliath, in qua multi occisi et mersi sunt." This with the corresponding entry in the Four M. has generally been understood to signify that Olaf was in alliance with Congalach, which seems difficult to believe, especially as it is said that the victory was gained over the Gaill, without any mention of Congalach.

[2] *Second year.* So says Gaimar, *ver.* 3549—

"Quand il regnout el secund an
Idunckes vint Anlaf Quiran."

There is confusion in the Anglo-Sax. Chron. about these changes. The Northumbrians swore fealty to Eadred in 947; took Eric to be their King in 948; expelled him and returned to their fealty the same year; received Olaf Cuaran in 949; expelled him and restored Eric in 952. Flor. Wigorn. makes no mention of Olaf, but speaks of "Ircus" as chosen King in 949, and expelled in 950. Henr. Hunten. says that Olaf was received with joy in 947, and remained King for four years, when in 952 the Northumbrians "solita infidelitate utentes," drove him away and chose "Hyrc, son of Harold," to be their King. "Hyrc," however, was also expelled in 954. Conf. Gaimer, ver. 3554. The Anglo-Sax. Chronicle alone mentions a double expulsion of Eric.

[3] *Inis Uladh.* See Dr. O'Donovan's curious account of this place, which was near Dunlavin, co. of Wicklow; note on Four M. at their year 594. For Inis Doimhle see p. xxxvii, *n.*[2] *supra.* There were several places so called. See Mart. Donegal, *Index of Places.*

Table VII. (B).

The Hy Ivar of Dublin.

Olaf Cuaran.

Dublin and the Leinstermen, at Tigh-Giuran in Leinster, together with Aedh Mac Aicidi, King of Teffia, and many others (Ult.) The Four M. (954=A.D. 956) add that the Danes of Dublin were commanded by Olaf *Godfreyson*, who laid an ambuscade for Congalach and his chieftains. This is clearly a mistake of the Four M., for Olaf *Sitricson*; Godfreyson, as we have seen, having been now dead fifteen years. Six years after the death of Congalach, or 962, we read of a certain Sitric Cam (or the crooked), probably a chieftain of some of the Scottish islands, who is described as coming "from the sea," to Ui Colgan, in the co. of Kildare; "but he was overtaken" (say the Four M.) "by Olaf, with the Gaill of Dublin and the Leinstermen, and Olaf wounded him in his thigh with an arrow, and gained the victory over Sitric Cam, who escaped to his ships after the slaughter of his people."[1] In 964, it is recorded by the Four M. that Olaf Sitricson was defeated by the men of Ossory at Inis-Teoc, now Innistiogue, in the co. of Kilkenny, where he lost many of his men, with Bathbarr, son of Nira or Ira, a chieftain evidently foreign, but who does not seem to be elsewhere mentioned. We have no further notice of Olaf in the Annals until the year 970, when the plundering of Ceanannus (now Kells) by him, in alliance with the Leinstermen, is mentioned. He lost there a great number of his people, but carried off a good prey of cows, and gained a victory over the Ui Neill at Ard-Maelcon. The plunder of Kells, but not the victory, is also recorded in the Ann. Ult., 970; and it is curious that at the year before, the Four M. tell us of another plunder of Kells by *Sitric, son of Olaf*, aided also by the King of Leinster; but with this difference[2] that Sitric was overtaken by Domhnall O'Neill, King of Ireland, and defeated. In this same year, 970, the Ann. Ult. date the battle of Cill-Mona, or Kilmoon, gained by Olaf in alliance with Domhnall, son of the late King Congalach, over the actual King of Ireland, Domhnall O'Neill. This battle is dated 973 by our author, and 976=A.D. 978 by the Four M.; see Introd., pp. xcviii, xcix. In 970 (Ult.) the celebrated abbeys, Monaster-Boice and Lann Leire, then in possession of the Danes of Dublin, were plundered by King Domhnall O'Neill. We next hear of Olaf in 978, at which year both the Four M. (975=978), and Ult. (977=978), record his having slain the two heirs to the throne of Ireland in the two royal lines of the Northern and Southern O'Neill; see Introd., p. xcix. The battle of Bithlann, gained over the Leinstermen by the Danes of Dublin in 979 (see p. 47), was probably under the conduct of Olaf, although his name is not mentioned; (Ult. 978. Four M. 976). See Introd., p. c.

The last act of Olaf's life, as a warrior, was the battle of Tara, fought in 980, against Maelsechlainn, or Malachy II., who afterwards, but in the same year, became King of Ireland. Olaf had called in the aid of the warriors of the islands, but was nevertheless defeated with great loss (see Introd., p. c). His

[1] *People.* Four M., 969=962. The above is the correct translation of this passage, which has been strangely mistaken by Dr. O'Donovan, who omits an important clause in the text, and makes the Annalists say that Olaf was wounded and fled to his ships, instead of Sitric Cam.

[2] *Difference.* Were it not for this difference we might reasonably suspect here a duplicate entry of the same event, "Sitric, son of Olaf," being an error in the text of the Four M. for "Olaf, son of Sitric." Such duplicate entries are common in the Annals.

Table VII. (B). — The Hy Ivar of Dublin.

son Ragnall [No. (17)], was slain in the battle, with Conmael or Conamhal, probably one of the leaders from the islands, and all the nobles or chieftains of the Dublin foreigners [see p. (47)]; Ult. 980. Malachy followed up his victory, aided by Eochaidh, King of Uladh,[1] by a lengthened siege of Dublin, which ended in the complete subjection of Olaf. The result is said to have been a deliverance from "the Babylonian captivity of Ireland," which was "inferior only to the captivity of hell" (Tig., Four M.); and the language of the Annals implies that Olaf, before this defeat, had acquired throughout the country an absolute sway. See Tighernach's account, quoted Introd., p. ci, *n.* 2. Four M. 979=980. Nevertheless in 983 (Ult., Tig.), we find Gluniarainn [No. (15)], son of Olaf, in alliance with King Malachy, against Domhnall Claon, King of Leinster, and Ivar of Waterford. See Introd., p. cxlii, *n.* 1. This circumstance indicates perhaps some dissension among the sons of Olaf in Dublin, and may account for the despair which led the aged chieftain to retire "on a pilgrimage" (as our author says, p. 47), to the society of St. Columba in Hy, where he died in 981.

Mr. Lindsay notices but one coin of Olaf Cuaran (whom he calls Anlaf IV.) Coinage of Ireland, p. 10, Plate I., No. 3.

(6) *Gyda* had been married to "a great earl" in England, whose estates she inherited. On his death a "Thing" was assembled, "that she might choose a husband." She chose Olaf Tryggvesson, who was accidentally present; they were married and lived "sometimes in England, sometimes in Ireland." Heimskr. Saga vi., c. 33, (Laing's transl. i., p. 399; see also c. 52, where Olaf Cuaran is erroneously called "his wife's father," instead of *brother*, ib. p. 417).

(7) Sichfrith and Oisle are put down in the foregoing Table as sons of Sitric Ua Imhair, on the authority of the Ann. of Clonmacnois (quoted by O'Donovan, Four M., 935, *n.* p. 633), where we are told they were both slain at the battle of Brunanburh. These Annals, however (of which we no longer possess the original), are not very much to be depended upon, and, therefore, the names of Sichfrith and Oisle are printed in parentheses as doubtful.

(8) See what has been said on the history of this Olaf, under No. (5).

(9) Lachtin is mentioned as "son of Goffraith," by our author, ch. xxxvii., p. 43, where his death is alluded to as a mode of dating the battle of Muine Broccain. He appears to have been slain in 947. Intr. p. xvcii.

(10) Albdan, Alphthan, or Halfdene, son of Gothbrith, is mentioned, Ult. 926, as in command of the fleet of Loch Cuan (Strangford Lough), which was stationed at Linn-Duachaill, on the 4th of Sept.; but on Thursday, 28th Dec., of the same year, Muircheartach Leather-cloaks, son of Niall Glundubh, defeated him at the Bridge of Cluain-na-Cruimther (a place now unknown), where "Alphthan, son of Gothbrith," was slain, "cum magna strage exercitus sui." The half of the army that escaped slaughter were shut up for a week at Ath-Cruithne, until Gothbrith, Halfdene's father, came from Dublin to their relief; (Ult., Four M.) See O'Donovan's *Circuit of Ireland*, p. 6.

(11) Blacair, or Blacar, has already been mentioned under No. (5), p. 284. He remained in command of the garrison of Dublin, when the two Olafs went to England in 941. Here he had to sustain the inroad of Muircheartach Leather-cloaks, to whom he was forced to give "Sitric, lord of the foreigners of Dublin,"

[1] *King of Uladh.* See Dr. Reeves's list of the Kings of Uladh, No. 44. | *Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 355.

Table VII. (B).

The Hy Ivar of Dublin.

as a hostage; O'Donovan, *Circuit of Ireland*, p. 9, *sq.* This was probably Sitric the son of Olaf Cuaran [No. (16)], who must have been then a boy of about 11 or 12 years of age. Blacar was probably not sorry to get rid of his claims to the crown of Dublin by giving him up; but the hostages were well treated, and before the end of the year surrendered to Donnchad, King of Ireland. In 942 Blacar, with "the gentiles of Dublin," plundered Clonmacnois and Kildare, (Ult., Four M.); and in 943 (941 of the Four M.), on Sunday, the 26th of Feb., Muircheartach was slain by Blacar at Glassliathan, near Cluain-cain (now Clonkeen), near Ardee, co. of Louth; (Ult., Four M.) In 945 (if the Four M. have rightly interpreted the Ann. Ult.) Blacar was expelled from Dublin (see p. 284), and Olaf Cuaran took his place. In 948 he was slain (in the battle of Dublin, Four M.), by Congalach, King of Ireland, with 1,600 men killed or wounded, the same year in which Olaf Cuaran returned to Northumberland. (Ult.) See p. 285.

(12) See what has been said of Ragnall, son of Gothfrith, under Nos. (3) and (4). He became King of York in 923. Henr. Hunt. (ap. Monum. Hist. Brit., p. 745, B.) The date of his death does not seem to be on record.

(13) Comman is mentioned in Ult., at the year 960, "a defeat given to Comman, son of Olaf, son of Gothfrith, at [the river] Dubh." Dr. O'Conor, in his translation of the Ann. of Ulster, has entirely misunderstood this passage, not knowing that the Dubh (now the Duff), was a river on the confines of Fermanagh and Leitrim, running from Lough Melvin to Donegal Bay.

(14) The death of "Gofraidh, son of Amlaimh," or Olaf, is recorded at the year 963. (Ult.) The Ann. Clonm., at 957 (=963), have "Godfrey Mac Awley, a very fair and homesome man, died;" (quoted by O'Donovan, Four M. 961, p. 684, *n.*) See Dubl. Ann. Inisf. 961.

(15) Glun-iarainn (Iron-knee) was the son of Olaf Cuaran by *Donnflaith*, daur. of Muircheartach Leather-cloaks (see Introd. p. cxlvii, *n.* 3), who had been first married to Domhnall (son of Donnchad, King of Ireland, Table II., p. 246), by whom she had Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II.; so that Gluniarainn was Malachy's brother on the mother's side, which may account for his being found in Malachy's army, notwithstanding the decisive overthrow given to his father Olaf at the battle of Tara. The Ann. of Tigern. at 983, three years after that battle, speak of his having joined Malachy, and gained a victory over Domhnall Claon, King of Leinster, and Ivar of Waterford, (Ult. 983, Four M. 982). In 989 he was slain by Colbain, his own slave, who was drunk at the time; (Tig., Ult., Four M.) Gillaciarain, son of Glun-iarainn, son of Olaf, is mentioned in the present work (p. 165) as one of the leaders of the Dublin Danes at Clontarf; and again, p. 207, as having been slain in that battle. In Ult. 1014 he is called "righdomhna," or heir apparent of the foreigners. Comp. Four M. 1013.

Sitric Silken-beard.

(16) Sitric was the son of Olaf Cuaran by *Gormflaith*, sister of Maelmordha, king of Leinster, who was afterwards successively the wife of Malachy II., and of Brian Borumha, and repudiated by both (Introd., p. cxlviii, *n.* 3). Sitric was called Silkiskegg, or Silken-beard, by the Norsemen (Gunlaug., p. 99). In 994 he was expelled[1] from Dublin (Ult.); the Four M. say, "Ivar was

[1] *Expelled.* Dr. O'Conor translates this "occisus est," which he ought to have seen was wrong, because of Sitric's part in the battle of Clontarf, ten years afterwards. He mistook do innarba, or do innarbad, "was expelled," for do marbha, or do marbad, "was slain."

The Hy Ivar of Dublin.

Sitric Silkenbeard.

expelled from Dublin by the prayers of the saints" (992=A.D. 994): and in the following year "Sitric, son of Olaf, was expelled from Dublin." The Ivar here mentioned was, doubtless, Ivar of Waterford; for Tigern. says, An. 995:—"Ivar in Dublin after the son of the son of Olaf," where we should probably read, "son of Olaf;" for the Annalist adds—"Ivar iterum insecutus evasit, et Sitric in locum ejus." We may reconcile these statements by supposing that Ivar of Waterford drove Sitric from Dublin in 994, but at the close of the following year was himself expelled, and Sitric restored. In 996, the Four M. say, "Ivar came to Dublin after [i.e. in succession to] Sitric, son of Olaf," and shortly after, in the same year, "Ivar fled again from Dublin, and Sitric took his place." This may be a duplicate entry, but however that be, the contest ended in the year 1000, when Tigern. records the death of Ivar of Waterford. In 999, the year before his defeat at Glenmama, Donchadh, son of Domhnall Claon, K. of Leinster, was taken prisoner by Sitric and his ally Maelmordha Mac Murchada, his mother's brother; (Ult.) Sitric's history from his defeat at Glenmama, A.D. 1000, to Brian's victory at Clontarf, will be found in the foregoing pages. See Introd., p. cxlviii. sq. Sitric was married to Brian's daughter, and his sister *Maelmuire* No. ([21]), (who lived to 1021, Four M.) was married to King Malachy II. Dr. O'Donovan (not in loc.) remarks, "No wonder that he did not join either party at the battle of Clontarf." But when he set forth to enlist such ferocious warriors as Brodar and Sigurd Lödverson to join him against Brian, and when he himself held the garrison of Dublin for the Danes, this was surely joining very decidedly the party opposed to Brian and Malachy. That Malachy regarded Sitric as an avowed enemy is evident from the fact, that in 1015, the year after the battle, he and his auxiliaries attacked Dublin, burned "all the houses outside the fortress," and then plundered Ui Cennsealaigh. See Introd., p. cxcvi. It does not appear that in this attack any damage was done within the fort, and Sitric seems to have held his ground. In 1018 he blinded Braen or Bran (ancestor of the Ui Brain or O'Byrne of Leinster), son of his uncle and ally, Maelmordha, King of Leinster. Bran, being thus blinded, was incapacitated for the throne. He afterwards went abroad, and died in the Irish monastery of Cologne, 1052. (Ult. Four M.) In 1019 Sitric and the Danes of Dublin plundered Kells, in Meath, carried off spoils and prisoners, and slew many people in the body of the church; (Four M.) In 1021 Sitric and the Dublin foreigners were vanquished with great slaughter by Uagaire, son of Dunlaing, King of Leinster, at Dergne Mogorog, now Delgany, in the county of Wicklow; (Ult. Four M.) In 1022 the Four M. record two defeats of the Dublin Danes, one by King Malachy, who died the same year, and another at sea, by Niall, son of Eochaidh, King of Ulidia. In neither of these, however, is Sitric's name mentioned. Ult. and Tig. record the naval victory alone. In 1027 Sitric, in alliance with Donnchadh, K. of Bregia, made an inroad into Meath, but was repulsed; (Tig. Four M.) In 1028 he went to Rome on a pilgrimage, and according to Tighernach, returned the same year.[2] In 1030 *Gormflaith*, Sitric's mother, died. In 1031 (Ult.) we read that Ragnall, son of Ragnall, son of Ivar of

[2] *Same year.* The Annals of Ulster say that "Sitric son of the son of Olaf," went to Rome this year. But this is the mistake which so often occurs, for "Sitric, son of Olaf," as in Tigern. and Four M. Neither Ult. nor Four M. mention the date of Sitric's return from Rome.

Table VII. (B).

The Hy Ivar of Dublin.

Sitric Silken-beard.

Waterford, was slain at Dublin, by treachery; and again, at 1035 (Ult.) that he was slain at Dublin. The same Ragnall cannot be intended, and it is most probable that in the case of the former entry, the true reading is that preserved in Tighernach, at 1031, "Ragnall, son of *Radnall*, daughter of Ivar, King of Waterford, was treacherously slain at Dublin." The same year, according to this Annalist, Sitric plundered Ardbraccan, and carried off oxen and captives: this plundering is dated 1035 in Ult., and connected with the second entry of the death of Ragnall, a clear proof that the two entries have been confounded. In 1032 Sitric gained a battle at the mouth of the Boyne, over the Conaille,[1] the Ui Tortain, and the Ui Meith; (Four M.) In 1035, according to Tighernach, Sitric left his kingdom (probably for the sake of religious retirement) and went across the sea, leaving his nephew, Eachmarcach, No. (22), King of Dublin. It is not said where he went to, and the next notice of him in the Annals is his death, in 1042, in which year his daughter, *Finen*, No. (24), who seems to have been a nun,[2] died also; (Tig., Four M.)

During Sitric's reign, the Danish bishopric of Dublin had been established, and it is said that in 1038, Donat, the first bishop, obtained from him a grant of certain *voltæ*, or vaults, in one of which St. Patrick was said to have celebrated Mass. Upon these the bishop built his cathedral, dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity, and now called Christ Church. The vaults still remain, forming a crypt under the cathedral, but are now filled with rubbish, and lie in a disgracefully neglected state. No record of this foundation by Sitric occurs in the Irish Annals; and the story rests upon a late and very legendary document preserved in the Black Book of Christ Church, and printed in the Monasticon Anglicanum (ed. Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel, vol. vi., p. 1148.)

Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, is the Sitric who is called by Mr. Lindsay, Sitric III. (Coinage of Ireland, pp. 7, 8, 10, Plate I., and Suppl. Plate I.)

(17) Ragnall, son of Olaf Cuaran, was slain at the battle of Tara, 980; (Tig. Ult.) See above, p. 47. Introd., p. c. The Annals of Ult. and of Tighern., at 1075, record the death of a Godfrey, whom Tig. calls simply, "King of the Gaill;" but in Ult. he is said to have been K. of Dublin, and to have been "s. of Olaf, or s. of Ragnall." He can scarcely have been the son of Olaf Cuaran, who was dead ninety-four years in 1075. He must therefore have been the son of this Ragnall, or else of Olaf, son of Sitric Silken-beard; No. (28). In this uncertainty his name has been omitted in the Table.

(18) Aralt, or Harold, called Righdomhna, heir apparent, or eligible to the throne of his father, was slain at the battle of Glenmama, A.D. 1000. See p. 111. Introd., p. cxliv.

(19) Amancus, or Amaccus (? Magnus) is called son of Olaf, by Hoveden, who tells us that when his father Olaf was expelled from Northumberland, in 954, the Northumbrians slew Amancus. See No. (5), p. 285.

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1 *Conaille.* The Conaille, or Conaille Muirtheimhne, were seated in the co. of Louth; the Ui Tortain, near Ardbraccan, in Meath; and the Ui Meith, in the co. of Monaghan.

2 *A nun.* Dr. O'Donovan understands the Four M. to call her *Cailleach-Fionain*, as if that was her name. *Cailleach*, signifies a nun, and Dr. O'Conor translates "Monacha Finiani," a nun of St. Finian. Tighernach calls her "Cailleach Finen:" the nun *Finen*. The Ann. Ult. do not mention the death of Sitric or of his daughter.

(20) This name is put in brackets, because it occurs only in a doubtful reading of the Dublin MS. of the Ann. Ult. at 982, al. 983. "A battle gained by Maelsechnaill, son of Domhnall, and Gluniarainn, son of Olaf," [see No. (15)] "over Domhnall Cloen, King of Leinster, and over Imhar of Waterford, in which fell many, both drowned and slain, together with *Gillapatraic, son of Olaf*, Gillapatraic, son of Imhar, and others." The words in italics do not occur in the corresponding record in Tighernach and the Four M., nor in Dr. O'Conor's text of the Ann. Ult. In the old English MS. Transl. of Ult. (Ayscough, 4795), the names of Gluniarainn, son of Olaf, and of Ivar of Waterford, are omitted, and Gillapatrick, son of Imhair, is called "Patrick, son of Anlaiv of Waterford." The whole entry is as follows: "An overthrow by Maoilsechnaill McDonell upon Donell Claon, King of Leinster, where a great number were drowned and killed, together with Patrick McAnlaiv of Waterford." There was therefore evidently some confusion in the ancient MSS. of these annals in this place.

(21) *Maelmuire*, dr. of Olaf Cuaran, was married to King Maelsechlainn, or Malachy II., and died 1021; (Four M.) See No. (16), p. 289.

(22) Eachmarcach became K. of Dublin when his Uncle Sitric abandoned his kingdom, and went across the sea, in 1035. See No. (16), p. 280. In 1038 Ivar, [No. (23)] son of Aralt, or Harold, displaced him (Tig.), and in 1046 Ivar was expelled, and Eachmarcach restored; (Four M.) In 1052 Diarmaid (son of Dunchadh, surnamed Mael-na-mbo), plundered Fine-gall, the Danish territory north of Dublin. Several skirmishes took place around the city, in which many fell on both sides, "and Eachmarcach, son of Ragnall, went over seas, and the son of Mael-na-mbo assumed the kingship of the foreigners after him;" (Tig., Four M.) In 1061 Murchadh, son of Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-mbo, "went to Man, and took tribute from thence, and defeated the son of Ragnall," meaning Eachmarcach; (Tig., Four M.) Mr. Lindsay thinks that one coin of Eachmarcach has been found. Coinage of Irel., p. 15, Plate 2, (26).

(23) For all that seems to be known of this Ivar, Harold's son, see No. (22).

(24) See No. (16), p. 290.

(25) Goffraigh, or Godfrey, son of Sitric [Olaf's son], was slain, according to Tighernach, by Gluniarainn in Britain, 1036. But who this Gluniarainn was is not said.

(26) Tighernach states that this Artalach, son of Sitric, was slain at the battle of Glenmama, A.D. 1000 (Tig. 998); but he is not mentioned in the present work, nor by Ult. or Four M.

(27) Gluniarainn, son of Sitric, was slain in 1031 by the people of South Breagh. (Tig., Four M.)

(28) The Four M. tell us that this Olaf, son of Sitric, was slain in 1012. (See Introd., p. clxxiv., n. 2.) Their words are,—"A great fleet of the foreigners came to Munster, and burned Cork. But God soon avenged the deed upon them; for Amlaoibh, son of Sitric, i.e. son of the lord of the foreigners, and Mathgamhain, son of Dubhgaill, and many others, were slain by Cathal, son of Domhnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn." As Mathgamhain is here mentioned as one of the Danish chieftains slain, it is probable that he was the son of Dubhgall, No. (30), and therefore a grandson of Olaf Sitric's son, No. (28). This Dubhgall was slain at Clontarf; see pp. 165, 207; Introd., pp. clxxiv., cxci., n. The Cathal by whom the burning of Cork was avenged was the son of the Domhnall (son of Dubhdabhoirenn, or Davoren), who afterwards led the forces of Desmond

Table VII. (C).

at the battle of Clontarf. See Gen. Table, IV., No. 21, p. 248; Introd., p. cxciii.

The Hy Ivar of Waterford.

(29) This Aralt (Harold), son of Gofraidh, or Godfrey, is mentioned in the Book of Lecan (fol. 196, *b.a.*), in a remarkable list of the eminent women of Ireland, where he is said to have been the father of *Maelmuire*, wife of Gillapatrick, K. of Ossory, who was the mother of Donnchadh, King of Leinster and Ossory. (See No. 38 of the Genealogy in O'Donovan's Tribes of Ossory, p. 12.) Gillapatrick is mentioned in the present work (p. 107) as having been put in fetters by Brian, and his son Donnchadh, after the battle of Clontarf, resisted the passage of the shattered forces of the Dalcais through his territory. See p. 217, and Introd., p. cxciv. Gillapatrick was slain in 996 (Tig.), by Donovan, son of Ivar of Waterford (see Gen. Table V., No. 25, p. 249), and Donnchadh died in 1039, (Tig.)

(30) See what is said of this Dubhgall under No. (28).

(31) See No. (29).

(C). *Grandsons of Ivar (Waterford Branch).*

Early settlement of the Danes at Waterford.

The ancient native name of Waterford was Loch Dacaech, which is supposed by some to be taken from the name of a woman named *Dacaech ;* see Introd., p. lxxxiv. n. [1]. The harbour was afterwards called Port Lairge, from Laraig, probably a Danish chieftain, who is mentioned by the Four M. as having plundered Teach Moling (St. Mullin's, co. of Carlow), "from the sea" in 951 (=A.D. 953). But the Danish name of the town is that which it still bears, Vedrafiordr, or Waterford, meaning Weather-haven. The Norsemen, attracted no doubt by the excellence of this harbour, appear to have made a settlement at Waterford at an early period, possibly about the same time when the Black Gentiles appeared at Dublin, or 852. It is the only place in Ireland mentioned by name in the Lodbrokar Quida, or Death-song, attributed to Regnar Lodbrog, a composition which, though not the genuine production of that hero, is of some antiquity. A barony forming the western side of the harbour, still bears the name of Gaultier (Gall-tire) "the foreign country," where in all probability the Gaill first settled; see p. 27, n. [12]. The Waterford Danes are first mentioned in the Annals A.D. 891, and the following is an abstract of the principal facts recorded respecting their settlement there :—

The Four M. at their year 888 (=A.D. 891) mention a victory by Riagan, son of Dunghal of Ossory [brother of Cearbhall], over the Gaill of Port Lairge [Waterford], Loch Carman [Wexford], and Teach Moling [now St. Mullins]; Introd., p. lxxvi., n. So that there was then a regular settlement of Norsemen in that district. At 910 (=913), they tell us that "Gaill arrived in Ireland, and

took up at Port Lairge;" and at 912 (=915), "a great new fleet of Gaill came to Loch Dacaoch, and put a stronghold there;" at 913 (=916), "great and frequent reinforcements of Gaill continued to arrive at Loch Dacaoch;" and at 914 (=917), "the Gaill of Loch Dacaoch still continued to plunder Munster and Leinster." Similar notices, in nearly the same words, occur in Ult., and it will be observed that they imply the existence of a former settlement of the foreigners at Waterford, as well as at Wexford; but the names of the leaders are not mentioned. Table VII. (C). — The Hy Ivar of Waterford.

Our author, at a date which corresponds to A.D. 915, records the arrival of a fleet at Loch Dacaoch, or Waterford harbour, under the command of Haconn and Cossa-nara, who plundered Munster, but were defeated and apparently destroyed by the native chieftains. See p. 27, and Introd., p. lxxvii. Haconn and Cossa-nara.

The arrival of Raghnall, grandson of Ivar, with large reinforcements to the Danes of Waterford, is next mentioned (ch. xxviii., p. 31). See what has been already said on the history of this chieftain, Introd., p. lxxxiv., lxxxvi. He appears to have arrived 916, and died 921 (Ult.), when Gothfrith or Godfrey of Northumberland (Table VII. (B), No. (4), p. 278) seems to have succeeded as K. of Waterford; after whose departure to England, in 926 or 927, his son Olaf took the command at Waterford, as well as in Dublin. See Table VII. (B), No. (8), 273, and No. (4), p. 280. Ragnall.

Another chieftain, whose name is connected with the Danes of Waterford, is Ottir, or Ottar, called Ottir Dubh, or the black, by our author. He appears to have accompanied Ragnall, in 916 (ch. xxviii.), and shortly afterwards, having gone to seek reinforcements, to have returned with 100 ships (ch. xxxv.), to Port Lairge, to complete the subjection of Munster. The names of several chieftains[1] are enumerated (ch. xxxvi.) who seem to have followed in his wake. At all events, they are said to have settled in Munster, and to have assisted in the plunder and devastation of the whole province. They were most probably the "innumerable hordes" who are said by our author to have followed Ragnall and Ottir to Waterford. There is, however, some difficulty about Ottir. Two chieftains of the name seem to be mentioned. One is said to have been banished with Ragnall from Munster, and to have fled to Scotland, where they were defeated and both slain in a battle against Constantine III., King of Scotland, in 917 or 918 (ch. xxix., p. 35). The other Ottir, called Dubh, whose arrival is not dated, appears to have succeeded in establishing his sway over the south of Ireland, and bringing into subjection all Munster. There is reason, however, to suspect some inaccuracy in the account given by our author of the battle in Scotland. Ragnall certainly was not killed there, and the Annals of Ulster do not say that either of the two chieftains was slain. See Introd., p. lxxxvi., and the remark made on the readings of the MS. L., p. 235. OttirDubh.

We have no evidence that Ragnall left any sons—none, at least, are named in the Annals; for the "Mac Ragnaill," of whom we sometimes find mention, was most probably the son of a Ragnall of a different branch, see Table VII.,

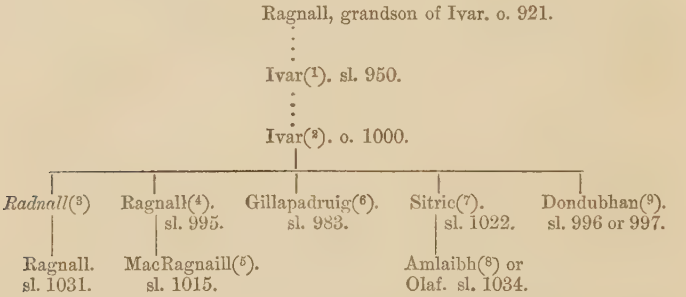
[1] *Chieftains.* An Ottir Dubh is mentioned as having fallen on the Danish side in the battle of Clontarf. See p. 207. This may have been the grandson of the Ottir Dubh who arrived in Waterford about 916; and we recognise among the slain on that occasion, the sons or grandsons of several of the "commanders of fleets," whose names are to be found in the list of arrivals given, chap. xxxvi.

Table VII. (C).

Descendants of Ragnall of Waterford.

(A), No. (9), p. 272; or else the son of a later Ragnall; see No. (5) of following Table. There is, therefore, a considerable blank in the genealogy of this Waterford branch of the Hy Ivar, between the Ragnall, grandson of Ivar, who was undoubtedly the founder of the Waterford dynasty, with Sitric and Godfrey of Northumberland, and the two Ivar's Nos. (1) and (2) who appear at the beginning and close of the tenth century. This defect is denoted by the dotted lines in the following Table.

Descendants of Ragnall of Waterford.



(1) The Four M. (948) tell us that Ivar "tanist," or next in succession to the throne of the Foreigners, was slain at the battle of Muine-Broccain, A.D. 950. He is not mentioned, however, in our author's account of the battle, ch. xxxvii., nor by Ult. As there appears to have been no other Ivar, at this date, who could be called "tanist of the foreigners," it is probable that he belonged to the Waterford branch. But the Editor is unable to supply the links of his descent from Ragnall.

(2) This Ivar is called "Ivar, grand-son of Ivar," by our author, p. 207; but we cannot infer that he was the grand-son of the Ivar last mentioned, although the dates would not be inconsistent. The Danes did not usually give the father's name to the son, but this rule is not without exceptions. In 969 (Four M. 967), Ivar, King of Waterford, was in alliance with Mathgamhain, or Mahoun, brother of Brian Borumha, to repel an invasion into Leinster and Ossory, made by Murchadh, son of Finn, lord of Offaly. A common cause had then united the Waterford Danes with the "men of Munster," the two Ely's, (in King's County and Tipperary; see B. of Rights, p. 78, n.), the Deisi, and the King of Ossory. In 982 (981, Four M.) Ivar plundered Kildare (Ult.) In the following year he took the side of Domhnall Claon, one of the claimants for the crown of Leinster, but was defeated by Malachy II., K. of Ireland, and the Danes of Dublin. In this battle his son Gillapadruig was slain. See Table (B), No. (20), p. 291. Between the years 994 and 1000 a contest was carried on with varying success between Ivar of Waterford and Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, for the possession of Dublin. See Table (B), No. (16), p. 289. In the year 1000, according to Tighernach, Ivar died. See Brut y Tywys. 1001, where the death of "Iuor Porth Talarthi" (Ivar of Port Lairge) is recorded.

(3) The names of *Radnall*, and her son Ragnall, are here inserted on the authority of Tighernach, 1031. See Table (B), No. (16), p. 290.

(4) Ragnall, son of Ivar, "was slain by Murchadh," (Ult. 994), his father Ivar being then in possession of Dublin, although he was expelled the same or following year; (Tigh. 995).

(5) This son of Ragnall is not named. But the Four M. record his death at 1014(=1015) thus—"Mac Ragnaill, son of Ivar, Lord of Port Lairge, was slain by the Ui Liathain;" a tribe seated on the borders of Cork and Waterford in the present baronies of Barrymore, Kinnatalloon, and Imokilly (co. of Cork), Coshmore and Coshbride (co. of Waterford).

(6) Gillapadruig was slain, fighting against Malachy II., K. of Ireland, in 983; (Four M.) See No. (2).

(7) Sitric, son of Ivar, King of Port Lairge, according to Ult., was slain 1022. In Tig. at the same date there is a corresponding record, but Dr. O'Conor's text is evidently wrong. He reads, "Mac Cerbhaill, King of Eile, was slain by Sitriuc. Imhair, King of Waterford, was slain by the King of Ossory." The name *Imhair* being in the gen. case, clearly indicates some error. The Four M., the Ann. Clonm., and the old English version of Ult., all agree in what is beyond doubt the true reading, "Sitric, son of Imhar, lord [king, Tig.] of Port Lairge, was slain by the lord [king, in Tig.] of Ossory." In Ult., however, it is not said by whom Sitric was slain. This was the year in which Malachy II., called by the Annalists "Maelsechlainn Mór," or "the Great," died.

(8) The following curious entry relating to this Olaf, son of Sitric of Waterford, is given by the Four M. at the year 1029:—"Olaf, son of Sitric, Lord of Gaill, was taken prisoner by Mathgamhain O'Riagain, Lord of Bregia, who exacted as his ransom 1200 cows, and seven score British [i.e. Welsh] horses, and three score ounces of gold, and the sword of Carlus, and the hostages of the Gaidhel, whether of Leinster or of Leth Cuind, and sixty ounces of white silver, as his fetter ounce, and four score cows for word and supplication, and four hostages to O'Riagain himself for peace, and the full value for the life of the third hostage." A similar account is given by Tigern. and Ult. Tigernach's words are as follow:—"Olaf, son of Sitric, King of Gaill,-was captured by Mathgamhain O'Riagain, King of Bregia, until he had received 200 oxen, and six score horses, and the sword of Carlus, and the son of Anfer Rot who was in captivity," so Dr. O'Conor renders *Mac Anfer rot nergaib*. There is, probably, a misreading; *rot*, is certainly not a proper name, but a verbal prefix, or a prefix with infixed verb; perhaps we should read, *rot in ergabail*, "who was in captivity." The sword of Carlus was carried away from Dublin by Malachy II., in 996: it appears from the foregoing entry that the Waterford Danes had recovered it. In 1034 Olaf, son of Sitric, was slain by the Saxons on his way to Rome (Tig., Ult., Four M.); he was, therefore, at that time a Christian.

(9) Dondubhan, or Donovan, was the grandson of Donnabhainn, chief of Hy Cairbre, by a daughter, whose name is not on record, but who was married to Ivar of Waterford; see Geneal. Table V., No. 25, p. 249. This Dondubhan or Donnabhainn, son of Ivar, was slain in 996, by the Leinstermen; (Tig.) The Four M. record his death at their year 995 (A.D. 997) thus: "Diarmaid, son of Domhnall, lord of Ui Ceinnsealaigh, was slain by Dondubhan, son of Ivar, through treachery. Gillapadruig, son of Donnchadh, lord of Ossory" [see Table (B), No. (29), p. 292], "was slain by Dondubhan, son of Ivar, and by Domhnall Mac Faolain, lord of the Deisi. Dondubhan, son of Ivar, was slain by the Leinstermen afterwards, viz., by Cuduiligh, son of

Table VII. (C).

Cinaedh, of the Ui Failge, at the end of a week, in revenge for Diarmaid, son of Domhnall."

Descendants of Ragnall of Waterford.

We find mention of Oisill, son of Ivar (p. 207, of the present work), where, in the list of the slain, on the Danish side, at the battle of Clontarf, we have "Oisill and Ragnall, the two sons of Ivar, grandson of Ivar." This seems to imply that Ivar [see No. (2)], the father of these sons, was himself son of an Ivar, unless we interpret grandson of Ivar as signifying only *descendant.* But the Ragnall, son of Ivar, mentioned in the present Table No. (4), was slain in 994, ten years before the battle of Clontarf. There is, therefore, probably some mistake, for which reason the name of Oisill has not been given in the Table.

There seems, however, to have been an Ivar, and a Ragnall Ua Ivair, in the first half of the 11th century, who do not appear in the foregoing Table, p. 294. It is probable that this Ragnall may have been the Ragnall, son of *Radnall*, daur. of Ivar of Waterford, No. (3) of the Table p. 294; and that his death, dated 1031 by Tig., has been entered under 1035 by Ult. and Four M. We have seen that in these latter Chronicles there are indications of some confusion in their record of the death of Ragnall and the plunder of Ardbraccan, which Tig. enables us to correct by giving 1031 as the true date of Ragnall's death and of the plunder of Ardbraccan and burning of Swords,—all which events belong to the same year: so that whether we make that year 1031 or 1035, the same Ragnall must be intended. See Table (B) No. (16), p. 290. At the year 1035 (Four M.) there is the following entry, which occurs also at the same date in Ult. We quote from this latter authority,—"Ragnall, grandson of Ivar, lord of Port-Lairge, was slain at Dublin by Sitric, son of Olaf. [Ard Brecain was plundered by Sitric, son of Olaf.] Sord of Colum-cille was plundered and burned by Conchobhair Ua Maelsechlainn, in revenge:"—meaning evidently in revenge for the plunder of Ard-Brecain; but the Four M., by omitting the clause within brackets, represent the burning of Swords, as if it were in revenge for the slaying of Ragnall, with which it could have had no connexion.[1]

In 1037 we read in Tighernach that "Cu-Mumhain Ua Rabann, or O'Rubann, King of Port-Lairge, was slain;" Ult. and Four M. add, a suis occisus est, slain by his own people: they call him also, not Cu-Mumhan [Hound of Munster,] as in Tig., but Cu-ionmhain, or Cu-inmhain [Beloved Hound]. This may not have been his real name, but a soubriquet substituted for his name. Waterford, in this year, was burned and plundered by Diarmaid, son of Donnchadh, called Mael-na-mbo, [Chief of the Cows], King of Leinster, of the race of Enna Cennselach, K. of Leinster in the fourth century: and the Four M. (the only authority for the fact) tell us, in the same year 1035, that "Ivar was treacherously slain by the Gaill of Port-Lairge."

The list of the slain at Clontarf, given in the present work (p. 207), mentions Goistilin Gall, and Amond, son of Dubhginn, "two kings of Port-Lairge," as having fallen on the Danish side in that battle. Amond or Hamund, as we have already remarked, may have been a grandson of Ivar of Limerick. See Table (A), p. 275. But of Goistilin Gall we seem to have no other mention.

[1] *No connexion.* Swords was in Fingall, or Fine-gall, the territory of the Dublin Danes. Ard-Brecain was in Meath, the territory of Conchobhair, who was the great grandson of Maelsechlainn, or Malachy II.

TABLE VIII.

Descendants of Cearbhall, Lord of Ossory and Danish King of Dublin.

The Landnamabok (p. 4) names Cearbhall, or Kiarvall (K. of Dublin from A.D. 872 to 887), as one of the principal sovereigns of Europe, at the time when Iceland was peopled by the noblemen and others who fled from the tyranny of Harold Harfagr. Iceland had been known to the Irish long before that time, (more than 100 years, according to one reading); and the earlier settlers had found men in the island "whom the Norwegians called *Papæ*" [i.e., priests or bishops], professing Christianity, and who were believed to have come by sea from the West. By them were left behind (for they appear to have been driven out by the newcomers), "Irish books, bells, pastoral staffs, and other things, which seemed to prove that they were Westmen" (i.e., Irishmen) who had formed a religious community in the island. Prolog. Landnama, p. 2.

Ingulf and Leif, who were distant cousins, were the first Norwegians who visited Iceland with a view to colonization, about the year 870. They spent there a winter, and returned to Norway. Ingulf then commenced preparations for another voyage to Iceland, while Leif set off on a piratical excursion to Ireland. There he entered a subterraneous cavern, which was quite dark, but as he advanced (probably carrying a light), he noticed the flashing of a sword in the hands of a man at the end of the cave. The man was slain; and the sword, with great wealth, which was found in the cave, carried away. Leif then plundered or "harried" (*heriade*) in other parts of Ireland, and amassed great booty, with which, and ten slaves, he returned to Norway. There he married *Helga*, Ingulf's sister, and all set sail for Iceland. Leif took the name of Hiör-leif or Sword-leif, from his adventure with the Irishman in the cave. This was the 12th year of Harold Harfagr, or A.D. 874, (Carroll being then King of Dublin). On the voyage they were in want of water, but the Irish captives made a mixture of butter and meal, which had the effect of quenching thirst, and which they in their own tongue called *Mynthak* [mɪn, meal or flour; mɪnᴛach, made of flour]. Rain coming on, and the Mynthak not being wanted, it became mouldy and was cast into

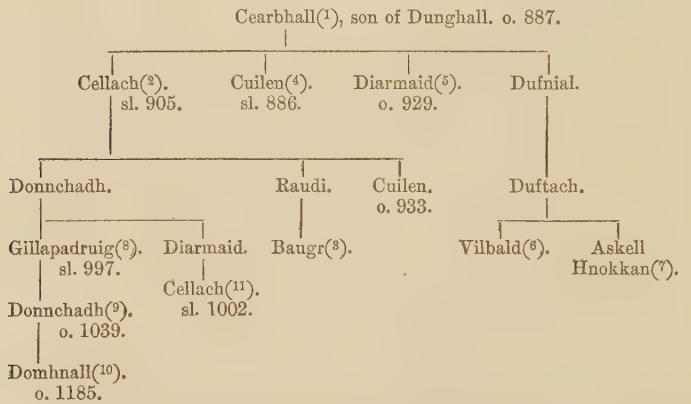
Table VIII. (A).

Descendants of Cearbhall by his sons.

the sea. They found it afterwards on the shore, at a place to which they gave the name of Mynthaks-eyri. Hiör-leif gave his own name to Hiörleifs-hofdr, where he settled; but was soon after murdered by his Irish slaves, acting under the command of one of them named Dufthak (Dubhthach), who was probably a man of higher rank than the rest in his own country. The slaves fled to the small islands south of Iceland, carrying with them the women and property. Here they were pursued and taken by Ingulf, who slew them all. The place where their leader fell was called Duftaksker, and the islands received the name of Vestmanna-eyer [Westmen, or Irishmen's islands]. Landnama, Part I., chap. 3–7.

This ancient connexion between Ireland and Iceland was kept up by the descendants of Cearbhall, or Carroll, as the following Table will show. It is divided into two parts—(A) contains the genealogical history of his sons; (B) that of his daughters.

(A). *Descendants of Cearbhall, or Carroll, by his Sons.*



(1) Cearbhall had married a daughter of King Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaigh (Malachy I.), who had himself married *Lann*, or *Flann*, Cearbhall's sister, daughter of the same father Dunghal, or as he is also called Dunnal. Fragm., p. 129. Cearbhall died A.D. 887 (885, Four M.) See above, p. 263.

(2) Cellach is called Kiallak, Landnama, p. 334. His brother Diarmaid having been driven from Ossory, 903 (900, Four M.), Cellach succeeded to the throne, but was sl. 905 (903, Ibid.) His son Cuilen was K. of Ossory, and died 933, Ult., where he is described as "optimus laicus."

(3) This Baugr, or Baugus, was settled at Fliotshlid in Iceland, and was foster brother of Ketel Hæng. It is not necessary to give here the names of

his children and grandchildren, as they played no part in Irish history. They will be found Landnama, loc. cit. Table VIII. (A).

(4) Cuilen, s. of Cearbhall, was slain by the Norsemen in 886 (884 Four M.) The Four M. have quoted a quatrain written on his death, which implies that he was a Christian. *Maelfebhail*, daughter of Maelseachlain, the same probably who was married to Cearbhaill, died the same year. Whether or not she was the mother of Cuilen is unknown. Descendants of Cearbhall by his sons.

(5) There are no records of the descendants of this Diarmaid. In 897 (894 Four M.) he is said to have restored and celebrated the Fair of Tailltin or Telltown. He seems to have succeeded his father as K. of Ossory, but was driven out, A.D., 903, when his brother Cellach was made King. See above, No. (2). He died 929 (Four M. 927).

(6) Vilbald came from Ireland, where he appears to have been born, to Iceland, in a ship called Kuda [Cuċaċ, fierce, furious], from which the river at which he landed was called Kuda-fliots. See Landnama, p. 312., where his father's name is erroneously spelt Dofnak: it is afterwards (ib., p. 350) more correctly written Dufthak, the Irish Dubhthach. His grandfather is called Dufnial, i.e. Domhnall, or more probably Dungall, which was a name in the family.

(7) Askell Hnokkan, of Askells-höfda, settled in Iceland, Landn., p. 350, where his descendants are given.

(8) Gillapadruig, lord of Ossory, was slain by Donovan, son of Ivar, King of the Danes of Waterford, 997 (995 Four M.) Another entry of his death occurs Four M. 997 (A.D. 999). Tig. gives 996 as the date of his death. He was taken prisoner and put in fetters by Brian, p. cxi. and p. 107, *supra*. O'Donovan, Tribes of Ossory, p. 12.

(9) This Donnchadh is mentioned, ch. cxxi. p. 215, *supra*. He is called "Lord of Ossory and of the greater part of Leinster" by the Four M., who record his death "after long illness," in 1039. He was ancestor of the family of O'Donnchadha, now anglicized Dunphy, or O'Dunphy, (Topogr. Poems, p. 77, and note 382), although in other parts of Ireland the same name is anglicized O'Donoghue and Donoghy.

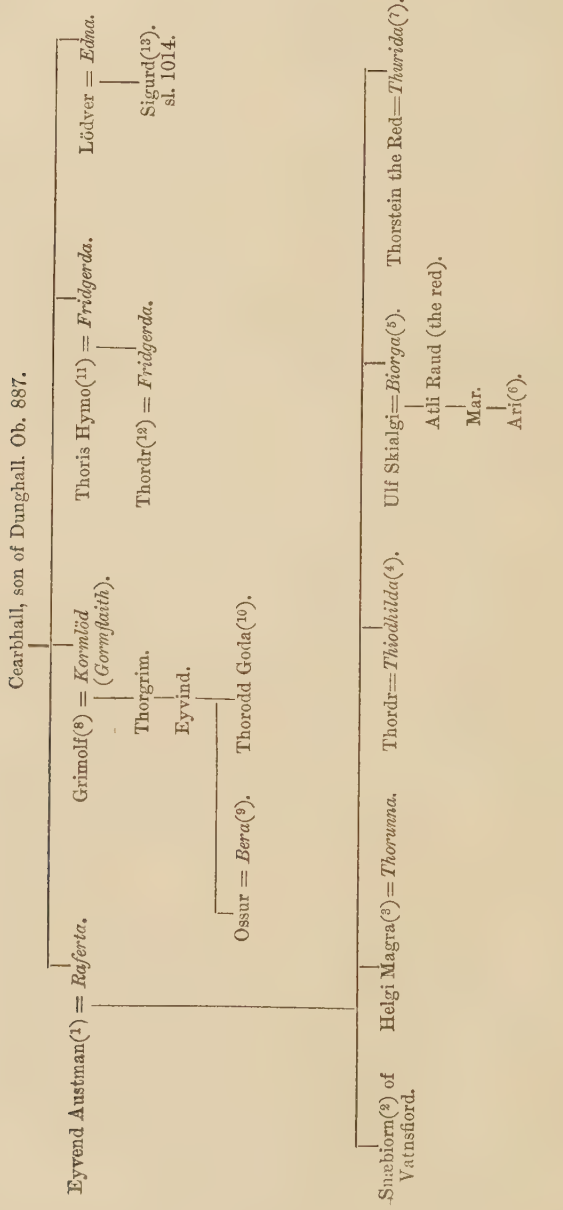
(10) Domhnall, founder of the Cistercian abbey of Jerpoint, co. of Kilkenny, 1180, died 1185. Archdall erroneously calls him Donough O'Donoghue, instead of Domhnall Mac Donchadha [or Mac Dunphy]. Monast. Hibern., p. 355.

(11) Cellach is called "lord of Ossory" by the Four M.; who record (1002) that he was in that year slain by Donnchadh, son of his father's brother, Gillapadruig.

Table VIII. (B).

Descendants of Cearbhall by his daughters.

(B). *Descendants of Cearbhall by his Daughters.*



(1) Eyvind Austmann, or Ostmann, so called because he had come to the Hebrides from Sweden; see Landnama, (part iii., c. 12), p. 228, where his history and genealogy will be found. Table VIII. (B).

(2) Snæbiorn. For his history and descendants, see Landnama, p. 159.

Descendants of Cearbhall by his daughters.

(3) Helgi Magra, or the Lean, was born in the Hebrides, but his father and mother being obliged to go on some mercantile or piratical expedition, were forced to leave the child there. On their return, two years afterwards, they found him so reduced for want of proper food, that they could not recognise him. They therefore called him "Helga hinn Magra," the Lean, and took him to Ireland, where he was educated. He married *Thorunna Hyrna* (the Horned), daur. of Ketill Flat-nose, lord of the Hebrides, and of *Inguilda*, daur. of Ketill of Ringarikia. Landnama, p. 228, 229. Eyrbygg. cap. i., p. 5.

(4) *Thiodhilda* married Thodr, or Thordus, a viking's son, said by many to have been really a son of King Harold Harfagr. See Landnama, p. 149, where his descendants are given.

(5) *Biorga*, married Ulf Skiallgi, who had escaped from the tyranny of Harold Harfagr, and colonized Reykianes in Iceland. Landnama, p. 132.

(6) Ari Marson was one of the earliest discoverers of America, A.D. 983. In a voyage westwards he was driven out of his course, and either wrecked or forced to land on "Hvitra Manna land" (White-man's land), called also "Irland er Mikla" (Great Ireland). There, Ari, having no means of returning, and being honourably received by the Christian settlers (probably Irish), became himself a Christian, and was baptized; "Rafn of Limerick, who had resided for a long time in Limerick, in Ireland, first brought news of this." Landnama, p. 133. "White-man's land" is supposed to be that part of the coast of North America, which extends southwards from Chesapeak Bay, including North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida; Antiq. American., p. xxxvii., and p. 208, *sq*. As the distance of White-man's land is described as "sex dagra sigling vestur fra Irlandi" (six days' sailing westwards from Ireland), it is probable that Ari had sailed from Ireland.

(7) *Thurida* was married to Thorstein Raudr, or the Red, son of Olaf the White, K. of Dublin. See Table VI. No. (5), p. 264. A Genealogical Table of his descendants is given, Kristni, p. 191.

(8) Grimolf had settled at Agde, in Iceland, where he and his family inherited the property of his brother Alfr; Landnama, p. 374–5. See his Genealogy, Gunnlaug. p. 315.

(9) *Bera* was the daur. of Egil-Skallagrimson; Egils., p. 599; Landnama, p. 375.

(10) Thorodd, called Goda, or the Prætor. For his Genealogy, see Gunnlaug., p. 315; Landnama, p. 375.

(11) Thoris is called Hymo, or according to another reading, Hyrno. Landnama, p. 219.

(12) Thordr or Thordus, of Höfda-strond, called Höfda-Thordr, from Höfda, the place where he had his house. His descent from Regnar Lodbrok is thus given, Landnama, p. 218, 219.

Regnar Lodbrok.
|
Biörn Ironside.
|
Asleik.
|
Harold Hrygg.
|
Biörn Byrdusmiör.
|
Thordr.

Table VIII. (B).

He is said to have had nineteen children by his wife *Fridgerda*, granddaur. of Cearbhall. Ibid.

Descendants of Cearbhall by his daughters

(13) Earl Sigurd's paternal descent is given, Table VI. (A), p. 264 No. (11). He was surnamed Digri, the Gross, or the Fat. His father Lödver (Ludovicus) was the son of Thorfinn Hausaklyfur (or Skull-cleaver,) son of Einar or Torf-einar, son of Rögnvald, Earl of Möre, ex concubina. See Scripta Hist. Islandorum, vol. iii., Geneal. Tab. I.; Landnama, part iv., c. 8, p. 301, 302; Heimsk. (Saga iii., c. 22 Laing's Transl. i., p. 291). *Edna*, his mother's name, is probably the Irish *Eithne*. Sigurd married *Doada*, or *Donada*, daur. of Malcolm II., King of Scots, son of Kenneth II. By her he had a son, Thorfinn, who was but five years old at his father's death, and was sent to his grandfather, King Malcolm, who created him Earl of Caithness and Sutherland. Sigurd by a former wife had four sons, Sumarlid, Brusi, Einar Rangmudr (or Wrymouth), and Hund (the Hound). Hund was taken by Olaf Tryggveson as a hostage for Sigurd's becoming a Christian, and introducing Christianity into his dominions. He died in that captivity. Heimsk. (Saga vii., c. 99. Laing, ii., 131).

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York, occupied by the Danes, lxxx. See Cair, or Cair-Ebroc.

Zain. See Stain.

ERRATA.

p. lxix, line 11, for *Maelseachlinn*, read *Maelseachlainn.*
lxxv, note, col. 1, line 6 from bottom, for *Suanloag*, read *Suanloga.*
lxxxvii, note, col. 2, line 2 from bottom, for *Cathach*, read *Carthach.*
xciii, note, col. 1, line 7 from bottom, for *Eochadh*, read *Eochaidh.*
c, note, col. 1, line 6 from bottom, for *Oighialla*, read *Oirghialla.*
cviii, note, col. 2, line 27 from bottom, for "920," read "907, 8."
cxii, note, col. 2, last line, for "920," read "907, 8."
cxiv, note, col. 2, line 2 from bottom, for *Cenneideigh*, read *Cenneidigh.*
cxv, line 3, for *Legh Mogha*, read *Leth Mogha.*
— line 24, for "the present county of Kerry," read "in the present county of Kerry."
clxxiv, note, col. 2, line 12 from bottom, for "Dalaradia," read "Dalriada."
p. 21, line 10, for "Laighen," read "Laighin."
135, line 10, for "Gall," read "Gaill."
177, line 10, for "Ferghail," read "Ferghal."

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